THE
Ā-ĪN-I AKBARĪ

Complete English Translation

volumes 1, 2 & 3

THE

Ā'ĪN-I AKBARĪ

(A gazetteer and Administrative manual of Akbar's Empire and part history of India)

BY

ABŪ 'L-FAZL 'ALLĀMĪ

Vol. - I

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

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FOREWORD

The enormous importance of the Ain-i-Akbari of Abū 'L - Fazl as a historical document of the Mughal period of Indian history needs no elaboration. In his preface to the first edition of the English translation of the book, written in 1873, H. Blochmann had described it as 'by far the greatest work in the whole series of Mohammedan histories of India'. That assessment of the book as a source material has not changed much inspite of the significant progress in historical research of medieval India. Thorough editing of a work of this nature needs profound scholarship and years of painstaking dedicated research. This is borne out by the fact that it had taken more than half a century to bring out a new edition with only minor editorial additions and changes.

This is the first time that the Asiatic Society is bringing out the three volumes of Ain-i-Akbari in a single volume. We would have been happy if the book could be thoroughly re-edited in the light of the latest researches. That would have required much time besides versatile scholorship and dedicated single minded hard work and research. But the persistent demand from scholars for a handy volume of this great work has prompted the Society to publish the volume without waiting for an unknown period of time hoping for a new thoroughly revised edition. We hope the book will be welcomed by scholars as well as a wide circle of readers interested in one of the most fascinating periods of medieval India. ❑

22nd March. 1993 | Chandan Roy Chaudhuri
General Secretary

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ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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ABŪ 'L-FAZL 'ALLĀMĪ

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

H. BLOCHMANN, M.A

Calcutta, Madrasa

SECOND EDITION

EDITED BY

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
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PREFACE

(First Edition)

The Āʻīn-i Akbarī is the third volume of the Akbar-nāma, by Shaykh Abū 'l-Fazl, and is by far the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Tīmūr's family as far as it is of interest for the Indian reader, and the reigns of Bābar, the Sūr kings, and Humāyūn whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the Āʻīn-i-Akbarī, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the *āʻīn* (i.e. mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government as it was about A.D. 1590. The contents, therefore, of the *Āʻīn* are naturally varied and detailed. The first of its five books treats of Akbar's household and court, and of the emperor himself, the soul of every department, who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship, and who enters into the details of government in order to create a harmonious whole. Vouchsafed as king with a peculiar light from on high, his person is prominently put forward as the guide of the people in all matters temporal and spiritual; in whose character and temper the governed find that rest and peace which no constitution can give, and in whom, as the author of a new and advanced creed, the dust of intoleration is for ever allayed.

The second book treats of the servants of the throne, the military and civil services, and the attendants at

court whose literary genius or musical skill receives a lustre from the encouragement of the emperor, and who in their turn reflect a brilliant light on the government.

The third book is entirely devoted to regulations for the judicial and executive departments, the establishment of a new and more practical era, the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, and the rent-roll of the great Finance minister whose name has become proverbial in India.

The fourth book treats of the social condition and literary activity, especially in philosophy and law, of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, and in whose political advancement the emperor saw the guarantee of the stability of his realm. There are also a few chapters on the foreign invaders of India, on distinguished travellers, and on Muhammadan saints and the sects to which they respectively belong.

The fifth book contains the moral sentences and epigrammatical sayings, observations, and rules of wisdom of the emperor, which Abū 'l-Faẓl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the Āʾīn, therefore, we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects. Whilst in most Muhammadan histories we hear of the endless turmoil of war and dynastical changes, and are only reminded of the existence of a people when authors make a passing allusion to famines and similar calamities, we have in the Āʾīn the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in, and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful, and therefore vivid, colours.

It is for this reason that the Āʾīn stands so unique among Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their

contents, the Āʾīn was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his *Description Géographique de l'Indostan* long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtadár Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and, as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "*Ayeen Akberi*", of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS. in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the Āʾīn from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the Āʾīn that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself Abū 'l-Fazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult, and his long career and training in various departments of the State, and his marvellous powers of expression, fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the *Akbarnāmah* and the *Āʾīn*. His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for inquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence

of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom. Abū 'l-Faẓl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the *Akbarnāmah* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that, while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves—we may pardon Abū 'l-Faẓl when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected. The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidably slow.

I am deeply indebted to the Council of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the *Ā*ʻ*īn*, and entrusting me with the edition of the text, for which the Indian Government had most liberally sanctioned the sum of five thousand Rupees. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and late President of the Asiatic Society, for valuable advice and ever ready assistance in

the execution of the work; and to Col. H. Yule, C.B., and to H. Roberts, Esq., of the Doveton College, for useful hints and corrections.

I have thought it advisable to issue the first volume with a few additional notes, and two indexes, one of persons and things and the other of geographical names, without waiting for the completion of the whole work. I have thus had an opportunity of correcting some of the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names and supplying other deficiencies. That defects will still be found, notwithstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of my readers and critics can be more sensible than I myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH.
23rd September, 1873.

PREFACE

SECOND EDITION OF BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION

OF THE

Āʼīn-i Akbarī

Some explanation is needed of the present edition. Blochmann's original translation has for some time been out of print. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has asked me to undertake the preparation of a reprint, and I lightly accepted the task, not realizing the amount of labour involved. Blochmann's translation and notes form a work of infinite detail and thorough scholarship; and though it has seldom been necessary to correct, it has often been necessary to investigate. This present edition is, however, in the main a mere reprint. This of itself is no small testimony to Blochmann's thoroughness. The transliteration, however, has been brought into line with a more modern system, and a few additional notes [in square brackets] have been added; those with a suffixed B. are Blochmann's own MS. notes from a printed copy in my possession; I have not incorporated all of them, as many I was unable to decipher. Notes to which a P. is suffixed are my own.

D. C. P.

Felsted Bury,
Felsted, Essex.
1927.

CONTENTS

BOOK FIRST

[[1] *Ibā*, gazelles.—P.]

BOOK SECOND

[1 *Āhū*, gazelle.—P.]

NOTE

Lieut.-Col. Phillott, who most generously had undertaken to prepare a revised reprint of Blochmann's translation of the first volume of the Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, had progressed to the end of the text when illness precluded him from finishing his labours. What remained to be done was the revision of the index, the correction of the additional notes as already revised by him on the copy, and the entering of the modifications necessary in the proofs of pages xvii to xxxii, and xlix to lix of the preliminary matter, as also of pages 1 to 10 of the work itself.

For a long time lingering illness prevented the taking of immediate steps to terminate the volume, but in September, 1930, the regretted death of the learned Editor necessitated consideration of the problem of bringing the reprint to a close. The fact that the volume was being printed in England and that no details as to the method of the revision were at the disposal of the office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal caused considerable delay, but ultimately arrangements were made to complete the work in the office of the Society.

Mr. D. K. Das was charged with the revision of the index, involving the changing of all page numbers, and the drawing up of a list of errata found in the body of the reprint during the course of his work. Mr. Das has performed his work with great care and has rendered valuable service in doing so. The new errata are to be found on page 690 of this volume. The plan adopted for the reprint has been explained by the Editor on page xi.

The circumstances explained above are responsible for the date of the Editor's Preface, as well as for the fact that the date of issue on the title page is given as 1927, whilst the actual publication was not possible till 1939.

The Council of the Society wishes to record its great indebtedness to the late Lieut.-Col. Phillott for his self-sacrificing labour on the present volume, and to pay its grateful homage to the memory of its late Member and Fellow, a devoted friend, a valued helper, and a distinguished scholar.

B. S. GUHA,
General Secretary.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA.
12th July, 1939.

LIST OF PLATES

IN THE

FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

Ā'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ

a, b, c, d, f, g, roads and bāzārs. "The principal bāzār is laid out into "the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, now on the right, now on the left, of the Dīwān-i k͟hāṣṣ."—*Bernier*.

1. The Imperial Harem (*shabistān-i iqbāl*). At the right hand side is the *Do-ashiyāna Manzil*; *vide* p. 56.
2. Open space with a canopy (*shāmyāna*).
3. Private Audience Hall (*Dīwān i k͟hāṣṣ*), p. 48.
4. The great camp light (*ākās-diya*), p. 52.

   " The *aquacy-die* resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed towards the king's quarters, near the tent called *Nagar-kane*, and during the night a lighted lantern is suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name Aquacy-die' may be translated ' Light of Heaven the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star."—*Bernier*.
5. The *Naqqāra-k͟hāna*, pp. 49, 50.

   AB, or distance from the Harem to the camp Light = 1,530 yards;
   AC = 360 yards; p. 49.
6. The house where the saddles were kept (*zīn-k͟hāna*).
7. The Imperial stables (*iṣṭabal*).
8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.
9. Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables.
10. The Imperial Office (*daftar*).
11. Tent for pālkis and carts.
12. Artillery tent (*top-k͟hāna*).
13. Tent where the hunting leopards were kept (*chīta-k͟hāna*).
14. The Tents of Maryam Makānī (Akbar's mother), Gulbadan Begum (Humāyūn's sister, p. 49), and Prince Dānyāl; p. 49.
15. The tents of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr), to the right of the Imperial Harem.
16. The tents of Sulṭān Murād, to the left of the Imperial Harem; p. 50.
17. Store rooms and workshops (*buyūtāt*).
18. Tent for keeping basins (*āftābchī-k͟hāna*).
19. Tent for the perfumes (*k͟hushbū-k͟hāna*).
20. Tent for storing mattress (*toshak-k͟hāna*).

21. Tent for the tailors, etc.
22. Wardrobe (*kurkyarāq-khāna*), p. 93.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, etc. (*chirāgh-khāna*).
24. Tents for keeping fresh Ganges water (*ābdār-khāna*), p. 57.
25. Tent for making *sharbat* and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing *pān* leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (*mewa khāna*).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (*rikāb-khāna*).
29. The Imperial kitchen (*maṭbakh*).
30. The Imperial bakery (*nānbā-khāna*).
31. Store room for spices (*hawej-khāna*).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (*qur-khāna*).
34. Women's apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

Round about the whole the nobles and Manṣabdārs with their contingents, pitched their tents.

"The king's private tents are surrounded by small *kanāts* (*qanāts*, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes."—*Bernier.* Bernier's description of the Imperial camp (second letter, dated Lāhor, 25th February, 1665), agrees with minute detail with the above.

Plate V. Candlesticks, p. 50.

1. Double candlestick (*dūshākha*).—2. Fancy candlestick with pigeons.—3. Single candlestick (*yakshākha*).

4. The *Ākās-diya*, or Camp-light; *vide* pl. iv, No. 4.

Plate VI. The Emperor Akbar Worships Fire, p. 50.

In front of Akbar twelve candles are placed, and the singer of sweet melodies sings to the praise of God, as mentioned on p. 51, l. 6 ff.

The faces of the emperor and the singer are left blank, in accordance with the Muhammadan dislike to paint likenesses of beings on, below, or above the earth. The emperor sits in the position called *dūzānū*.

Plate VII. Thrones, p. 52.

1, 2. Different kinds of thrones (*aurang*) with pillows (*masnad*) to lean against, the royal umbrella (*chatr*), and the footstool (*ṣandalī*).

Plate VIII. The Naqqāra Khāna, p. 52.

1. Cymbals (*sanj*).—2. The large drum (*kuwarga* or *damāma*).—3, 4, 5. The *Karanā*.—6. The *Surnā*.—7. The Hindī *Surnā*.—8. The *Nafīr*.—9. The *Singh*, or horn.—10. The *Naqqāras*.

Plate IX. The Ensigns or Royalty, p. 52.

1. The *Jhandā*, or Indian flag. "The Royal standard of the great Mogul is a *Couchant Lion* shadowing part of the body of a sun."—*Terry.*
2. The *Kawkaba*.
3. *Sāyabān* or *Āftābgīr*.
4. The *Tumantoq* (from the Turkish *toq*, or *togh*, a flag, and *tuman* or *tūmān*, a division of ten thousand).
5. The *Chatr*, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or *ʿalam*.

7. The *Chatrtoq*. As Abū 'l-Fazl says that this standard is *smaller* than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced *chuturtoq*, from the Turkish *chutur*, or *chūtūr*, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (*quṭās*) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

Plates X and XI. The Imperial Tents, p. 54.

Plate X.—The three tents on the top, commencing with the left, are (1) the *Shāmyāna*; (2) A *yakdari Khargāh*, or tent of one door; (3) the *Dūdarī*, or tent of two doors; p. 57, 8. Rolled up over the door is the *chigh*; p. 236, Āʾīn 88.

Below these three tents, is the *Sarā-parda* and *Gulāl-bār*, pp. 47, 57. At the foot of the plate is the *Nam-gīra* (*pr.* dew-catcher), with carpet and pillow (*masnad*); p. 48.

Plate XI.—On the top, the *bārgāh*, p. 55. Below it, on the left, is the *Do-āshiyāna Manzil*, or two-storied house; *vide* Pl. IV, No. 1. At the window of the upper story, the emperor showed himself; *vide* Index, darsan, and jharōka. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the *Chūbīn Rāwaṭī* (as the word ought to be spelt, from *chobīn*, wooden, and *rāwaṭī*, a square tent), p. 56. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called *zamīndōz*, with one tent pole (*yak-surugha*, from the Turkish *surugh*, or *surūgh*, a tent pole).

Below is a *Zamīndoz* with two poles (*dūsurugha*). At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the *Mandal*, p. 56; and to the right, the *ʿAjāʾibī*, p. 56.

Plate XII. Weapons, p. 116.

The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on pp. 117 to 119.

1. The sword, *shamsher* (1).
2. The straight sword, *khāṇḍā* (2).
3, 3*a*. The *gupti ʿaṣā* (3).
4. The broad dagger, *jamdhar* (4).
5. The bent dagger, *khanjar* (5).
6. The *jam khāk*, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, *bāk* (8).
8. The *jhānbwa*, or hiltless dagger (9).
9. The *katāra*, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The *narsink moth* (*narsing moth* ?), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, *kamān* (12).
12, 13. The small bow and arrow, *takhsh kamān* and *tīr* (13).
14*a*. Arrow.
14*b*. The *paikānkash*, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, *tarkash* (16).
16. The lance, *neza* (20).
17. The Hindūstānī lance, *barchha* (21).
18. The *sāk*, or broad-headed lance (22).
19, 20. The *sainthī* (23) and *selara* (24).
21. The *shushbur*, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of *shashpar*), from *shush*, lungs, and *bur*, tearing.
22. The axe, *tabar*.
23. The club, *gurz* (25). On p. 117, No. 29, the word *piyāzī* has been translated by "club", and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call "piyāzī" a long knife, with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, *zāghnol*,[1] i.e. crow-bill (30).
25. The *chakar* (wheel) and *basola* (31).
26. The double axe, *tabar-zāghnol* (32).

[[1] *Zāgh* a name largely applied to a chough, crow, jackdaw and magpie.—P.]

27. The *tarangālu* (33).
28. The knife, *kārd* (34).

PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (continued), p. 118.

29. The *guptī kārd*, or knife concealed in a stick (35).
30. The whip, *qamchī-kārd* (36).
31. The clasp knife, *chāqū* (37).
32. A bow, unstrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, *kamṭha*, or *Kamān-i guroha* (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, *tufak-i dahān* [1] (40).
35. The *pushtkhār* (41).
36. A lance called *girih-kushā*, i.e. a knot-unraveller (43).
37. The *khār-i māhī*, i.e. fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, *gobhan* (45).
39. The *gajbāg*, or *ānkus*, for guiding elephants (46).
40. The shield, *sipar* (47).
41. Another kind of shield, *dhāl* (48).
42. The plain cane shield, *pahrī*, or *pharī* (50).
43. The helmet, *dubalgha* (52).
44. The *ghūghuwa*, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, *zirih kulāh* (54).
46. The mailed coat, *zirih* (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast plate, *bagtar* (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, *jōshan* (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, *chār-āʾina* (60).

PLATE XIV. WEAPONS AND ARMOURS (continued), p. 118.

50. The coat with plates and helmet, *koṭhī* (61).
51. An armour of the kind called *ṣādiqī* (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, *angirkha* (63).
53. An iron mask, *chihrahzirih-i āhanī* (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, *chihilqad* (67).
55. The long glove, *dastwāna* (68).
56. The small one is the *moza-yi āhanī*, or iron stocking (71); and the large one the *rāk* (69).
57. The *kajem*, or *kajam*, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58, 59. The *artak-i kajēm*, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The *qashqa*, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The *Kanṭha sobhā* (70).
62. The rocket, *bān* (77).

PLATE XV. AKBAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS, p. 118; *vide* p. 122, Āʾīn 38, of the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESS FOR HORSES, p. 144; Āʾīn 52, p. 143.

PLATE XVII. GAMES, p. 314.

The upper figure shows the board for *Chaupar*, p. 315, and the lower figure is the board for the Chandal Mandal game. Both boards were made of all sizes; some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard, as in Fathpūr Sīkrī, and slave girls were used instead of pieces. The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.

[[1] *Tufak-i dahan*, blowpipe.—P.]

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAẒL-I ʿALLĀMĪ

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAẒL, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Āgra on the 6th Muharram, 958,[1] during the reign of Islām Shāh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Mūsā, Abū 'l-Faẓl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Rel (ريل). In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Mūsā's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindūstān. There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijāz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nāgor, north-west of Ajmīr, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mīr Sayyid Yahyā of Bukhārā.

The title of Shaykh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors.

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaykh Mubārak, Abū 'l-Faẓl's father, was born. Mubārak was not Shaykh Khizr's eldest child; several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubārak, i.e. the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islām holds out to the believers that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life.

Shaykh Mubārak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh ʿAṭan (عطن), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikándar Lodī to Nāgor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Sālār, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nāgor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistān. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nāgor in great

[1] 14th January, 1551.

distress; and a famine which broke out at the same time stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nāgor only Mubārak and his mother survived.

Mubārak grew up progressing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopedial attainments for which he afterwards became so famous. He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts; but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwāja Aḥrār,[1] to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Māldeo disturbances broke out, Mubārak carried out his wish, and went to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman, Aḥmad of Khaṭṭū.[2] In Aḥmadābād he found a second father in the learned Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, a khaṭīb, or preacher, from Kāzarūn, in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaykh ʿUmar of Tattah and Shaykh Yūsuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindūstān, and settled, on the 6th Muḥarram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamunā, opposite Āgra, near the Chārbāgh Villa,[3] which Bābar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mīr Rafīʿu 'd-Dīn Safawī of Injū (Shīrāz), among whose disciples Mubārak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubārak's two eldest sons, Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayẓ[4] and, four years later, Shaykh Abu 'l-Faẓl, were born. Mubārak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Āgra, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign, and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Āgra and caused a great dispersion among the population, incline him to settle elsewhere.

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubārak attracted a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he gave his sons; and the filial piety with which Abū 'l-Faẓl in numerous passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile writers as Badā,onī, leave no doubt that it was Mubārak's comprehensive-

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[1] Died at Samarqand, 29th Rabīʿ I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.

[2] *Vide* p. 570, note. Aḥmad of Khaṭṭū is buried at Sarkhich near Aḥmadābād. He died in 849 (A.D. 1445).

[3] Later called Hasht Bihisht, or the Nūrafshān Gardens. It is now called the Rām Bāgh.

[4] Born A.H. 954, or A.D. 1547. *Vide* p. 548.

ness that laid in Abū 'l-Fayẓ and Abū 'l-Faẓl the foundation of those cosmopolitan and, to a certain extent, anti-Islamitic views, for which both brothers have been branded by Muhammadan writers as atheists, or as Hindūs, or as sunworshippers, and as the chief causes of Akbar's apostacy from Islām.

A few years before A.H. 963, during the Afghān rule, Shaykh Mubārak had, to his worldly disadvantage, attached himself to a religious movement, which had first commenced about the year 900, and which continued under various phases during the whole of the tenth century. The movement was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islām. According to an often quoted prophecy, the latter days of Islām are to be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals, which on reaching its climax is to be followed by the appearance of Imām Mahdī, "the Lord of the period,"[1] who will restore the sinking faith to its pristine freshness. Christ also is to appear; and after all men, through his instrumentality, have been led to Islām, the day of judgment will commence. Regarding this promised personage, the Rawẓatu 'l-A,imma, a Persian work on the lives of the twelve Imāms,[2] has the following passage—

Muslim, Abū Dā,ūd, Nisā,ī, Bayhaqī, and other collectors of the traditional sayings of the Prophet, state that the Prophet once said, "Muḥammad Mahdī shall be of my family, and of the descendants of Fāṭima (the Prophet's daughter and wife of ʿAlī)." And Aḥmad, Abū Dā,ūd, Tirmizī, and Ibn Mājah state that the Prophet at some other time said, "When of time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from among my descendants, who shall fill the world with justice, just as before him the world was full of oppression"; and again, "The world shall not come to an end till the King of the earth shall appear, who is a man of my family, and whose name is the same as mine." Further, Aḥmad and other collectors assert that the Prophet once said, "Muḥammad Mahdī belongs to my family, eight and nine years." Accordingly, people believe in the coming of Mahdī. But there is also a party in Islām who say that Imām Mahdī has already come into the world and exists at present; his patronymic is Abū 'l-Qāsim, and his epithets are "the elect, the stablisher, Mahdī, the expected, the Lord

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[1] Ṣāḥib-i zamān. He is the 12th Imām. The first eleven succeeded the Prophet. 'Mahdī' (which in India is wrongly pronounced Mehdī, "myrtle") means "guided", Hādī means "a guide".

[2] By Sayyid ʿIzzat ʿAlī, son of Sayyid Pīr 'Alī of Rasūlpūr. Lithographed at Lakhnau A.H. 1271, 144 pp., royal 8vo.

of the age". In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surraman-raā (near Baghdād) on the 23rd Ramaẓān, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardāba (prop. "a cool place", "a summer villa"), and disappeared whilst in his residence. In the book entitled *Shawāhid*, it is said that when he was born, he had on his right arm the words written, "Say, the truth has come and error has vanished, surely error is vanishing" (Qūrʿān, xvii, 83). It is also related that when he was born into the world, he came on his knees, pointed with his fingers to heaven, sneezed, and said, "Praise be to God, the Lord of the world." Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imām Ḥasan ʿAskarī (the eleventh Imām) whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalīfa and Imām after thee?" ʿAskarī thereupon went into his room, and after some time came back with a child on his shoulders, that had a face like the full moon and might have been three years old, and said to the man, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shown you this child; his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic." The sect who believe Mahdī to be alive at present say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islām entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdī movement assumed in India [1] a definite form through the teaching of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, son of Mīr Sayyid Khān of Jaunpūr. This man was a descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpūr was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdī," "thou art Mahdī." Some people indeed say that Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdī; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly

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[1] Badā,onī, in his '*Najāt* '*r-rashīd*', gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshān from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshān, it was commenced by Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, a pupil of Abū Is-ḥāq Khatlānī, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to ʿIrāq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors, but defied them all. Badā,onī has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Nūrbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaykh Muḥammad Lāhijī, the commentator of the "Gulshan-i Rāz".

through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarāt, where he found an adherent in Sulṭān Maḥmūd I. From Gujarāt he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, "God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdī. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Farāh in Balochistān, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (A.H. 911; A.D. 1505). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdī; and even the historian Badā,onī, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdīs appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (A.D. 1549), a Mahdī of great pretensions arose in Biānah, S.W. of Āgra, in the person of Shaykh ʿAlā,ī. This man was a Bangālī Musalmān. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 935, with his younger brother Naṣru 'llah, likewise a learned man, at Biānah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaykh ʿAlā,ī had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. "But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just," and on the day of the ʿId, he kicked an influential Shaykh from his *hauda*, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaykh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyān ʿAbdu 'llah, a Niyāzī Afghān and disciple of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, arrived from Makkah and settled at a retired spot near Biānah. Like his master, he was a man of oratorical powers and was given to street preaching; and in a short time he gained numerous followers among the woodcutters and water-carriers. Shaykh ʿAlā,ī also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miyān ʿAbdu'llah; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned faqīr, told his wife either to follow him to the wilderness or to go, distributed his whole property, even his books, among the poor adherents of the Niyāzī, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qurʾān, "Let not men be

allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God." Religious meetings, the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdī, were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth. They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters, and inspected the bāzārs and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or assisting them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Biānah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miyān ʿAbdu'llāh in earnestness and successful conversions, and the later at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah. ʿAla,ī marched with his band over Basāwar to Khawāṣpūr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Biānah.

Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's fame at last reached the ear of Islām Shāh, who summoned him to Āgra; and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which ʿAlā,ī behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which ʿAlā,ī delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisaism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to ʿAlā,ī's men. To the amusement of the Afghān nobles and generals at court, ʿAlā,ī on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdī, and Islām Shāh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to ʿAlā,ī's meetings and had joined the new sect.

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubārak also became a "disciple", and professed Mahdawī ideas. It is not clear whether he joined the sect from religious or from political motives, inasmuch as one of the objects of the brethren was to break up the party of the learned at Court, at whose head Makhdūmu'l-Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhdūm became his inveterate enemy, deprived him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted him for more than twenty years, till Mubārak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment.[1]

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[1] "'Makhdūmu'l-Mulk' was the title of ʿAbdu'llāh of Sulṭānpūr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the

The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by ʿAlā,ī's success, and Makhdūm's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaykh. ʿAlā,ī and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhin. Whilst at Handiah on the Narbadā, the frontier of Islām Shāh's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahār Khān Aʿzam Humāyūn and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaykh ʿAlā,ī.

About the same time (955) Islām Shāh left Āgra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjāb caused by certain Niyāzī Afghāns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah Makhdūm^u'l-Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyān ʿAbd^u'llāh Niyāzī, who after Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's departure for the Dakhin roamed about the hills of the Biānah district with three or four hundred armed men, and was known to possess great influence over men of his own clan, and consequently over the Niyāzī rebels in the Panjāb. Islām Shāh ordered the governor of Biānah, who had become a Mahdawī, to bring Miyān ʿAbd^u'llāh to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyān ʿAnd^u'llāh boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islām Shāh gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyān ʿAbd^u'llāh lay apparently lifeless on the ground. But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawī principles and got as late as 993 (A.D. 1585) from Akbar a freehold, because he,

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Khazīnat^u'l-Aṣfiyā (Lāhor, pp. 443, 464) shews the opinion of good Sunnis regarding Makhdūm.

"Mawlānā ʿAbd^u'llāh Anṣari of Sulṭānpūr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishtī in his religious opinions. From the time of Sher Shāh till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of 'Makhdūm^u 'l-Mulk' (*prop.* served by the empire). He was learned in the law and austere in practice. He zealously persecuted heretics. When Akbar commenced his religious innovations and converted people to his 'Divine Faith' and sunworship, ordering them to substitute for the creed the words 'There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the viceregent of God', Mawlānā ʿAbd^u 'llāh opposed the emperor. Driven at last from Court, he retired to a mosque; but Akbar said that the mosque belonged to his realm, and he should go to another country. Makhdūm therefore went to Makkah. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the كشف الغمة *Kashf^u 'l-ghummah*; the عصمة الانبياء *ʿIṣmat^u 'l-Anbiyā*, the منهاج الدين *Minhāj^u 'd-dīn*, etc. He was poisoned in A.H. 1006.

"His son Ḥājī ʿAbd^u 'l-Karīm went after the death of his father to Lāhor, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1045, and lies buried at Lāhor, near the Zīb^u 'n-Nisā Villa, at Mawẓaʿ Kot. His sons were Shaykh Yaḥyā, Ilāh Nūr, ʿAbd^u 'l-Ḥaqq and Aʿlā Ḥuẓūr. Shaykh Yaḥyā, like his father, wrought miracles."

In this account the date is wrong: for Makhdūm^u 'l-Mulk died in 990, and as Badā,onī, Makhdūm's supporter, says nothing of poison (Bad. II, 311) the statement of the Khazīnat^u 'l-Aṣfiyā may be rejected. Badā,onī also says that Makhdūm's sons were worthless men.

The titles of Makhdūm^u 'l-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; vide p. 614.

too, had been one of Makhdūm[u]'l-Mulk's victims. He died more than 90 years old, in 1000, at Sarhind.[1]

Islām Shāh, after quelling the Niyāzī disturbances, returned to Āgra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjāb, and it was there that Shaykh ʿAlā,ī joined the royal camp. When Islām Shāh saw the Shaykh he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you." But Shaykh ʿAlā,i would not do so, and Islām Shāh, to keep up the appearance of authority ordered a menial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence. Shaykh ʿAlā,ī had then scarcely recovered from an attack of the plague, which for several years had been raging in India, and had a few badly healed wounds on his neck. Whilst he got the cuts, one of the wounds broke open, and ʿAlā,ī fainted and died. His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once, to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, ʿĀlā,ī's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers, and an order was now forthcoming to have the corpse interred. This happened in 957 (A.D. 1550). People prophesied the quick end of Islām Shāh and the downfall of his house.[2]

Makhdūm[u]'l-Mulk was never popular after that.

The features common to all Mahdawī movements, are (1) that the preachers of the latter days were men of education and of great oratorical powers, which gave them full sway over the multitudes; and (2) that the Mahdawīs assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. Islām has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the ʿUlamās about Court, from whom the Ṣadrs of the provinces, the Mīr ʿAdls, Muftīs, and Qāẓīs were appointed. At Dihlī and Āgra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnīs, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight.

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[1] Badā,onī visited him in Sarhind, and it was from ʿAbd[u]'llāh that he heard of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad's repentance before death. Among other things, ʿAbd[u]'llāh also told him that after the Mīr's death in Farāh, a well-known man of that town seized on lands belonging to Balochīs and proclaimed himself Christ; and he added that he had known no less than thirteen men of respectable parentage, who had likewise claimed to be Christ.

[2] The circumstances connected with ʿAlā,ī's death resemble the end of Sīdī Mūlāh during the reign of Jalāl[u] 'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh.

The place in the Panjāb, where the scene took place, is called Ban. (Bad. 1, 408).

The fact that Badā,onī spent his youth at Basāwar near Biānah, i.e. in the very centre of the Mahdawī movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawī principles.

How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps ʿAlāuʾd-Dīn Khiljī, succeeded in putting down this haughty set

The death of Shaykh ʿAlā,ī was a great triumph for the Court ʿUlamās, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawī disciples was the immediate result. The persecutions lasted far into Akbar's reign. They abated only for a short time when the return of Humāyūn and the downfall of the Afghān power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humāyūn was strongly in favour of Shīʿism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Āgra, after the fall of Bayrām Khān, who was a Shīʿa, again teemed with Hindūstānī Sunnīs, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubārak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh ʿAbduʾn-Nabī and Makhdūmuʾl-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubārak also belonged to the Mahdāwis and was, therefore, not only himself damned, but led also others into damnation, he deserved to be killed. They even obtained an order to bring him before the emperor. Mubārak wisely fled from Āgra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to reek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaykh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr Sikrī for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarāt, he implored the good offices of Akbar's foster-brother, the generous Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā Koka, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaykh and on the fact that, different from his covetous accusers, he had not cost the state anything by way of freeholds, and thus obtained at least security for him and his family. Mubārak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son ʿAbū ʾl-Fayẓ, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh ʿAbdu ʾn-Nabī. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawī leanings and Shīʿa tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when Fayẓī's poems [1] had been noticed at Court—Akbar then lay before Chitor—and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at Āgra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubārak's house. Fayẓī

[1] ʿAbdu ʾl-Fayẓ wrote under the nom-de-plume of Fayẓī.

was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubārak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Fayẓī at last came, he was carried off by force to Chītor.[1] Nor did his fears for his father and his own life banish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar's good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abū 'l-Faẓl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaykh Mubārak had to suffer for his Mahdawī leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind. There is no doubt that it was in this school of misfortune that Abū 'l-Faẓl learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar's friendship for him; while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments the clique of the ʿUlamās, whom Akbar hated so much.

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys; he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of *ḥikamī* and *naqlī*, or *maʿqūl* and *manqūl*.[2] Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty. An incident is related to show how extensive even at that time his reading was. A manuscript of the rare work of Iṣfahānī happened to fall into his hands. Unfortunately, however, one half of each page, vertically downwards from top to bottom, was rendered illegible, or was altogether destroyed, by fire. Abū'l-Faẓl determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page, and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded. Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up and on comparison, it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced; but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abū'l-Faẓl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

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[1] 20th Rabīʿ I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Fayẓī presented will be found in the *Akbarnāma*.

[2] Page 609, note.

Abū'l-Faẓl was so completely taken up with study that he preferred the life of a recluse to the unstable patronage of the great, and to the bondage which attendance at court in those days rendered inevitable. But from the time Fayẓī had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abū'l-Faẓl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubārak's numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil, on his part, too, would not remain without fruit. The skill with which Fayẓī in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abū'l-Faẓl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of A.D. 1574) was presented to Akbar as Fayẓī's brother, the reception was so favourable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abū'l-Faẓl in the Akbarnāma, "I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pādrīs of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pārsīs and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the *Āyat^u 'l-Kursī*,[1] and presented it when the emperor was at Āgra.

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[1] Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qur'ān.

I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihār and Bengal. Fayẓī accompanied the expedition, but Abū'l-Faẓl naturally stayed in Āgra. But as Fayẓi wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abū'l-Faẓl attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jāmiʿ Mosque. Abū'l-Faẓl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qurʾā entitled "Sūratu 'l-Fatḥ", "the Chapter of Victory".[1]

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnīs at Court, headed by Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk and Shaykh ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī, had every cause to feel sorry at Fayẓī's and Abū'l-Faẓl's successes[2]; for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihār, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badā,onī has left us so vivid an account. Akbar at first was merely annoyed at the "Pharaoh-like pride" of the learned at court; stories of the endless squabbles of these pious casuits had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief-Justice on Shīʿas and "others heretics" affected him most deeply; and he now for the first time realized the idea that the scribes and the pharisees formed a power of their own in his kingdom, at the construction of which he had for twenty years been working. Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindū subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, to rule with even hand men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to "inquire". It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.[3] The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Ḥanafī law, to which most Sunnīs cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong-

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[1] The details of Abū 'l-Faẓl's introduction at Court given in Badā,onī differ slightly from Abū 'l-Faẓl's own account.

[2] Badā,onī ascribes to Makhdūmu'l-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abū 'l-Faẓl's character; for the first time he saw Abū 'l Faẓl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad., III, 72.

[3] Vide pp. 179 ff.

ing to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhdūm[u] 'l-Mulk wrote spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'n-Nabī, the Ṣadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhdūm a fool and cursing him. Abū'l-Faẓl, upon whom Akbar from the beginning had fixed as the leader of his party, fanned the quarrels, by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide. The promulgation of this new doctrine was the making of Abū'l-Faẓl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islām, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution impossible; and though headstrong kings as ʿAlā'[u] 'd-dīn Khiljī had before tried to raise the law of expediency (وقت, مصلحت, *maṣlaḥat-waqt*) above the law of the Qurʾān they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire independent of the Mullā. Hence when Abū'l-Faẓl four years later, in 986, brought up the question at the Thursday evening meetings, he raised a perfect storm; and while the disputations, bitter as they were, had hitherto dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, or with sectarian differences, they henceforth turned on the very principles of Islām. It was only now that the Sunnīs at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islām, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.[1] The learned party, seeing their official position endangered, now showed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaykh Mubārak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islām. Badā,onī has happily preserved a complete copy of it.[2] The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a "Mujtahid", i.e. an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islām. The "intellect of the just king" thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'n-Nabī and Makhdūm[u] 'l-Mulk signed indeed the document against

[1] Pages 187, 189.

[2] Vide p. 193.

their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaykh Mubārak added to his signature the words that he had most willingly subscribed his name, and that for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to the realization of the progressive movement. "The document," says ʿAbū-'l-Faẓl in the *Akbarnāma*, "brought about excellent results—(1) The Court became a gathering place of the sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features; (2) perfect toleration (*ṣulḥ-i-kul* or "peace with all") was established; and (3) the perverse and evil-minded were covered with shame on seeing the disinterested motives of his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace." The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaykh Mubārak's own ḥandwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

A few weeks afterwards, Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī and Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk were sent to Makkah, and Shaykh Mubārak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies. How magnanimous Abū'l-Faẓl was, may be seen from the manner in which he chronicles in the *Akbarnāma* the banishment of these men. Not a sentence, not a word, is added indicative of his personal grievances against either of them, though they had persecuted and all but killed his father and ruined his family; the narrative proceeds as calm and statesmanlike as in every other part of his great work, and justifies the high praise which historians have bestowed upon his character that "neither abuse nor harsh words were ever found in his household".

The disputations had now come to an end (A.D. 1579) and Fayẓī and Abū'l-Faẓl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Fayẓī, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murād; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received *manṣabs*, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Fayẓī was appointed Ṣadr of Āgra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar, in which capacity he had to inquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (*sayurghāl*), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and Abū'l-Faẓl in the very beginning of 1585,[1] was promoted to the *manṣab*

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[1] *Akbarnāma*, iii, 463.

of Hazārī, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Dīwān of the Province of Dihlī. Fayẓī's rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honoured him in the end of 1588, that satisfaction which no political office, however high, would have given him. Though the emperor did not pay much attention to poetry, his appreciation of Fayẓī's genius was but just; for after Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fayẓī.[1]

In the end of 1589, Abū'l-Faẓl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the *Akbarnāma*. The emperor, in order to console him, paid him a visit, and said to him, "If the people of this world lived for ever and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation."[2]

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Dīn-i Ilāhī, or "the Divine Faith", the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubārak's document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (*khalīfa*) on earth. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the "elect" was based on that of the Pārsīs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindūs. The new era (*tārīkh-ilāhī*), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pārsī. The Muhammadan grandees at court showed but little resistance; they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindū courtiers than on Akbar's religious innovations, which after all, affected but a few. But their feeling against Abū'l-Faẓl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhin hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abū'l-Faẓl, as we shall see below, became gradually so deep-rooted, that he looked upon him as the chief obstacle to the execution of his wild plans. An unexpected visit to Abū'l-Faẓl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

[1] For his works, vide p. 161.

[2] اگر جهانیان طراز پایندگی داشتی و جز یکی راه نپیمودی دوستان شناسا دل را از رضا و تسلیم گزیر نبود.
هرگاه درین کاروان سرا هیچکس دیر نماند نکوهش ناشکیبائی را کجا اندازه توان گرفت ||

duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qur'ān. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies he said, "What Abū'l-Fazl teaches me is very different from what he practises in his house." The incident is said to have produced a temporary estrangement between Akbar and Abū'l-Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the *Zakhīrat'l-Khawānīn*. He says that Abū'l-Fazl repented of his apostacy from Islām, and used at night to visit *incognito* the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold muhurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abū'l-Fazl's faith", sighing at the same time and striking his knees and exclaiming, "What shall I do?" And just as writers on the history of literature have tried to save Fayzī from apostacy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abū'l-Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Qādirī of Lāhor, a man of saintly renown,[1] once expressed his disapproval of Abū 'l-Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū' l-Fazl came to a meeting held by the Prophet in Paradise; and when the Prophet saw him enter, he asked him to sit down, and said, "This man did for some time during his life evil deeds, but one of his books commences with the words, 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their righteousness, and help the wicked for the sake of thy love,' and these words have saved him." The last two stories flatter, in all probability, the consciences of pious Sunnīs; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abū 'l-Fazl's works; and though his heart found in pure deism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullās, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islām to continue his studies of the Qur'ān, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abū 'l-Fazl, Fayzī, and scholars as Badā,onī, Naqīb Khān, Shaykh Sulṭān, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, Shaykh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and

[1] Born A.H. 960: died at Lāhor, 1024. *Khazīnat'l-Aṣfiyā*, p. 139.

scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindī into Persian.[1] Fayẓī took the Līlāwatī, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abū 'l-Faẓl translated the Kalīla Damna under the title of *ʿAyār Dānish* from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the *Mahābhārat*, and in the composition of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, the "History of the Millennium". The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawī movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's death, the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and by the teachings of men of Sharīf-i Āmulī's stamp,[2] with this important modification, that Akbar himself was pointed to as the "Lord of the Age", through whom faded Islām was to come to an end. This new feature had Akbar's full approval, and exercised the greatest influence on the progress of his religious opinions. The *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, therefore, was to represent Islām as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (*alf*) years, and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnīs, was related from a Shīʿah point of view, and worse still, the chronology had been changed, inasmuch as the death of the Prophet had been made the starting point, not the *hijra*, or flight, of the Prophet from Makka to Madīna.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abū 'l-Faẓl to the post of Dūhazārī, or commander of two thousand horse. Abū 'l-Faẓl now belonged to the great Amīrs (*umarā-yi kibār*) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayẓī was sent to the Dakhin as Akbar's ambassador to Burhānu 'l-Mulk, and to Raja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salīm. Fayẓī returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaykh Mubārak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lāhor (Sunday, 17th Ẕī Qaʿda, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

[1] Vide pp. 110, 111.

[2] Page 502. We hear the last of the Mahdawī movement in 1628, at the accession of Shāhjahān. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium: during Jahāngīr's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of *sijda*, or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Shāhjahān, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in A.H. 1000, he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.

the age of 90, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qur*ān, to which he had given the title of *Manbaʿᵘ Nafā,isᵘʾl-ʿUyūn*. He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badā,onī speaks of him as follows:—

Shaykh Mubārak belonged to the most distinguished men of learning of the present age. In practical wisdom, piety, and trust in God, he stood high among the people of his time. In early life he practised rigorous asceticism; in fact, he was so strict in his views regarding what is lawful and unlawful, that if any one, for example, came to a prayer meeting with a gold ring on his finger, or dressed in silk, or with red stockings on his feet, or red or yellow coloured clothes on him, he would order the offending articles to be removed. In legal decisions, he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment. If he accidentally heard music while walking on the street, he ran away, but in course of time he became, from divine zeal, so enamoured of music, that he could not exist without listening to some voice or melody. In short, he passed through rather opposite modes of thought and ways of life. At the time of the Afghān rule, he frequented Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's fraternity; in the beginning of His Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandīs had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadānī school, and lastly, when the Shīʿahs monopolized the court, he talked according to their fashion. "Men speak according to the measure of their understanding"—to change was his way, and the rest you know. But withal he was constantly engaged in teaching the religious sciences. Prosody also, the art of composing riddles, and other branches, he understood well; and in mystic philosophy he was, unlike the learned of Hindūstān, a perfect master. He knew Shāṭibī [1] by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qur*ān in the ten different modes. He did not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable companion and full of anecdote. Towards the end of his life, when his eyesight was impaired, he gave up reading and lived in seclusion. The commentary to the Qur*ān which he composed, resembles the *Tafsīr-i Kabīr* (the "*Great Commentary*"), and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled *Mambaʿᵘ ʿNafāisᵘ ʾl-ʿUyūn*. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself

[1] A writer on 'Tajwīd", "the art of reading the Qur*ān correctly".

as the renovator of the new century.[1] We know what this "renovating" means. About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the Fārizī Ode (in *t*) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Barda, the Ode by Kaʿb ibn Zubayr, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Z̲ī Qaʿda, 1001, he left this world at Lāhor for the judgment-seat of God.

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of a dervish there was such a wicked love of worldly preferment, that he left no tittle of our religion in peace. When I was young, I studied at Āgra for several years in his company. He is indeed a man of merit; but he committed worldly and irreligious deeds, plunged into lust of possession and rank, was timeserving, practised deceit and falsehood, and went so far in twisting religious truth, that nothing of his former merit remains. "Say, either I am in the correct path or in clear error, or you" (Qurʾān, xxxiv, 23). Further, it is a common saying that the son brings the curse on the head of his father; hence people have gone beyond Yazīd and say, "Curse on Yazīd,[2] and on his father, too."

Two years after Shaykh Mubārak's death, Abū 'l-Faẓl also lost his brother Fayẓī, who died at the age of 50, after an illness of six months on the 10th Safar, 1004 (5th October, 1595). When in his last moments, Akbar visited him at midnight, and seeing that he could no longer speak, he gently raised his head and said to him, "Shaykh Jio, I have brought Ḥakīm ʿAlī with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and wept loud; and after trying to console Abū 'l-Fazl, he went away.[3] How deeply Abū 'l-Faẓl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Āʾīn* in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the *Āʾīn* made by him from his brother's poems. "The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some

[1] Badā,onī says in his *Najātu 'r rashīd* that Jalālu d-Dīn Suyūtī, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century.

[2] Ḥusayn, in whose remembrance the Muḥarram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazīd; hence the latter is generally called *Yazīd-i-malʿūn*, "Yazīd, the accursed." Badā,onī here calls Abū 'l-Faẓl Yazīd. Poor Badā,onī had only the thousand bighas which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school fellow Yazīd Abū 'l-Faẓl was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.

[3] Badā,onī, ii, 406.

of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his poems. But now it is brotherly love alone, which does not travel along the road of critical nicety, that commands me to write down some of his verses." Abū 'l-Faẓl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Fayẓī's *Markiz*[u] *'l-Adwār*, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the *Akbarnāma*.

It was about the same time that Abū 'l-Faẓl was promoted to the post of a Commander of two thousand and five hundred horse. Under this rank he has entered his own name in the list of grandees in the *Ā*'*īn-i Akbarī*, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-7).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abū 'l-Faẓl went for the first time on active service. Sulṭān Murād had not managed matters well in the Dakhin, and Akbar now dispatched Abū 'l-Faẓl with orders to return with the Prince, whose excessive drinking caused the emperor much anxiety, provided the officers of the imperial camp made themselves responsible to guard the conquered territory. If the officers were disinclined to guarantee a faithful conduct of the war, he was to see the Prince off, and take command with Shāhrukh Mīrzā. The wars in the Dakhin, from their first commencement under Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, are marked by a most astounding duplicity on the part of the imperial officers, and thousands of men and immense stores were sacrificed, especially during the reign of Jahāngīr, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the Khān Khānān himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abū 'l-Faẓl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Burhānpūr, he received an invitation from Bahādur Khān, king of Khāndesh, whose brother had married Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahādur Khān should vigorously assist him, and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahādur was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the Dakhin, but he sent Abū 'l-Faẓl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abū 'l-Faẓl, however, was not the man to be bribed. "I have made a vow," he said in returning the presents, "not to accept presents till four conditions are fulfilled—(1) friendship; (2) that I should not value the gift too high; (3) that I should not have been anxious to get a present; and (4) necessity to accept it. Now supposing that the first

three are applicable to the present case, the favour of the emperor has extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others."

Prince Murād had in the meantime retreated from Aḥmadnagar to Īlichpūr, and as the death of his infant son Mīrzā Rustam made him melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium tremens. When informed of Abū 'l-Faẓl's mission, he returned at once towards Aḥmadnagar, in order to have a pretext for not going back to his father, and he had come to the banks of the Pūrnā,[1] twenty kos from Dawlatābād, when death overtook him. Abū 'l-Faẓl arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return; but Abū 'l-Faẓl said that he was determined to march on; the enemy was near, the country was foreign ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abū 'l-Faẓl, nothing daunted, after a delay of a few days, moved forward, humoured the officers, and supplied in a short time all wants. Carefully garrisoning the country, he managed to occupy and guard the conquered districts with the exception of Nāsik, which lay too far to the west. But he sent detachments against several forts, and conquered Baiṭāla. Taltum, and Satondā. His headquarters were on the Godāwārī. He next entered into an agreement with Chānd Bībī, that, after punishing Abhang Khān Ḥabshī, who was at war with her, she should accept Janīr as fief and give up the fort of Aḥmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dakhin operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahādur Khān to pay his respects to Prince Dānyāl, and war with Khāndesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Āsīr, Bahādur Khān's stronghold, and appointed Prince Dānyāl to take command at Aḥmadnagar. Dānyāl sent immediate instructions to Abū 'l-Faẓl to cease all operations, as he wished to take Aḥmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhānpūr, Abū 'l-Faẓl at Akbar's request, left Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Mīr Murtaẓā, and Khwāja Abū 'l-Ḥasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramaẓān, 1008 (beginning of the 44th year of Akbar's reign), he met Akbar at Khargō, near Bīlāgarh. The emperor received him with the following verse—

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[1] The southern Pūrnā is meant. The northern Pūrnā flows into the Taptī in Khāndesh; whilst the southern Pūrnā, with the Dūdnā, flows into the Godāwarī. Prince Murād had gone from Īlichpūr to Narnāla, and from there to Shāhpūr, which he had built about eight miles south of Bālāpūr. It is now in ruins.

فرخندہ شبے باید و خوش مہتا بے   تا با تو حکایت کنم از ہر بابے

Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand. The imperial army now marched on Āsīr and commenced the siege.[1] One day, Abū 'l-Faẓl inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to show him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Mālai Fort, an important fortification below Āsīrgarh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Mālai and Antar Mālai, which had to be conquered before Āsīr itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chūna Mālai. A portion of its wall was not finished. From east to south-west there were hills, and in the south was a high mountain called Korhia. A hill in the south-west, called Sāpan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abū 'l-Faẓl determined on availing himself of the information given by the deserter, and selected a detachment to follow him. Giving orders to the officer commanding the trench to listen for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sāpan, and sent a few of his men under Qarā Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Mālai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to oppose them, and Abū 'l-Faẓl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Āsīr. On the same

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[1] "Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerebada (Narbadā), when Radzia Bador-xa (Rāja Bahādur Shāh) who had possession of the fortress of Hasser (Āsīr) fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave this fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles, of which the first is called *Cho-Tzanin*, the second *Commerghar*; and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador-xa however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as suppliant to the king and surrendered himself. . . . . Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazel (Abū 'l-Faẓl) came to him and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan." From Professor Lethbridge's *Fragment of Indian History*, translated from De Laet's *India Vera*, and published in the *Calcutta Review* for 1873.

De Laët is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Tzanin. "Commerghar" is the Persian "Kamargāh", "the middle of a mountain." The names of Fort Chūnah Mālai and of Mount Korhiah are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwāja Mālai and Korthah, Kortah, Kodhiah, and similar variations.

Vide also, *Gazetteer*, Central Provinces, p. 8.

day, other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Korhia, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyāl, who had in the meantime conquered Aḥmadnagar,[1] now joined his father at Āsīr.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rājū Mannā, and a party set up the son of ʿAlī Shāh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khān Khānān was ordered to march against him, and Abū 'l-Fazl was sent to Nāsik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khān Khānān. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Āgra, leaving Prince Dānyāl in Burhānpūr. Abū 'l-Fazl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Aḥmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abū 'l-Fazl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abū 'l-Fazl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān. After coming to terms with the son of ʿAlī Shāh, he attacked Rājū Mannā, recovered Jālnapūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Mannā found a temporary asylum in Dawlatābād, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Āsīr, Prince Salīm, who had been sent against the Rānā of Udaipūr, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Ilāhābād, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhānpūr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, showed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar's best officers appeared to favour Salīm, the emperor recalled Abū 'l-Fazl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son ʿAbdu 'r Raḥmān in charge of his corps, Abū 'l-Fazl set out for Āgra, accompanied by a few men only. Salīm, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abū 'l-Fazl's journey unprotected, as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā chief of Urcha (Ūḍchhā),[2] through whose territory Abū 'l-Fazl was likely to pass, to lie in wait for him and kill him. Bir Singh, who was in disgrace at Court, eagerly seized the opportunity of pleasing the Prince, who no doubt would substantially reward him on his accession, and posted a large body of horse and foot near Narwar. When arrived at Ujjain, Abū 'l-Fazl was warned of Salīm's

[1] Among the plunder taken at Aḥmadnagar was a splendid library. Fayẓī's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.

[2] Vide p. 546.

intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭī Chāndā; but Abū 'l-Fazl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabīʿ I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a *kos* from Sarāy Bar, which lies six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abū 'l-Fazl had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gadā,ī Khān, Afghān, told him quickly to retreat to Antrī, which was three *kos* distant, as Rāy Rāyān and Sūraj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abū 'l-Fazl thought it a disgrace to fly. He defended himself bravely; but in a short time he was surrounded and, pierced by the lance of a trooper, he fell dead to the ground. Bir Singh cut off Abū 'l-Fazl's head, and sent it to Salīm in Ilāhābād, who, it is said, had it thrown "into an unworthy place", where it lay for a long time.

The Dutch traveller De Laët gives the following account of Abū 'l-Fazl's death:—[1]

Salīm returned to Halebassa (Ilāhbās, the old form of Ilāhābād), and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened to Abū 'l-Fazl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa (Dānyāl Shāh), he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selim, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Fazl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzingh Bondela, who lived in his province of Osseen (Ujjain), to lie in wait for Fazl near Soor (Narwar?) and Gualer (Gwāliyār) and to send his head to him, promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

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[1] From Professor E. Lethbridge's "Fragment of Indian History", *Calcutta Review*, 1873.

The place near which Abū 'l-Fazl was killed, is called in the MSS. سرای بر *Sarāi Bar*. De Laët's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.

villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Faẓl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga (Kālābāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Faẓl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Faẓl himself, having received twelve wounds in the fight, was pointed out by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree, and was taken and beheaded. His head was sent to the prince, who was greatly pleased."

Prince Salīm, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his "Memoirs" that he brought about Abū 'l-Faẓl's murder, because he was his enemy, and with a naïveté exclusively his own, represents himself as a dutiful son who through the wickedness of others had been deprived of his father's love. He says:—

"On my accession, I promoted Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā Rājpūt, to a command of three thousand. He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character, and straightforwardness. My reason for promoting him was this. Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, a Hindūstānī Shaykh by birth, who was well known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Dakhin. He was no friend of mine, and damaged openly and secretly my reputation. Now about that time, evil-minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that if Abū 'l-Faẓl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation. As he had to pass on his way through the territory of Bir Singh Bundelā, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abū 'l-Faẓl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abū 'l-Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Ilāhābād. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū 'l-Faẓl's death produced one good result: I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away."

At another place in his "Memoirs" when alluding to the murder, he says, as if an afterthought had occurred to him, that he ordered Bir Singh to kill Abū 'l-Faẓl because "he had been the enemy of the Prophet".

When the news of Abū 'l-Faẓl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Tīmūr's descendants, the death of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to the reigning emperor, but the prince's vakīl presented himself before the throne with a blue handkerchief round his wrist; and as no one else would come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his friend, Abū 'l-Faẓl's vakīl presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abū 'l-Faẓl's death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after inquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salīm wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abū 'l-Faẓl," and then recited the following verse:

شیخ ما از شوق بیحد چون سوی ما آمده   ز اشتیاق پاے بوسی بے سر و پا آمده

My Shay<u>kh</u> in his zeal hastened to meet me,
He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life.

Akbar, in order to punish Bir Singh, sent a detachment under Patr Dās and Rāj Singh [1] to Ūḍchā. They defeated the Bundelā chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder and shut him up in Īrich. When the siege had progressed and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Rāj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dās. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dās to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about Ūḍchā to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rāja Rāj Singh, who cut down a good number of his followers. Bir Singh himself was wounded and had a narrow escape. But the emperor's death, which not long afterwards took place, relieved Bir Singh of all fears. He boldly presented himself at Jahāngīr's Court, and received Ūḍchā and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the *Maʼāsir*ᵘ *'l-Umarā*, that Abū 'l-Faẓl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindū, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist: but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Ṣūfis, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character,[2] and desired to live at peace with all men. He never

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[1] Pages 523 and 509.
[2] I may remark here that Abū 'l-Faẓl never accepted a title.

said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines, absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If he appointed a man, whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not remove him, but kept him on as long as he could; for he used to say that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetration in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock, keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year's books. He also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his trousers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said, that exclusive of water and fuel, he consumed daily twenty-two sers of food. His son ʿAbdu r-Raḥmān used to sit at table as *safarchī* [1] (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abū 'l-Faẓl would eat twice of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abū 'l-Faẓl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abū 'l-Faẓl was in the Dakhin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (*chihilrāwaṭī*) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amīrs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and *khichrī* was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abū 'l-Faẓl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshīs [2]; and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them."

It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abū 'l-Faẓl's style. ʿAbdu 'llāh, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū 'l-Faẓl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as "the great Munshī". His letters are studied in all Madrasas, and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abū 'l-Faẓl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated. The writers

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[[1] *Sufra-chī*.—*P*.]
[2] This is also the opinion of the author of the *Haft Iqlīm*.

after him write in the style of the Pādishāhnāma, the ʿĀlamārā Sikandarī or in the still more turgid manner of the ʿĀlamgīrnāma, the Ruqʿāt Bedil, and other standard works on Inshā.

A praiseworthy feature of Abū 'l-Fazl's works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of, or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments[1] I have spoken in the Preface.

Abū 'l-Fazl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayzī led Akbar's mind away from Islām and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abū 'l-Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islām in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abū 'l-Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khān Khānāns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islām is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intoleration, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Awrangzīb with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a *raḥimᵃ- 'llah-hū* (May God have mercy on him!) when his name is mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking up of the empire.

Having elsewhere given numerous extracts from Badā,onī to show that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islām to Fayzī and Abū 'l-Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by ʿUrfī[2] from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

یوسف نفس مرا ز آسیب اخوان دور دار کاین حسودان مروت سوز با این بی گناه
با قریت غول همزادند در راه سلوک با فساد گرگ انبارند در نزدیک چاه

O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (i.e. my soul) from the harm of the brothers; for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil sprites and lead me wolf-like to the well (of unbelief).

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[1] Let the reader consult Gladwin's rendering of Abū 'l-Fazl's introduction to the fourth book of the *Āʾīn*. Gladwin's *Āʾīn*, ii, pp. 285–91. The passage is anti-Islamitic.

[2] For ʿUrfī *vide* p. 639. The metre of the couplet is Long *Ramal*.

The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fayẓī and Abū 'l-Faẓl. I may also cite the Tārīkh of Abū 'l-Faẓl's death, which the Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā Koka is said to have made :—

تیغ اعجاز نبی الله سر باغی برید

The wonderful sword of God's prophet cut off the head of the rebel.[1]

But Abū 'l-Faẓl appeared to him in a dream and said, "The date of my death lies in the words بندہ ابو الفضل, "The slave Abū 'l-Faẓl"—which likewise gives A.H. 1011.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's works are the following :—

(1) The *Akbarnāma* with the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, its third volume. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* was completed in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign ; only a slight addition to it was made in the 43rd year on account of the conquest of Barār (A.D. 1596–7). The contents of the *Akbarnāma* have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar's reign.[2] There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by ʿInāyatu 'llah Muḥibb ʿAlī. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muḥammad Salia, which seems to be a corruption of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.

(2) The *Maktūbāt-i ʿAllāmī*, also called *Inshā-yi Abū 'l-Faẓl*. This book contains letters written by Abū 'l-Faẓl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to ʿAbdu 'llāh of Bukhārā, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islām. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the *Āīn*, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l-Faẓl's death by ʿAbdu 's-Ṣamad, son of Afẓal Muḥammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasas, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books ; but Amīr Haydar Ḥusaynī of Bilgrām says in the preface to his *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī*[3] that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

[1] The word باغی *bāghī*, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013 ; but the head (of the word, the letter ب) is cut off ; hence 1013 – 2 = 1011, the year of the Hijra in which Abū 'l-Faẓl was murdered. The metre of the hemistich is Long *Ramal*.

[2] The 46th year lasted from the 15th Ramaẓān, 1009, to 26th Ramaẓān, 1010, i.e. to about five months before Abū 'l Faẓl's death.

[3] Regarding this valuable work, vide p. 331, note.

time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amīr Haydar's copy was unique.

(3) The ʿ*Ayār Dānish*,[1] which is mentioned on p. 112.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abū 'l-Fazl also wrote a *Risālayi Munājāt*, or "Treatise of Prayers"; a *Jāmiʿᵘ 'l-lughāt*, a lexicographical work; and a *Koshkol*. The last word means a "beggar's cup", or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, etc., given as alms, and hence the term is often applied to collections of anecdotes or short stories. But I have seen no copies of these works. It was also mentioned above that Abū 'l-Fazl presented, on his introduction at Court, two commentaries, of which no MSS. seem to exist at present. Nor need I again refer to the part which he took in the translations from Sanskrit and the compilation of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*.

The *Durarᵘ 'l-Manshūr*, a modern Tazkira by Muhammad ʿAskarī Husaynī of Bilgrām, selects the following inscription written by Abū 'l-Fazl for a temple in Kashmīr[2] as a specimen both of Abū 'l-Fazl's writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abū 'l-Fazl's composition.

الهی بهر خانه که می نگرم جویاي تو اند و بهر زبان که من شنوم گویاي تو *سعر*

کفر و اسلام در رهت پویان وحده لا شریک له گویان

اگر مسجدست بیاد تو نعرهٔ قدوس میزنند و اگر کلیسیاست بشوق تو ناقوس می جنبانند *بیت*

ای تیرغمت رادل عشاق نشانه خلقی بتو مشغول وتو غایب از میانه
گه معتکف دیرم وگه ساکن مسجد یعنی که ترا میطلبم خانه بخانه
گه معتکف دیرم وگه ساکن مسجد یعنی که ترا می طلبم خانه بخانه
اگر خاصان ترا بکفر و اسلام کارے نیست این هردو را در پردهٔ اسلام تو بارے نه
کفر کافر را و دین دیندار را ذرهٔ دردی دل عطار را

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[1] As the word is pronounced in India, instead of 'Iyār-i Dānish", "the test of wisdom." The author of the *Haft Iqlīm* seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abū 'l-Fazl, when he saw him in A.H. 1000, was engaged in re-writing the *Nawādir-i Hikāyāt*.

[2] Abū 'l-Fazl says in the fourth book of the *Āʾīn*—"The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmīr."

Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmīrī Rishis as model men.

این خانه بنیت ایتلاف قلوب موحدان هندوستان وخصوص معبود پرستان عرصهٔ کشمیر تعمیر یافته *

بفرمان خدیو تخت و افسر چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن کمال امتزاج چار عنصر

هر که نظر صدق نبیند اخنه این خانه را خراب سازد باید که نخست معبد خود را بیندازد چه اگر نظر بر دل است با همه ساختنی است واگر چشم بر آب و گل است همه برانداختنی *بیت*

خداوندا چو داد کار دادی مدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توئی بر بارگاه نیت آگاه به پیش شاه داری نیت شاد

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islām feel after Thee,
Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rose petal[1] belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindūstān, and especially those of His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation, Shāh Akbar,
In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.[2]

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

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[1] This line is Sūfistic. The longing of the heart after God is compared to the perfume which rises from the rose petals. The perfume-seller, i.e the Unitarian, is truly religious, and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy.

[2] I.e. Akbar is the *insān-i kāmil*, or perfect man.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive;

Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have.

I have a few notes on Abū 'l-Faẓl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical noticed. The *Āʾīn* gives the following list c Shaykh Mubārak's sons.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayẓ, better known under his poetical name c Fayẓī. He was born in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547) and seems to have diec childless.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602.

3. Shaykh Abū 'l-Barakāt, born 17th Shawwāl, 960 (1552). "Though he has not reached a high degree of learning, he knows much, is a practical man, and well versed in fencing. He is good-natured and fond c dervishes." He served under Abū 'l-Faẓl in Khāndesh.

4. Shaykh Abū 'l-Khayr, born 22nd Jumāda I, 967. "He is a well-informed young man, of a regulated mind." He, too, must have entered the Imperial service; for he is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* as havin been sent by the emperor to the Dakhin to fetch Prince Dānyāl.

5. Shaykh Abū 'l-Makārim, born 23rd Shawwāl, 976. He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Shāh Abū 'l-Fatḥ Shīrāzī.

The above five sons were all by the same mother, who, as remarked above, died in 998.

6. Shaykh Abū Turāb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988. "Though his mothe is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-improvement."

Besides the above, Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions two posthumous sons by *qummā*, or concubines, viz. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥāmid, born 3rd Rabī II, 1002, and Shaykh Abū Rāshid, born 1st Jumāda I, 1002. "They resemble their father."

Of Mubārak's daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories:—

1. One married to Khudāwand Khān Dakhinī; vide p. 490. Badā,on calls her husband a *Rafiẓī*, i.e. a Shīah, and says he died in Karī in Gujarāt.

2. One married to Ḥusāmᵘ 'd-Dīn; vide p. 488.

3. One married to a son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khandesh. Their son Ṣafdar Khān [1] was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of one thousand.

[1] The Lakhnau edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, 830) calls him Sundar Khān.

4. Lāḍlī Begam, married to Islām Khān; vide p. 552, note 1. Mr. T.W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the *Miftāḥ'-ttawārīkh*, informs me that Lāḍlī Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the "Rawẓayi Lāḍlī Begam" is about two miles to the east of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, near Āgra. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fatḥpūr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rawza several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindū. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rawẓa nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayẓī, and Abū 'l-Faẓl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Tughrā characters may still be seen:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نثقتی * هذه الروضة للعالم الربانی و العارف الصمدانی جامع العلم شیخ مبارک الله قدس سره قد وقف ببنائه بحر العلوم شیخ ابوالفضل سلمه الله تعالی فی ظل دولة الملک العدل یطلبه المجد و الاقبال و الکرم جلال الدنیا و الدین اکبر پادشاه غازی خلد الله تعالی ظلال سلطنته باهتمام حضرت ابی البرکات فی سنة اربع و الف ۱۱

In the name of God the merciful, the clement, in whom I trust! This mausoleum was erected for the divine scholar, the sage of the eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaykh Mubārakullah (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl —may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalāluddunyā waddīn Akbar, Pādishāh-i Ghāzī—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abū 'l-Barakat, in 1004 (A.D. 1595–96).

Thus it will appear that the Rawẓa was built in the year in which Fayẓī died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in A.D. 1593. It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubārak and Fayẓī had been buried at a place opposite to Āgra, on the left bank of the Jamunā, where he first settled in 1551; for Abū 'l-Faẓl says in his description of Āgra in the *Ā'īn*[1]—"On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaws Makānī (the emperor Bābar). There the author was born, and

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[1] My text edition, p. 441. Vide also p. 539; Keene's *Agra Guide*, p. 47 and regarding Lāḍli Begum, p. 45. "Lāḍlī" means in Hindūstānī "a pet".

there are resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaykh ʿAlāʾu 'd-Dīn Majzūb and Mīr Rafīʿu'd-dīn Safawī and other worthies are also buried there." We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamunā, though Abū 'l-Fazl's inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rawẓa was sold and destroyed.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's son is the well-known

SHAYKH ʿABDU 'R-RAḤMĀN AFẒAL KHAN.

He was born on the 12th Shaʿbān, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunnī name of ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Saʿādat Yār Koka's brother. By her ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.[1]

When Abū 'l-Fazl was in command of the army in the Dakhin, ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān was, what the Persians call, the *tīr-i-rū-yi tarkash-i-ū*, "the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver", ever ready to perform duties from which others shrank, and wisely and courageously settling matters of importance. He especially distinguished himself in Talingāna. When Malik ʿAmbar, in the 46th year, had caught ʿAlī Mardān Bahādur (p. 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abū 'l-Fazl dispatched ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān and Sher Khwāja (p. 510) to oppose the enemy. They crossed the Godāwarī near Nānder, and defeated ʿAmbar at the Mānjarā.

Jahāngīr did not transfer to the son the hatred which he had felt for the father, made him a commander of two thousand horse, gave him the title of Afẓāl Khān, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihār, *vice* Islām Khān (the husband of Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister) who was sent to Bengal. ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān also received Gorākhpūr as jāgīr. As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Quṭbu 'd-dīn appeared in the district of Bhojpūr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiya Rājās (p. 577, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusra, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahāngīr had made the favourite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaykh Banārasī and Ghiyāṣ ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān's officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afẓal Khān's property and the Imperial treasury. ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān returned from Gorākhpūr as soon as he heard of the

[1] Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyār, who is so often mentioned in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*.

rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Quṭb now retreated to the fort, followed by ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān, who succeeded in capturing him. He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers. Jahāngīr, who was always minute in his punishments, had their heads shaved and women's veils put over the faces; they were then tied to donkeys, with their heads to the tails, and paraded through the towns (*tashhīr*) as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān fell ill, and went to Court, where he was well received. He lingered for a time, and died of an abscess, in the 8th year of Jahāngīr's reign (A.H. 1022) or eleven years after his father's murder.

BISHOTAN, SON OF ʿABDᵘ 'R-RAHMĀN, SON OF SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAZL.

He was born on the 3rd Ẕī Qaʿda, 999. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse. In the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he is mentioned as a commander of five hundred horse, which rank he held when he died in the 15th year of the same reign.

BOOK FIRST

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

ABŪ 'L-FAẒL'S PREFACE

ALLAH[u] AKBAR

O Lord, whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning,
End and beginning, both are lost in Thee,
No trace of them is found, in Thy eternal realm.
My words are lame; my tongue, a stony tract;
Slow wings my foot, and wide is the expanse.
Confused are my thoughts; but this is Thy best praise,
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

It is proper for a man of true knowledge to praise God not only in words, but also in deeds, and to endeavour to obtain everlasting happiness, by putting the window of his heart opposite the slit of his pen, and describing some of the wondrous works of the Creator. Perhaps the lustre of royalty may shine upon him, and its light enable him to gather a few drops from the ocean, and a few atoms from the endless field of God's works. He will thus obtain everlasting felicity and render fertile the dreary expanse of words and deeds.

I, Abū 'l-Faẓl, son of Mubārak, return thanksgiving to God by singing the praises of royalty, and by stringing its kingly pearls upon the thread of description; but it is not my intention to make mankind, for the first time, acquainted with the glorious deeds and excellent virtues of that remarkable man,[1] who clothes our wonderful world in new colours, and is an ornament to God's noble creation. It would be absurd on my part to speak about that which is known; I should make myself the butt of the learned. It is only my personal knowledge of him, a priceless jewel, which I send to the market place of the world, and my heart feels proud of being engaged in such an undertaking. But it could not have been from self-laudation that I have taken upon myself to carry out so great a task—a work which even heavenly beings would find beset with difficulties; for such a motive would expose my inability and shortsightedness. My sole object in writing this work was, first, to impart to all that take an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does

[1] Akbar.

over the field of knowledge; and, secondly to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have, of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word Pādishāh shows this; for *pād* signifies stability and possession, and *shāh* means origin, lord. A king is, therefore, the origin of stability and possession. If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction; the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude. *Shāh* is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like *shāh-suwār*, *shāh-rāh*; it is also a term applied to a bridegroom — the world, as the bride, betrothes herself to the King, and becomes his worshipper.

Silly and shortsighted men cannot distinguish a *true* king from a *selfish* ruler. Nor is this remarkable, as both have in common a large treasury, a numerous army, clever servants, obedient subjects, an abundance of wise men, a multitude of skilful workmen, and a superfluity of means of enjoyment. But men of deeper insight remark a difference. In the case of the former, the things just now enumerated are lasting; but in that of the latter, of short duration. The former does not attach himself to these things, as his object is to remove oppression and provide for everything which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, etc., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by

vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence, everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe,[1] the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i īzidī* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyān khura* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission. Again, many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light. 1. *A paternal love towards the subjects.* Thousands find rest in the love of the King; and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the King will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly. 2. *A large heart.* The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him; nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it. The wishes of great and small are attended to, and their claims meet with no delay at his hands. 3. *A daily increasing trust in God.* When he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it (and himself as the medium), so that a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. 4. *Prayer and devotion.* The success of his plans will not lead him to neglect; nor will adversity cause him to forget God, and madly trust in man. He puts the reins of desire into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden down by restlessness, nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. He makes wrath, the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand, and inconsiderateness overstep the proper limits. He sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return without exposing their bad deeds to the public gaze. When he sits in judgment, the petitioner seems to be the judge, and he himself, on account of his mildness, the suitor for justice. He does not permit petitioners to be delayed on the path of hope; he endeavours to promote the happiness of the creatures in obedience to the will of the Creator, and never seeks to please the people in contradiction to reason. He is for ever searching

[1] Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate [illegible] of li[illegible] [illegible] is form of [illegible]

after those who speak the truth, and is not displeased with words that seem bitter, but are in reality sweet. He considers the nature of the words and the rank of the speaker. He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm.

He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. And in the same manner that the equilibrium of the animal constitution depends upon an equal mixture of the elements,[1] so also does the political constitution become well tempered by a proper division of ranks; and by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body.

The people of the world may be divided into four classes.[2]— 1. *Warriors*, who in the political body have the nature of fire. Their flames, directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances. 2. *Artificers and merchants*, who hold the place of air. From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose-tree of life. 3. *The learned*, such as the philosopher, the physician, the arithmetician, the geometrician, the astronomer, who resemble water. From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness. 4. *Husbandmen* and *labourers*, who may be compared to earth. By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection, and strength and happiness flow from their work.

It is therefore obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish.

And as the grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men, so does royalty receive its final tint from a similar fourfold division.

1. *The nobles of the state*, who in reliance on their position lead everything to a happy issue. Illuminating the battle-field with the halo of devotedness, they make no account of their lives. These fortunate

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[1] Thus, according to the medical theories of the middle ages.

[2] This passage resembles one in Firdausi's Shāhnāma, in the chapter entitled *dar dāstān-i Jamshīd*; *vide* also Vuller's *Persian Dictionary*, ii, 756, s. *kātūzī*. It is also found in the *Akhlāq i Muhsini*, chapter xv, *dar 'adl* in the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, and the *Akhlāq i Nāṣirī*, the oldest of the three Akhlāqs mentioned.

courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes. At the head of this class is the *Vakīl*, who from his having attained by his wisdom the four degrees of perfection,[1] is the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm. Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight. It requires therefore an experienced man who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single-minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well-bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties. He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect from the desire of attaching to himself the hearts of all. He takes care not to commit improprieties in conversation, and guards himself from bad actions. Although the financial offices are not under his immediate superintendence, yet he received the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The Mīr māl,[2] the Keeper of the seal, the Mīr-bakhshī,[3] the Bār-begī,[4] the Qurbegī,[5] the Mīr-tozak,[6] the Mīr-bahrī,[7] the Mīr-barr,[8] the Mīr-Manzil,[9] the Khwānsālār,[10] the Munshī,[11] the Qūsh-begī,[12] the Akhta-begī,[13] belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

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[1] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things—*jān* (life), *māl* (property), *dīn* (religion), *namūs* (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (*pīr*)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to show this devotedness, and then belonged to the *dīn-i ilāhī*, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.

[2] Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's private purse.

[3] Paymaster of the Court.

[4] An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, etc. He is also called *Mīr ʿArẓ*.

[5] Bearer of the Imperial insignia.

[6] Master of Ceremonies.

[7] Harbour Master General and Admiral.

[8] Superintendent of the Imperial Forests.

[9] Quarter Master General of the Court. Akbar's court was frequently travelling.

[10] Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen.

[11] Private Secretary.

[12] Superintendent of the aviaries (falcons, pigeons). [Head of the Mews.—P.]

[13] Superintendent of the Stud.

2. *The assistants of victory*, the collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure, who in the administration resemble wind, at times a heart-rejoicing breeze, at other times a hot, pestilential blast. The head of this division is the *Vizier*, also called *Dīwān*. He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world. He must be a member of the *Divine Faith*, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, circumspect, warm-hearted, abstinent, active in business, pleasing in his style, clear in his writings, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work. He is in reality a book-keeper. He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the *Mustawfī* [1]; and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the *Vakīl*. The Mustawfī, the Sāḥib-i Tawjī,[2] the Awārja Nawīs,[3] the Mīr-Sāmān,[4] the Nāẓir-i Buyūtāt,[5] the Dīwān-i Buyūtāt,[6] the Mushrif,[7] of the Treasury; the Wāqiʿa Nawīs,[8] the ʿĀmil [9] of the domains, are under his orders, and act by the force of his wisdom.

Some princes consider the office of the Vizier as a part of that of the *Vakīl*, and are anxious to find in their realm a man who possesses the excellent qualities of these two pillars of the edifice of the State. But as they are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a Vakīl, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as *Mushrif-i Dīwān*, which office is higher in rank than that of the Diwān, but lower than that of the Vakīl.

3. *The companions of the king*, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharpsightedness, their knowledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address. Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue. Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

[1] Deputy Diwān.
[2] The Accountant of the Army.
[3] The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.
[4] The officer in charge of the Court furniture, stores, etc.
[5] Superintendent of the Imperial workshops
[6] The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.
[7] Clerk.
[8] The Recorder.
[9] Collector.

wisdom; whence they resemble water in the affairs of the body political. When they are of a mild temperament, they remove the dust of affliction from the hearts of men, and bestow freshness upon the meadow of the nation; but if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamity, so that numbers are driven by the flood of misfortunes into the current of utter extinction.

At the head of this class stands the philosopher, who with the assistance of his wisdom and example purifies the morals of the nation, and girds himself with the noble aim of putting the welfare of mankind upon a sound basis. The Ṣadr,[1] the Mīr-ʿAdl, the Qāẓī,[2] the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

4. *The servants* who at court perform the duties about the king. They occupy in the system of the State the position of earth. As such, they lie on the high road of submission, and in dust before the majesty of the king. If free from chaff and dross, they are like an elixir for the body; otherwise they are dust and dirt upon the face of success. The table servant, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of the *sharbat* and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class.

If the king be waited on by servants to whom good fortune has given excellent qualities, there arises sometimes a harmony, which is like a nosegay from the flower-bed of auspiciousness.

Just as the welfare of the whole world depends upon the successful working of the above-mentioned four classes, as settled by kings, so does the body politic depend upon the proper formation of the latter four divisions.

The sages of antiquity mention the following four persons as the chief supports of the State:—1. *An upright collector*, who protects the husbandman, watches over the subjects, develops the country, and improves the revenues. 2. *A conscientious commander* of the army, active and strict. 3. *A chief justice*, free from avarice and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight and obtains his ends by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths. 4. *An intelligencer*, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration.

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[1] Also called *Ṣadr-i Jahān*, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire.

[2] The Qāẓī hears the case; the Mīr ʿAdl passes the sentence.

It is moreover incumbent on a just king to make himself acquainted with the characters of the following five kinds[1] of men of whom the world is composed, and act accordingly. 1. The most commendable person is *the sagacious man* who prudently does that which is proper and absolutely necessary. The fountain of his virtues does not only run along his channel, but renders verdant the fields of other men. Such a one is the fittest person for a king to consult in State affairs. After him comes, secondly, *the man of good intentions*. The river of his virtues does not flow over its bed, and does not therefore become an irrigating source for others. Although it may be proper to show him kindness and respect, yet he does not merit so high a degree of confidence. Inferior to him is, thirdly, *the simple man*, who does not wear the badge of excellence upon the sleeve of his action, yet keeps the hem of his garment free from the dust of wicked deeds. He does not deserve any distinction; but ought to be allowed to live at his ease. Worse than he is, fourthly, *the inconsiderate man*, who fills his house with furniture for his own mischief, without, however, doing harm to others. Him the king should keep in the hot place of disappointment, and bring him into the road of virtue by good advice and severe reprehension. The last of all is *the vicious man*, whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief. If the remedies employed in the case of men of the preceding class, do not amend him, the king should consider him as a leper, and confine him separate from mankind; and provided this harsh treatment does not awaken him from his sleep of error, he should feel the torture of grief, and be banished from his dwelling; and if this remedy produce no effect either, he should be driven out of the kingdom to wander in the wilderness of disappointment; and if even this should not improve his vicious nature, he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose his sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence; for inquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction.

It is therefore necessary for just kings, to make themselves first acquainted with the rank and character of men, by the light of insight and penetration, and then to regulate business accordingly. And hence it is that the sages of ancient times have said that princes who wear the

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[1] The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the *Akhlāq-i Muhsini*, Chapter XXXII, entitled *dar siyāsat*.

jewel of wisdom do not appoint every low man to their service; that they do not consider every one who has been appointed, to be deserving of daily admittance; that those who are thus favoured, are not therefore deemed worthy to sit with them on the carpet of intercourse; that those who are worthy of this station, are not necessarily admitted to the pavilion of familiar address. that those who have this privilege, are not therefore allowed to sit in the august assembly; that those upon whom this ray of good fortune falls, are not therefore let into their secrets; and that those who enjoy the happiness of this station, are not therefore fit for admission into the Cabinet Council.

Praise be to God, the Giver of every good gift! The exalted monarch of our time is so endowed with these laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to call him their *exordium*. From the light of his wisdom, he discerns the worth of men, and kindles the lamp of their energy; whilst ever clear to himself, and without an effort, he adorns his wisdom with the beauty of practice. Who can measure, by the rules of speech, his power as a spiritual leader, and his works in the wide field of holiness [1]; and even if it were possible to give a description of it, who would be able to hear and comprehend it? The best thing I can do is to abstain from such an attempt, and to confine myself to the description of such of his wonderful doings as illustrate the worldly side of his nature, and his greatness as a king. I shall speak:—

First, of his regulations concerning *the household*; *secondly*, of the regulations concerning *the army*: *thirdly*, of the regulations concerning *the empire*, as these three contain the whole duty of a king. In doing so, I shall leave practical inquirers a present, which may seem difficult to understand, but which is easy; or rather, which may seem easy, but is in reality difficult.

Experienced men who are acquainted with the art of governing, and versed in the history of the past, cannot comprehend how monarchs have hitherto governed, without these wise regulations and how the garden of royalty could have been fresh and verdant, without being irrigated by this fountain of wisdom.

This sublime volume then, is arranged under three heads; it enables me, in some measure, to express my feelings of gratitude for favours received.

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[1] Akbar as the spiritual leader of the members belonging to the Divine Faith wrought many miracles, of which some are related in the seventy seventh Áín of this book.

Remark by the Author.—As I had sometimes to use Hindī words, I have carefully described the consonants and vowels. Inquirers will therefore have no difficulty in reading; nor will any confusion arise from mistakes in copying. Letters like *alif*, *lām* and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as *manqūṭa*, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the *p* in *padid*, the *che* in *chaman*, the *gāf* in *nigār*, the *zh* in *muzhda*. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the phrase *having three points*. Letters peculiar to the Hindī language I have distinguished as *Hindī*. The letter *yī* as in *rūy*, I have called *taḥtānī*, and the *te*, as in *dast*, *fawqānī*. The *b* in *adab*, I have merely called *be*. Similarly, the letters *nūn*, *wāw*, *yā*, and *he*, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as *nūn*, *wāw*, etc. The nasal *nūn* I have called *nūn-i khafī*, or *nūn-i pinhān*. The final and silent *h*, as in *farkhunda*, I have called *maktūb*, i.e. written, but not pronounced. The *i* and *u*, when modified to *e* or *o* I have called *majhūl*. As consonants followed by an *alif* have the vowel *a*, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.

BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Áʾín 1.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

He is a man of high understanding and noble aspirations who, without the help of others, recognizes a ray of the Divine power in the smallest things of the world; who shapes his inward and outward character accordingly, and shows due respect to himself and to others. He who does not possess these qualifications, ought not to engage in the struggle of the world, but observe a peaceable conduct. If the former be given to retirement, he will cultivate noble virtues; and if his position be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distressing cares.

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiæ of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship.[1]

If he cannot perform everything himself, he ought to select, guided by insight, and practical wisdom, one or two men of sagacity and understanding, of liberal views in religious matters, possessing diligence and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by their advice.

The wise esteem him not a king who confines his attention to great matters only, although some impartial judges excuse a king that does so, because avaricious sycophants who endeavour by cunning to obtain the position of the virtuous, often remind him of the difference of ranks, and succeed in lulling asleep such kings as are fond of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the revenues of the country, and to promote their own interests. But good princes make no difference between great and small matters; they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to come, on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department which, although former monarchs

[1] A phrase which Akbar often used

have thought it derogatory to their greatness, is yet the first step towards the establishment of a good government. For every branch he has made proper regulations, and he sees in the performance of his duty a means of obtaining God's favour.

The success of this vast undertaking depends upon two things: *first*, wisdom and insight, to call into existence suitable regulations; *secondly*, a watchful eye, to see them carried out by men of integrity and diligence.

Although many servants of the household receive their salaries on the list of the army, there was paid for the household in the thirty-ninth year of the Divine era, the sum of 309,186,795 *dāms*.[1] The expenses of this account, as also the revenues, are daily increasing. There are more than one hundred offices and workshops each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom; and by the unremitting attention of his Majesty, they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing, their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.

Some of the regulations I shall transmit, as a present, to future enquirers, and thus kindle in others the lamp of wisdom and energy.

As regards those regulations which are of a general nature, and which from their subject matter belong to each of the three divisions of the work, I have put them among the regulations of the Household.

Āʾīn 2.

THE IMPERIAL TREASURIES.

Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this is again connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men. If some say that to collect wealth, and to ask for more

[1] Or, 7,729,669¾ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 *dāms*. The Divine era, or *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī*, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February, 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1595.

than is absolutely necessary, is *looked upon as contemptible by people* given to retirement and seclusion, whilst the opposite is the case with the inhabitants of the towns, who live in a dependent position, I would answer that it is after all only shortsighted men who make this assertion; for in reality both classes of men try to obtain that which they think necessary. Poor, but abstemious people take a sufficient quantity of food and raiment, so as to keep up the strength necessary for the pursuit of their enquiries, and to protect them against the influence of the weather; whilst the other class think to have just sufficient, when they fill their treasuries, gather armies, and reflect on other means of increasing their power.

It was from such views, when lifting the veil and beginning to pay attention to these weighty concerns, that his Majesty entrusted his inmost secrets to the *Khwāja-sarā Iʿtimād Khān*,[1] a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the *Khwāja*, the reflections of his Majesty took a practical turn, widened by degrees, and shone at last forth in excellent regulations. An enquiry regarding the income of the different kinds of land was set on foot, and successfully concluded by the wisdom of upright and experienced men. With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between friends and strangers, the lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer were separated from the Jāgīr lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *karor* of *dāms*. Incorruptible *bitakchīs*[2] were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each. And from kindness and care for the agricultural classes, it was commanded that the collectors should not insist upon the husbandman paying coin in full weight, but to give him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This laudable regulation removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and

[1] *Iʿtimād* means *trustworthiness*. *Khwāja-sarā* is the title of the chief eunuch. His real name was Phūl Malik. After serving *Salīm Shāh* (1545 to 1553), who bestowed upon him the title of *Muḥammad Khān*, he entered Akbar's service. Akbar, after the death of Shamsu 'd-Dīn Muhammad Atgah Khān, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed Iʿtimād Khān, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (*vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of Akbar's grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of *Iʿtimād Khān*. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar's satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mīrān Mubārak, king of Khāndesh (1535 to 1566), to Akbar's harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1576, appointed governor of Bhakkar. When in 1578 Akbar's presence was required in the Panjāb, Iʿtimād Khān desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness. This led to a conspiracy against his life. In the same year he was murdered by a man named Maqṣūd ʿAlī. *Maʾāṡiru 'l-Umarāʾ*.

[2] Writers.

relieved the subjects from a variety of oppressions, whilst the income became larger, and the state flourished. The fountain of the revenues having thus been purified, a zealous and honest man was selected for the general treasurership, and a *dārogha* and a clerk were appointed to assist him. Vigilance was established, and a standard laid down for this department.

Whenever a (provincial) treasurer had collected the sum of two lakhs of *dāms*, he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum.

A separate treasurer was appointed for the *peshkash* [1] receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for *nazr* receipts,[2] and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person,[3] and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, *dāroghas* and clerks were appointed. The sums required for the annual expenditure, are paid at the General Treasury to each cashkeeper of the disbursements, and correct receipts granted for them. A proper system of accounts having thus been inaugurated, the empire began to flourish. In a short time the treasuries were full, the army was augmented, and refractory rebels led to the path of obedience.

In *Irān* and *Tūrān*, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state; but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasurers are necessary for storing the money, nine for the different kinds of cash-payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery. The extent of the treasuries is too great to admit of my giving a proper description with other matters before me. From his knowledge of the work, and as a reward for labour, his Majesty very often expresses his satisfaction, or conveys reprimands; hence everything is in a flourishing condition.

Separate treasurers were also appointed for each of the Imperial workshops the number of which is nearly one hundred. Daily, monthly, quarterly, and yearly accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements, so that in this branch also the market-place of the world is in a flourishing condition.

Again by the order of his Majesty a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall, some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover, a *karoṛ* of *dāms* is kept in readiness within the palace, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called in Hindi *sahsah*,[4]

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[1] Tributes.

[2] Presents, vows, etc.

[3] *Vide* the eighteenth *Āʾīn* of the second book.

[[4] *Sahasa* S.—P.]

and many of them, when put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse*.[1] This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj-i bahlah*.

All these benefits flow from the wonderful liberality of his Majesty, and from his unremitting care for the subjects of the empire. Would to God that he might live a thousand years!

Āʾīn 3.

THE TREASURY FOR PRECIOUS STONES.

If I were to speak about the quantity and quality of the stones it would take me an age. I shall therefore give a few particulars, "gathering an ear from every sheaf."

His Majesty appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous *dārogha*, and also skilful jewellers. The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion.

Rubies. 1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhrs in value, 2nd class from 999 to 500 muhrs; 3rd class, from 499 to 300; 4th class, from 299 to 200; 5th class from 199 to 100; 6th class, from 99 to 60; 7th class, from 59 to 40; 8th class, from 39 to 30; 9th class, from 29 to 10; 10th class, from 9¾ to 5, 11th class, from 4¾ to 1 mühr. 12th class, from ¾ muhr to ¼ rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

Diamonds, emeralds, and the *red* and *blue yāqūts*, were classified as follows. 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards; 2nd class, from 29¾ to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12. 4th class, from 11¾ to 10, 5th class, from 9¾ to 7; 6th class, from 6¾ to 5; 7th class, from 4¾ to 3; 8th class, from 2¾ to 2; 9th class, from 1¾ to 1 muhr; 10th class, from 8¾ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4¾ to 2 rupees, 12th class, from 1¾ to ¼ rupoe.

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29¾ to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12; 4th class, from 11¾ to 10 5th class, from 9¾ to 7; 6th class, from 6¾ to 5; 7th class, from 4¾ to 3; 8th class, from 2¾ to 2; 9th class,

[1] A *purse* in Hindi is called *bahla*. [*Bahla*, P. a purse, a falconer's glove.—P.]

from 1¾ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhr, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5, to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to 1¼ rupees; 13th class, less than 1¼ rupees, to 30 *dāms*; 14th class, less than 30 *dāms*, to 20 *dāms*; 15th class, less than 20 *dāms*, to 10 *dāms*; 16th class, less than 10 *dāms*, to 5 *dāms*. The pearls are strung upon a number of strings indicating their class, so that those of the 16th class are strung upon 16 strings. At the end of each bundle of strings the imperial seal is affixed, to avoid losses arising from unsorting, whilst a description is attached to each pearl, to prevent disorder.

The following are the charges for boring pearls, independent of the daily and monthly wages of the workmen. For a pearl of the 1st class, ¼ rupee; 2nd class, ⅛; 3rd class, $\frac{1}{10}$ rupee; 4th class, 3 *dāms*; 5th class, 1 *sūkī*[1]; 6th class, 1 *dām*; 7th class, ¾ *dām*; 8th class, ½ *dām*; 9th class, ¼ *dām*; 10th class, ⅕ *dām*; 11th class, ⅙ *dām*; 12th class, ⅐ *dām*; 13th class, ⅛ *dām*; 14th class, ⅑ *dām*; 15th class, $\frac{1}{10}$ *dām*; 16th class, $\frac{1}{11}$ *dām*, and less.

The value of jewels is so well known that it is useless to say anything about it; but those which are at present in the treasury of his Majesty may be detailed as follows:—

Rubies weighing 11 *tānks*,[2] 20 *surkhs*,[3] and diamonds of 5¼ *tānks*,[4] 4 *surkhs*, each one lākh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17¾ *tānks*, 3 *surkhs*, 52,000 rupees; *yāqūts* of 4 *tānks*, 7¾ *surkhs*, and pearls of 5 *tānks*, each 50,000 rupees.

Āʾīn 4.

THE IMPERIAL MINT.

As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details.

The inhabitants of the towns and the country perform their transactions by means of money. Every man uses it according to the extent of his necessities; the man whose heart is free from worldly desires

[1] [*Sūkī* s m. and *sūkī* f. H., a four-anna bit.]

[2] [*Tāk* H. = 4 *māshā*.—P.]

[3] *Surkh* means *red*; also, *a little seed with a black dot on it*, called in Hind. *ghungchī*, Abrus precatorius. The Persians called it *chashm-i khurūs*, cock's eye. The seeds are often used for children's bracelets. Abū 'l-Fazl means here the weight called in Hind. *ratī*, vulg. *ratti*. 8 *surkhs*, or 8 *ratis* = 1 *māshā*; 12 *māshās* = 1 *tolā*, and 80 *tolās* = 1 *ser*. A *tānk* is valued at 4 *māshās*; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth *Āʾīn*, Abū 'l-Fazl states that the weight of 1 *dām* was 5 *tānks*, or 1 *tolā*, 8 *māshās*, 7 *surkhs*; i.e., 1 *tānk* = $\frac{167}{40}$ *māshās* = 4 *māshās*, 1 *surkh*.

[4] Text 4¾ *tānks*.

sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation, from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, rearing, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc.; but these actions cannot well be performed without several helpers; for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to do so day after day would be difficult, if not impossible. Again, man requires a dwelling, for keeping his provisions. This he calls his *home*, whether it be a tent, or a cave. Man's existence, and the continuance of his life, depend on five things—a father, a mother, children, servants, food, the last of which is required by all. Moreover, money is required, as our furniture and utensils break; they last in no case very long. But money does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and even a little of it may produce much. It also enables men to travel. How difficult would it be to carry provisions for several days, let alone for several months or years!

By the help of God's goodness this excellent precious metal (gold) has come to the shore of existence, and filled the store of life without much labour on the part of man. By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs Divine worship in a proper manner. Gold has many valuable qualities: it possesses softness, a good taste, and smell. Its component parts are nearly equal in weight;[1] and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground, whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man's intellect is termed *the greater principle*, gold is called *the lesser principle*,[2] as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention "the guardian of justice"; "the universal adjuster"—and, indeed, the adjustment of things depends on gold,

[1] According to the chemists of the middle ages, gold consists of quicksilver and sulphur taken in equal proportions; the latter must, however, possess colouring properties. *Vide* the thirteenth *Áin*.

[2] "Were it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say, 'Hallowed be thy name!'"—*Hariri*.

and the basis of justice rests upon it. To render it service, God has allowed silver and brass to come into use, thus creating additional means for the welfare of man. Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals, and erected mints, where their properties may be thoroughly studied. The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous, and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness.

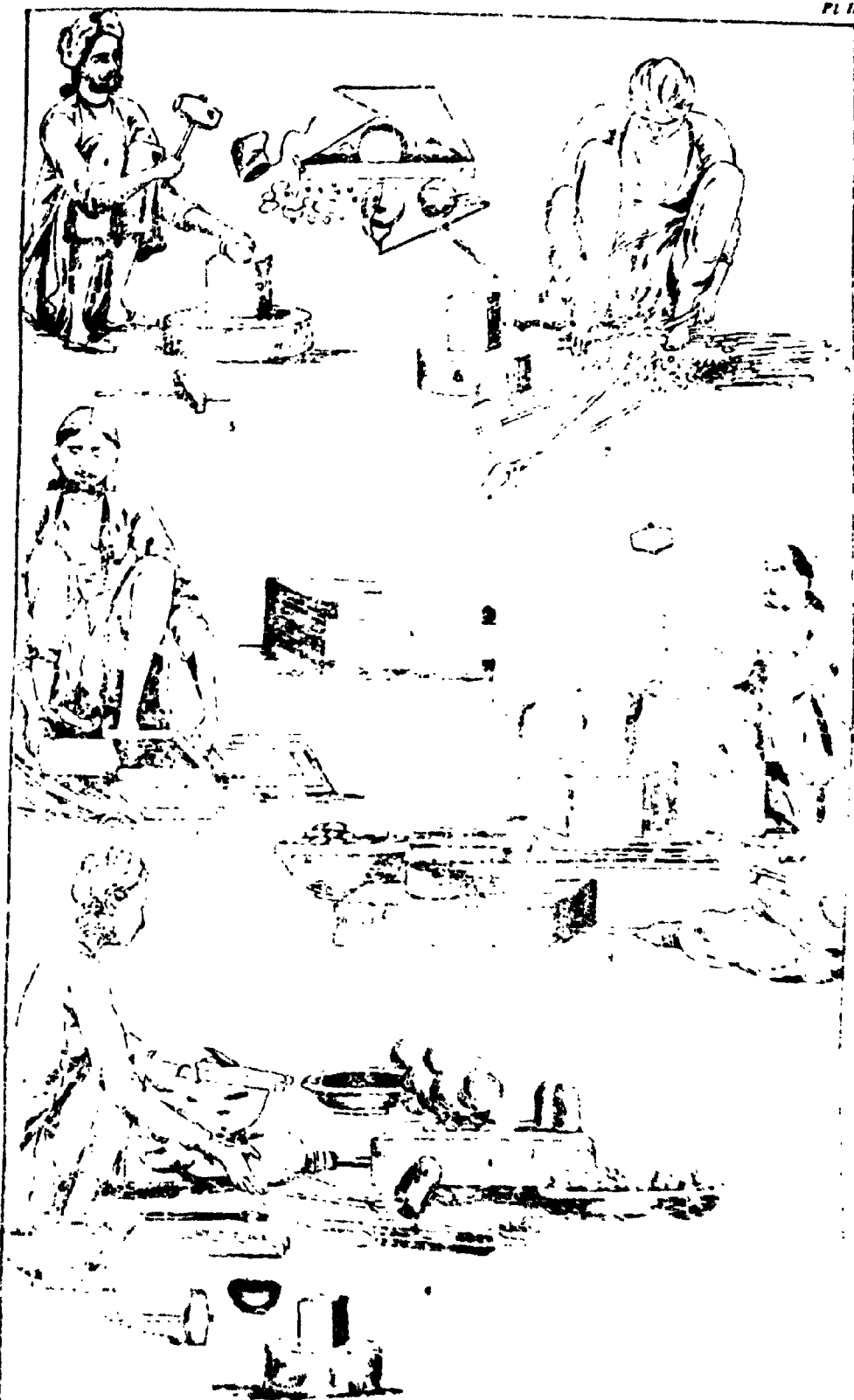
Āʾīn 5.

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT

1. The *Dārogha*. He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the cumbrous burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep every one to his work, and show zeal and integrity.

2. The *Sayrafī*.[1] The success of this important department depends upon his experience, as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins. On account of the prosperity of the present age, there are now numbers of skilful *ṣarrāfs*,[1] and by the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahī*, but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness; whilst in India it it called *bārahbānī*, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold *dīnār* of ʿAlāʾ ʾd-Dīn,[2] which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time, and referred it to witchcraft and alchemy; for they maintain, that gold ore does not come up to this fineness. But by the attention of his Majesty, it has come up to this degree, hence the astonishment of people acquainted with this branch. It is, however, certain, that gold cannot be made finer, and of a higher degree. Honest describers and truthful travellers have indeed never mentioned this degree, but, when gold is put into fusion, small particles separate from it, and mix with the ashes, which ignorant men look upon as useless dross, whilst the skilful recover the metal from it. Although malleable gold ore be calcined and reduced to ashes, yet by a

[1] The same as *Sayraf* or *Sarrāf*; hence a *shroff*, a money lender.
[[2] علائی دینار گرد خورد علائی P.]

certain operation, it is brought back to its original state; but a part of it is lost. Through the wisdom of his Majesty, the real circumstances connected with this loss, were brought to light, and the fraudulent practices of the workmen thus put to the test.

*Á*ʾ*ín* 6.

BANWÁRÍ.[1]

An abbreviation for *bānwārī*. Although in this country clever ṣayrafis are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the brightness of the metal, the following admirable rule has been introduced for the satisfaction of others.

To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written on them. When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the needles. By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of fineness of the gold. It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception.

To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of fineness. This is obtained as follows. They melt together one *māsha* of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 *māshas* of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one *māsha*[2] is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a *surkh* each. If now 7½ *surkhs* of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10¼ *bān*.[3] Similarly, 7 *surkhs* pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 *bān*; 6½ *s.* pure gold and three parts composition, 9¾ *bān*; 6 *s.* gold and four parts composition, 9½ *bān*; 5½ *s.* gold and five parts composition, 9¼ *bān*; 5 *s.* gold and six parts composition, 9 *bān*; 4½ *s.* gold and seven parts composition, 8¾ *bān*; 4 *s.* gold and eight parts composition, 8½ *bān*; 3½ *s.* gold and nine parts composition, 8¼ *bān*; 3 *s.* gold and ten parts composition, 8 *bān*; 2½ *s.* gold and eleven parts composition, 7¾ *bān*; 2 *s.* gold and twelve parts composition, 7½ *bān*; 1½ *s.* gold and thirteen parts composition, 7¼ *bān*; 1 *s.* gold and fourteen parts composition, 7 *bān*; and

[1] This Hindí word, which is not given in the dictionaries, means the *test* [illegible]

[2] This *māsha* contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, *i.e.*, ¾ gold and ¼ alloy.

[3] The Hindí term *bān* means "temper, degree."

lastly, ½ *s.* gold and fifteen parts composition, 6¾ *bān*. Or *generally*, every additional half *surkh* (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness of the gold by a quarter *bān*, the touch of the composition itself being 6½ *bān*.

If it be required to have a degree less than 6½ *bān*, they mix together ½ *surkh* of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ *surkhs* of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper, and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6¼ *bān*; and if 1 *surkh* of the first mixture be melted together with 7 *surkhs* of the second composition, the result will be 6 *bān*; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half *surkhs*. But in the *Banwārī*, they reckon to 6 *bāns* only, rejecting all baser compositions.

All this is performed by a man who understands the tests.

3. *The Amīn*. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the *dārogha* and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

4. The *Mushrif*. He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright and practical manner, and keeps a systematic day-book.

5. *The Merchant*. He buys up gold, silver, and copper, by which he gains a profit for himself, assists the department, and benefits the revenues of the State. Trade will flourish, when justice is everywhere to be had, and when rulers are not avaricious.

6. *The Treasurer*. He watches over the profits, and is upright in all his dealings.

The salaries of the first four and the sixth officers differ from each other, the lowest of them holding the rank of an *Aḥadī*.[1]

7. *The Weighman*. He weighs the coins. For weighing 100 *jalālī* gold-muhrs he gets 1¾ *dāms*; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6½ ⅝ *dāms*; and for weighing 1000 copper *dāms*, ½ ⅛ of a *dām*; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. *The Melter of the Ore*. He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay, which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots. In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes. For the above-

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[1] The *Aḥadīs* corresponds to our *warrant officers*. Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps. They were called *Aḥadīs*, or *single men*, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word *Aḥadī*, the *ḥ* of which is the Arabic ح, was spelt in official returns with the Persian *ه*. So deep-rooted, says Badáonī, was Akbar's hatred for everything which was Arabic. [This word has come to mean in Urdu, lazy, indolent.—P.]

mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{3}{8}$ *dāms*; for the same quantity of silver, 5 *dāms* and $13\frac{1}{4}$ *jetals*;[1] for the same quantity of copper, 4 *dāms* and $21\frac{1}{4}$ *jetals*.

9. *The Platemaker*. He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven *māshas* each, six fingers in length and breadth; these he carries to the assay master, who measures them in a mould made of copper, and stamps such as are suitable, in order to prevent alterations and to show the work done. He receives as wages for the above-mentioned quantity of gold, $42\frac{1}{3}$ dāms.

Āʾīn 7.

THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the above-mentioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 *jalālī* gold muhrs, must furnish[2] four sers of saltpetre, and four sers of brickdust of raw bricks. The plates, after having been washed in clean water, are stratified with the above mixture (of the saltpetre and brickdust), and put one above the other, the whole being covered with cowdung, which in Hindi is called *upla*. It is the dry dung of the *Wild*[3] *Cow*. Then they set fire to it, and let it gently burn, till the dung is reduced to ashes, when they leave it to cool; then, these ashes being removed from the sides, are preserved. They are called in Persian *khāk-i khāliṣ*, and in Hindi *salonī*. By a process, to be mentioned hereafter, they recover silver from it. The plates, and the ashes below them, are left as they are. This process of setting fire to the dung, and removing the ashes at the sides, is twice repeated. When three fires have been applied, they call the plates *sitāʾī*. They are then again washed in clean water, and stratified three times with the above mixture, the ashes of the sides being removed.

This operation must be repeated till six mixtures and eighteen fires have been applied, when the plates are again washed. Then the assay master breaks one of them; and if there comes out a soft and mild sound, it is a sign of its being sufficiently pure; but if the sound is harsh, the plates must undergo three more fires. Then from each of the plates one *māsha* is taken away, of which aggregate a plate is made. This is tried on the touchstone; if it is not sufficiently fine, the gold has again to pass through one or two fires. In most cases, however, the desired effect is obtained by three or four fires.

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[1] Twenty-five *jetals* make one *dām*. *Vide* the 10th *Āʾīn*.

[[2] Use.—P.]

[[3] *Ṣaḥrāʾī*. This probably means *jenglī*; i.e., "not stalled or stall-fed."—P.]

The following method of assaying is also used. They take two *tolās* of pure gold, and two *tolās* of the gold which passed through the fire, and make twenty plates of each, of equal weight. They then spread the above mixture, apply the fire, wash them, and weigh them with an exact balance. If both kinds are found to be equal in weight, it is a proof of pureness.

10. *The Melter of the refined metal.* He melts the refined plates of gold, and casts them, as described above, into ingots. His fee for 100 gold *muhrs* is three *dāms.*

11. The *Ẓarrāb.* He cuts off the gold, silver and copper ingots, as exactly as he can, round pieces of the size of coined money. His fees are, for 100 gold *muhrs*, 21 *dāms*, 1¼ *jetals*; for the weight of 1000 rupees, 53 *dāms*, 8¾ *jetals*, if he cuts rupees; and 28 *dāms* in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper *dāms* his fee is 20 *dāms*; for the same weight of half and quarter *dāms*, 25 *dāms*; and for half-quarter *dāms*, which are called *damrīs*, 69 *dāms.*

In Īrān and Tūrān they cannot cut these pieces without a proper anvil; but Hindustani workmen cut them without such an instrument, so exactly, that there is not the difference of a single hair, which is remarkable enough.

12. *The Engraver.* He engraves the dies of the coins on steel, and such like metals. Coins are then stamped with these dies. At this day, Mawlā-nā ʿAlī Aḥmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as to equal the copyslips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yūzbāshī*;[1] and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 *dāms.*

13. The *Sikkachī.* He places the round pieces of metal between two dies; and by the strength of the hammerer (*putkachī*) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 gold *muhrs*, 1⅛ *dāms*; for 1000 rupees, 5 *dāms*, 9½ *jetals*; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 *dām*. 3 *jetals* in addition; for 1000 copper *dāms*, 3 *dāms*; for 2000 half-*dāms*, and 4000 quarter-*dāms*, 3 *dāms*, 18¾ *jetals*; and for 8000 half-quarter *dāms*, 10½ *dāms.* Out of these fees the *sikkachī* has to give one sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The *Sabbāk* makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 51 *dāms.*

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[1] This Turkish word signifies a *commander of one hundred men*, a captain. *Aḥadīs* of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a Yūzbāshī varied from five to seven hundred rupees *per mensem*; *vide* the third Āʾīn of the second book.

The discovery of an alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Īrān and Tūrān, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dahdahī*; in Hindustān, the *ṣayrafīs* use for it the term *bīst biswa*. According to the quantity of the alloy, it descends in degree; but it is not made less than five, and no one would care for silver baser than ten degrees. Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound, which of the alloys is prevailing, whilst by filing and boring it, the quality of the inside is ascertained. They also try it by beating it when hot, and then throwing it into water, when blackness denotes lead, redness copper, a white greyish colour tin, and whiteness a large proportion of silver.

THE METHOD OF REFINING SILVER.

They dig a hole, and having sprinkled into it a small quantity of wild [1] cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of *mughīlān* [2] wood; then they moisten it, and work it up into the shape of a dish; into this they put the adulterated silver, together with a proportionate quantity of lead. First, they put a fourth part of the lead on the top of the silver, and having surrounded the whole with coals, blow the fire with a pair of bellows, till the metals are melted, which operation is generally repeated four times. The proofs of the metal being pure are a lightning-like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides. As soon as it is hardened in the middle, they sprinkle it with water, when flames resembling in shape the horns of wild goats, issue from it. It then forms itself into a disc, and is perfectly refined. If this disc be melted again, half a *surkh* in every *tola* will burn away, *i.e.*, 6 *māshas* and 2 *surkhs* in 100 *tolas*. The ashes of the disc, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindī *kharal*, and in Persian *kuhna* [3]; the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the *Ẓarrāb*, 5 *māshas* and 5 *surkhs* are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred *tolās* of it: after which the assay master marks the mass with the usual stamp, that it may not be altered or exchanged.

In former times silver also was assayed by the *banwārī* system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 *tolas*, of *shāhī* silver, which is current in ʿIrāq and Khurāsān, and of the *lārī* and *misqālī*, which are

[[1] See note 1, p. 21.—P.]

[2] Called in Hind. *babūl*, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning. [The *kīkar* of the Panjab.—P.]

[3] Some MSS. have *kutah*

current in Tūrān, there are lost three *tolās* and one *surkh*; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish *narjīl*, and the *maḥmūdī* and *muẓaffarī* of Gujrāt and Mālwa, 13 *tolās* and 6¼ *māshas* are lost, they become then of Imperial standard.

15. The *Qurṣ-kūb* having heated the refined silver, hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead. His fee for the weight of 1000 rupees, is 4½ *dāms*.

16. The *Chāshnīgīr* examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows :—Having made two tolas of the refined gold into eight plates, he applies layers of the mixture as above described, and sets fire to it, keeping out, however, all draught; he then washes the plates, and melts them. If they have not lost anything by this process, the gold is pure. The assay-master then tries it upon the touchstone, to satisfy himself and others. For assaying that quantity, he gets 1⅝ *dāms*. In the case of silver, he takes one tola with a like quantity of lead, which he puts together into a bone crucible, and keeps it on the fire till the lead is all burnt. Having then sprinkled the silver with water, he hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead; and having melted it in a new crucible, he weighs it; and if it has lost in weight three [1] *birinj* (rice grains), it is sufficiently pure; otherwise he melts it again, till it comes to that degree. For assaying that quantity, his fee is 3 *dāms*, 4½ *jetals*.

17. The *Niyāriya* collects the *khāk-i khāliṣ* and washes it, taking two sers at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The *khāk*, when thus washed, is called in Hindī *kukrah*,[2] and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The above-mentioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six *māshas* quicksilver per ser. The quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of *khāk*, the *Niyāriya* receives 20 *dāms*, 2 *jetals*.

The process of Kukrah.

They mix with the *kukrah* an equal quantity of *punhar*, and form a paste of *rasī* (aqua fortis), and cowdung. They then pound the first composition, and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two sers weight, which they dry on a cloth.

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[1] One MS. has *six*.
[[2] Word not traced.—P.]

Punhar is obtained as follows:—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of *Babūl*-wood, at the rate of six fingers height of ashes for every maund of lead. The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed; then they cover it with charcoals, and melt the lead. After that, having removed the coals, they place over it two plates of clay, fixed by means of thorns, and close up the bellows hole, but not the vent. This they keep covered with bricks, till the ashes have thoroughly soaked up the lead. The bricks they frequently remove to learn the state of the lead. For the above-mentioned quantity of lead, there are 4 *māshas* of silver mixed up with the ashes. These ashes they cool in water, when they are called *punhar*. Out of every *man* of lead two *sers* are burnt; but the mass is increased by four *sers* of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one *man* and two *sers*.

Rasī is a kind of acid, made of *ashkhār*[1] and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what *punhar* and *rasī* are, I return to the description of the process of *Kukrah*. They make an oven-like vessel, narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle, one and a half yards in height, with a hole at the bottom. Then having filled the vessel with coals within four fingers of the top, they place it over a pit dug in the earth, and blow the fire with two bellows. After that, the aforementioned balls being broken into pieces, they throw them into the fire and melt them, when the gold, silver, copper and lead fall through the hole in the bottom of the vessel into the pit below. Whatever remains in the vessel, is softened and washed, and the lead separated from it. They likewise collect the ashes, from whence also by a certain process profit may be derived. The metal is then taken out of the pit, and melted according to the *punhar* system. The lead will mix with the ashes, from which thirty sers will be recovered, and ten sers will be burnt. The gold, silver and copper remain together in a mass, and this they call *bugrāwatī*, or according to some, *qubrāwatī*.

The process of Bugrāwatī.

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of *babūl*-wood, half a ser for every 100 tolas of *bugrāwatī*. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the *bugrāwatī*, adding one tola of copper, and twenty-five tolas of lead. They now fill the dish with coals, and cover it with bricks. When the whole has melted, they remove the coals and the

[1] The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. *sajjī*, impure carbonate of soda.

bricks, and make a fire of *babūl*-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called *kharal*, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

Āʾīn 8.

THE METHOD OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD.

They melt this composition six times; three times with copper, and three times with sulphur, called in Hind. *chhāchhiyā*. For every tola of the alloy, they take a *māsha* of copper, and two *māshas*, two *surkhs* of sulphur. First they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 *tolas* weight, the 100 *māshas* of copper are employed as follows:—they first melt fifty *māshas* with it, and then twice again twenty-five *māshas*. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty *māshas* of copper, and melt it in a crucible. They have near at hand a vessel full of cold water, on the surface of which is laid a broom-like bundle of hay. Upon it they pour the melted metal, and prevent it, by stirring it with a stick, from forming into a mass. Then having again melted these bits, after mixing them with the remaining copper in a crucible, they set it to cool in the shade; and for every tola of this mixture two *māshas* and two *surkhs* of sulphur are used, *i.e.*, at the rate of one and one-half quarter *ser* (1⅜ ser) *per* 100 *tolas*. When it has been three times melted in this manner; there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ash, which is silver. This is taken off, and kept separate; and its process shall hereafter be explained. When the mixture of gold and silver has thus been subjected to three fires for the copper, and three for the sulphur, the solid part left is the gold. In the language of the Panjāb, this gold is called *kail*, whilst about Dihlī, it is termed *pinjar*. If the mixture contains much gold, it generally turns out to be of 6½ *bān*, but it is often only five, and even four.

In order to refine this gold, one of the following methods must be used: Either they mix fifty tolas of this with 400 tolas of purer gold, and refine it by the *Salonī* process; or else they use the *Alonī* process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild-cow dung, and one part of saltpetre. Having then cast the aforesaid *pinjar* into ingots, they make it into plates, none of which ought to be lighter than 1½ tolas, but a little broader than those which they make in the *salonī* process. Then having

besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires. This operation they repeat three or four times; and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine *bān*. The ashes are also collected, being a kind of *kharal*.

Āʼīn 9.

THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES.

Whatever ashes and dross have been collected, both before and after the process of *alonī*, they mix with double the quantity of pure lead, put them into a crucible, and keep them for one watch over the fire. When the metal is cold, they refine it as described under the article *Sabbāk*, p. 22. The ashes of it are also *kharal*. The *salonī* process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The *Panīwār* having melted the *kharal*, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tola of silver is 1½ *dāms*. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 *dāms* to the *dīwān*. Having reduced the *kharal* to small bits, he adds to every *man* of it 1½ sers of *tangār* (borax), and three sers of pounded natron,[1] and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, ser by ser, into the vessel above described, and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit. This is afterwards refined by the process of the *sabbāk*, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns *punhar*.

19. The *Paikār* buys the *salonī* and *kharal* from the goldsmiths of the city, and carries them to the mint to be melted, and makes a profit on the gold and silver. For every *man* of *salonī*, he gives 17 *dāms*, and for the same quantity of *kharal* 14 *dāms*, to the exchequer

20. The *Nichoʼī-wāla* brings old copper coins, which are mixed with silver, to be melted; and from 100 tolas of silver, 3¼ rupees go to the *dīwān*; and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty.

21. The *K͟hāk-shoy*. When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described, the *K͟hāk-shoy* sweeps the mint, takes the sweepings to his own house, washes them, and gains a profit. Some of the sweepers carry on a very flourishing trade. The state receives from this man a monthly gift of 12½ rupees.

And in like manner all the officers of the mint pay a monthly duty to the state, at the rate of three *dāms* for every 100 *dāms*.

[[1] In the Persian *ashk͟hār-i kufta*.—P.]

Āʾīn 10.

THE COINS OF THIS GLORIOUS EMPIRE.

As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars.

A. *Gold Coins.*

1. The *sahansah* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *laʿl-i jalālī*-muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, *Aṣ-ṣulṭān*ᵘ *'l-aʿẓam*ᵘ *'l-khāqān*ᵘ *'l-muʿaẓẓ*ᵘ *khallad*ᵃ *Allāh*ᵘ *mulkah*ᵘ *w*ᵃ *ṣulṭāna-h*ᵘ *ẓarb*ᵘ *dār*ⁱ *'l-khilāfat*ⁱ *Āgra*, "the great sulṭan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Āgra." On the field of the reverse is the *beautiful formula*,[1] and the following verse of the Qurʾān[2]: *Allāh*ᵘ *yazraq*ᵘ *man yashāʾ*ᵘ *bi-ghayr*ⁱ *ḥisāb*ⁱⁿ, "God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure"; and roundabout are the names of the first four Khalīfas. This is what was first cut by Maulānā Maṣqūd, the engraver; after which Mullā ʿAlī Aḥmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side *Afẓal*ᵘ *dīnār*ⁱⁿ *yanfuqu-h*ᵘ *ar-rajul*ᵘ *dīnār*ᵘⁿ *yanfuquh*ᵘ *ʿalą aṣḥābih*ⁱ *fī sabīl*ⁱ *'llāh*, "the best coin which a man expends is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

And on the other side he wrote,

*Aṣ-ṣulṭān*ᵘ *'l- -ʿālī al-khalīfat*ᵘ *al-mutaʿālī khallad*ᵃ *allāh*ᵘ *taʿālą mulkah*ᵘ *w*ᵃ *ṣulṭānah*ᵘ *w*ᵃ *abbad*ᵃ *ʿadlah*ᵘ *w*ᵃ *iḥsānah*ᵘ, "the sublime *ṣulṭān*, the exalted *khalīfa*, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and given eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two *Rubāʿīs*[3] of the court-poet and philosopher *Shaykh Fayẓī* were engraved by him. On one side,

Khurshīd ki haft bahr azū gawhar yāft
Sang-i siyah az partav-i ān jawhar yāft
Kān az naẓar-i tarbiyat-i ū zar yāft
W'ān zar sharaf az sikka-yi Shāh Akbar yāft.

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[1] Also called *Kalimah*, or the Confession of Faith, *lā ilāha ill-allāh, Muhammadun rasūl-ullāh.*

[2] Qur. Sur. II, 208. [[3] Quatrains.—P.]

"It is the Sun [1] from which the seven oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre.
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar's stamp."

and, *Allāh*ᵘ *akbar jall*ᵃ *jallāla-h*ᵘ, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

In sikka ki pīrāya-yi ummīd buvad
Bā naqsh-i davām u nām-i jāvīd buvad
Sīmā-yi saʿādat-ash hamīn bas ki bi-dahr
Yak z̤arra naz̤ar-karda-yi khurshīd buvad.

"This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name.
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That, once, for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it."

and the date, according to the *Divine era*, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolas and 8 *māshas*, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 *māshas* each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins It is sometimes made square. On one side it has the same impression as the *sahansa*,[2] and on the other side the following *Rubāʿī* [3] by *Fayẓī* :—

Īn naqd-i ravān-i ganj-i shāhinshāhī
Bā kawkab-i iqbāl kunad hamrāhī
Khurshīd bi-parvar-ash az ān rū ki bi-dahr
Yābad sharaf az sikka-yi Akbarshāhī.

"This current coin of the Imperial treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O sun, foster it, because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp!"

4. The *Ātma* is the fourth part of the *sahansa*, round and square. Some have the same impression as the *sahansa* [4]; and some have on one side the following *Rubāʿī* by Fayẓī [5] :—

Īn sikka ki dast-i bakht rā zewar bād
Pīrāya-yi nuh sipihr u haft akhtar bād

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[1] According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls, and precious stones into existence; vide the thirteenth Āʾīn. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.

[[2] In the Persian سهنسی.—P.]

[[3] Quatrains.—P.]

[[4] *Ṣad-muhrī* in the Persian text.—P.]

[[5] Malikᵘ 'sh-Shuʿarāʾ in the Persian text.—P.]

Zarrīn naqdīst kār az-ū chūn zar bād
Dar dahr ravān bi-nām-i shāh akbar bād.

"This coin—May it adorn the hand of the fortunate,
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars—
Is a gold coin,—May golden be its work!
Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Shāh Akbar."

And on the other side the preceding *Rubaʕī*.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *ātma*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one twenty-fifth, of the *sahansa*.

6. The *Chugul*,[1] of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *sahansa*, in value equal to two muhrs.[2]

7. The *round Laʕl-i Jalālī*,[3] in weight and value equal to two *round muhrs*, having on one side *Allāh*ᵘ *akbar*, and on the other *Yā muʕīn*ᵘ, "O helper."

8. The *Āftābī* is round, weighs 1 *tola*, 2 *māshas*, and 4¾ *surkhs*, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "*Allāh*ᵘ *akbar, jall*ᵘ *jalālu-h*ᵘ," and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck.

9. The *Ilāhī* is round, weighs 12 *māshas*, 1¾ *surkhs*, bears the same stamp as the *Āftābī*, and has a value of 10 rupees.

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[1] Or *Jugul*. Abū 'l-Fazl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.

[2] The MSS. differ. Most of them place the *Chugul* as the sixth coin *after* the *Binsat*, and read:—

"The *Chugul*, of a square form, weighing 3 *tolas*, 5¼ *surkhs*; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a *round* form, weighing 2 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, having a value of three *round muhrs*, of 11 *māshas* each (*i.e.*, 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the *fiftieth* part of the *Sahansa*."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the *Sahansa*; for the two *Chuguls*, as given by Abū 'l-Fazl, would each be the hundred and third part of the two kinds of *Sahansa*, not the *fiftieth* part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp. 5, 6, gives an *extract* from a MS. of the *Āʾīn* in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the *square* form of the *Chugul*, weighing 3 *tolas*, 5¼ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the *eighth* coin, the *Āftābī*.

Two other MSS.—among them Col. Hamilton's—read *after* the *Binsat* (*i.e.*, after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

"6. The *Chahārgosha* (or *square*), weighing 3 *tolas*, 5¼ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees.

"7. The *Gird* (or *round*); weighing 2 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, in value equal to the 3 *round muhrs* of 11 *māshas* each.

"Both have the same impression.

"8. The *Chugul*, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a *Sahansa*, in value equal to two *Laʕl-i Jalālī muhrs*."

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the *Chahārgosha*, the *Gird*, and the *Chugul* are *three* distinct coins.

[3] For *the round Laʕl-i Jalālī*, some MSS. only read, "*The Gird*," *i.e.*, round, taking the words *Laʕl-i Jalālī* to the preceding. *Vide* the tenth coin.

10. The *square La^cl-ī Jalālī* is of the same weight and value; on one side "*Allāh^u akbar*," and on the other "*jall^a jalālu-h^u*."

11. The *^cAdl-gutka* is round, weighs 11 *māshas*, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "*Allāh^u akbar*", and on the other, "*Yā mu^cīn^u*."

12. The *Round muhr*, in weight and value equal to the *^cAdl-gutka*, but of a different[1] stamp.

13. *Miḥrābī*[2] is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the *round muhr*.

14. The *Mu^cīnī* is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the *La^cl-i jalālī*, and the *round muhr*. It bears the stamp "*yā mu^cīn^u*."

15. The *Chahārgosha*, in stamp and weight the same as the *Āftābī*.

16. The *Gird* is the half of the *Ilāhī*, and has the same stamp.

17. The *Dhan*[3] is half a *La^cl-i Jalālī*.[4]

18. The *Salīmī* is the half of the *^cAdl-gutka*.

19. The *Rabī*[5] is a quarter of the *Āftābī*.

20. The *Man*, is a quarter of the *Ilāhī*, and *Jalālī*.

21. The *Half Salīmī* is a quarter of the *^cAdl-gutka*.

22. The *Panj* is the fifth part of the *Ilāhī*.

23. The *Pandau* is the fifth part of the *La^cl-i Jalālī*; on one side is a lily,[6] and on the other a wild rose.

24. The *Sumnī*, or *Ashtsidd*, is one eighth of the *Ilāhī*; on one side "*Allāh^u akbar*," and on the other "*jall^a jalāla-h^u*."

25. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Ilāhī*. It has on both sides a wild rose.

26. The *Zara* is the thirty-second part of an *Ilāhī* and has the same stamp as the *kalā*.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin *La^cl-i jalālīs*, *Dhans*, and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

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[1] It has the *Kalima*. (Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the Ā^cīn.)

[2] The figure called *miḥrābī* is

[3] In Forbes's Dictionary, *dahan*.

[4] Several MSS. read—"*Half a quarter* Ilāhī and La^cl-i Jalālī." Forbes gives six rupees (?).

[5] Several MSS. have *Rabi*. Perhaps we should write *Rabbi*.

[[6] *Lāla* in Persian text. This is the common red poppy in Afghānistān and the Panjāb; and in Persia is also applied to the wild tulip.—P.]

B. *Silver Coins.*

1. The *Rūpiya* is round, and weighs eleven and one half *māshas*. It was first introduced in the time of *Sher Khān*. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "*Allāh*[u] *akbar, jall*[a] *jalālu-h*[u]," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty *dāms*, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Jalāla* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalāla*.

4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalāla*.

5. The *Panḍau* is a fifth of the *Jalāla*.

6. The *Asht* is the eighth part of the *Jalāla*.

7. The *Dasā* is one-tenth of the *Jalāla*.

8. The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalāla*.

9. The *Sūkī* us one-twentieth of the *Jalāla*.

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rūpiya*, which are, however, different in form.

C. *Copper Coins.*

1. The *Dām* weighs 5 *tāks*, i.e. 1 *tola*, 8 *māshas*, and 7 *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part of the *rūpiya*. At first this coin was called *Paisa*, and also *Buhlolī*; now it is known under this name (*dām*). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dām* is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a *jetal*.[1] This imaginary division is only used by accountants.

2. The *Adhela* is half of a *dām*.

3. The *Pā*[*]*olā* is a quarter *dām*.

4. The *Damrī* is one-eighth of a *dām*.

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of the government, Bengal, Aḥmadābād (Gujrāt), and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places: Ilāhabās, Āgra, Ujain, Sūrat, Dihlī, Patna, Kashmīr, Lāhor, Multān, Tānḍa. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. Ajmīr, Avadh, Aṭak, Alwar, Badā*on, Banāras, Bhakkar, Bahīrah, Patan, Jaunpūr, Jālandhar, Hardwār, Hisār, Fīrūza, Kālpī, Gwāliyār, Gorakhpūr, Kalānūr,

[1] Often misspelt *chetal*. The text gives the correct spelling.

Lakhnau, Mandū, Nāgor, Sarhind, Siyālkot, Saronj, Sahāranpūr, Sārangpur, Sambal, Qanawj, Rantanbhūr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhrs*, *rūpiyas*, and *dāms*.

Unprincipled men cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coins, or by employing similar methods; and, in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large, his Majesty continually consults experienced men, and from his knowledge of the spirit of the age, issues new regulations in order to prevent such detrimental practices.

The currency underwent several changes. *First*, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rāja Todarmal,[1] *four* kinds of muhrs were allowed to be current; *A*. There was a *Laʿl-i Jalālī*, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 *tola*, 1¾ *surkhs*. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 *dāms*. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign a muhr with the imperial stamp, of which *three* degrees passed as current, viz.: *B*. This muhr, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 *māshas*. Its value was 360 *dāms*. If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made. *C*. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 *dāms*. *D*. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 *dāms*.

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[1] Rāja Todarmal, a Khatri by caste, was born at Lāhor. He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the 18th year of the emperor's reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrāt. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with *Munʿim Khān*; and three years later again at Gujrāt. In the 27th year he was appointed *Dīwān* of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a *Khatri* in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yūsufzais, to avenge the death of Bīr Bar. In the 34th year, old age and sickness obliged him to send in his resignation, which Akbar unwillingly accepted. Retiring to the banks of the Ganges, he died—or, *went to hell*, as Badāʾonī expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the 11th day A.H. 998, or 10th November, 1589, the same year in which Rāja Bhagwān Dās died. Todarmal had reached the rank of a *Chahārhazārī*, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dhārū, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with T'hatha.

Abū 'l-Faẓl did not like Todarmal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Awrangzeb said he had heard from his father that Akbar complained of the rāja's *independence*, *vanity*, and *bigoted adherence to Hinduism*. Abū 'l-Faẓl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Todarmal may be contrasted with Bīr Bar, who a short time before his death had become a member of the *Divine Faith*. Once when accompanying Akbar to the Panjāb, in the hurry of the departure, Todarmal's idols were lost; and as he transacted no business before his daily worship, he remained for several days without food and drink, and was at last with difficulty cheered up by the emperor.

Muhrs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of *Rūpiyas*, three kinds were then current, viz.: *A*. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ *māshas*; it went under the name of *Jalāla*, and had a value of 40 *dāms*. *B*. The round, old *Akbarshāhī rūpiya*, which, when of full weight, or even at a *surkh* less, was valued at 39 *dāms*. *C*. The same rupees, when in weight two *surkhs* less, at 38 *dāms*.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mihr of the 29th year of the Divine era, ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Daulah Amīr Fatḥᵘ 'llah [1] of Shīrāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the *muhrs*, as far as *three* grains; and on the *rūpiyas*, as far as *six* grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered that only muhrs down to nine grains less should be regarded as muhrs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhr that was one *surkh* deficient was put down as 355 *dāms* and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one *surkh* of *coined* gold at the low rate of *four dāms* and a fraction. According to Todarmal's regulation, a deduction of *five dāms* was made for a deficiency of one *surkh*; and if the muhr had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ *surkh*, full five

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[1] Amīr Fatḥ 'llah of Shīrāz was the pupil of Khwāja Jamālᵘ 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Kamālᵘ d-Dīn of Shirwān, and Mīr Ghiyāsᵘ 'd-Dīn Manṣūr of Shīrāz. He so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics, that Abū 'l-Faẓl said of him, "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amīr will restore them." At the earnest solicitations of ʿAdl Shāh of Bījāpūr, he left Shīrāz for the Dekhan. In A.H. 991, after the death of ʿAdl Shāh, he was invited by Akbar, who raised him to the dignity of a *Ṣadr*, and bestowed upon him, three years later, the title of Amīnᵘ 'l-Mulk. He was appointed to assist Todarmal, and rendered good service in working up the old revenue books. His title, Amīnᵘ 'l-Mulk, to which Abū 'l-Faẓl alludes (*vide* p. 28, l. 9 of my text edition), was in the same year changed to *ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Dawlah*, or *the arm of* [e]*mpire*. The Amīr went afterwards to Khāndesh. After his return in 997 to Akbar, who was then in Kashmīr, he was attacked with fever, of which he died. Thinking to understand the medical art, he refused the advice of the famous Hakīm ʿAlī, and tried to cure the fever by eating *harīsa* (*vide* the twenty-fourth Āʾīn), which caused his death.

Next to Abū 'l-Faẓl, Fayẓī, and Bīr Bar, the Amīr was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abū 'l-Faẓl to Akbar himself (!). The Amīr was, however, on the best terms with Abū 'l-Faẓl, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the *Mirʾātᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam*, he was "a worldly man, often accompanying the emperor on hunting parties, with a rifle on his shoulder, and a powder-bag in his waistband, treading down science, and performing feats of strength which Rustam could not have performed."

It is stated by the author of the *Maʾāṣirᵘ 'l-Umarāʾ* that according to some, the Amīr was a *Sih-hazārī*, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar's grandees given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and the last Āʾīn of the second book of this work. Instead of *Amīr* Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, we also find, especially in Badāonī, *Shāh* Fatḥᵘ 'llāh. He lies buried on the *Takht-i Sulaymān*. Fayẓī's ode on his death is very fine.

dāms were subtracted; and for a deficiency of 1½ *surkhs* he deducted ten *dāms*, even if the deficiency should not be quite 1½ *surkhs*. By the new law of ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Dawlah, the value of a muhr was lessened by six *dāms* and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 *dāms* and a fraction only.[1]

ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Dawlah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round *rūpiya* had been fixed at one *dām* less than the square one, notwithstanding its perfection in weight and purity, and fixed the value of the round *rūpiya*, when of full weight or not less than one *surkh*, at forty *dāms*; and whilst formerly a deduction of two *dāms* was made for a deficiency of two *surkhs*, they now deduct for the same deficiency only one *dām* and a fraction.

Thirdly, when ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Dawlah went to Khāndesh, the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalālā rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhrs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulij Khān[2] received the charge of the government he adopted the Rāja's manner of estimating the muhrs; but he deducted ten *dāms* for a deficiency in the weight of a muhr, for which the Rāja had deducted five *dāms*; and twenty *dāms* for the former deduction of ten *dāms*; whilst he considered every muhr as bullion, if the deficiency was 1½ *surkhs*. Similarly, every *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which was one *surkh*, was considered as bullion.

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[1] For ʿAẓudᵘ 'd-Dawlah having fixed the value of 1 *surkh* of coined gold at 4 *dāms* and a small fraction, the value of a muhr of full weight (11 *māshas* = 11 × 8 *surkhs*) was only 11 × 8 × (4 + a small fraction) *dāms*, i.e., according to Abū 'l-Faẓl, 353 *dāms* and a fraction, instead of 360 *dāms*.

[2] *Qulij Khān* is first mentioned during the 17th year of Akbar's reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Sūrat, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrāt; and after the death of Shāh Manṣūr, he was, two years later, appointed as *Dīwān*. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrāt. In the 34th year he received *Sambhal* as jāgir. After the death of Todarmal he was again appointed as *Dīwān*. This is the time to which Abū 'l-Faẓl refers. In 1002 he was made governor of Kābul, where he was not successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1005, his son-in-law Prince Dānyāl as *Atālīq*, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1007, of the emperor in Khāndesh, he was governor of Agra. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. At the accession of Jahāngir, he was sent to Gujrāt, but returned next year to the Panjāb, where he had to fight against the Rawshaniyyahs. He died, at an advanced age, in 1035, or A.D. 1625-26. Abū 'l-Faẓl, in the last Āʾīn of the second book, mentions him as *Chahārhazārī*, or Commander of Four Thousand, which high rank he must have held for some time, as Niẓāmi-i Harawī, in his *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, mentions him as such, and as *Dīwān*. When tutor to Prince Dānyāl, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulij Khān was a pious man, and a staunch Sunnī; he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of *Ulfatī*, some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the *Mirʾātᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam*. The high rank which he held was less due to his talents as a statesman than to his family-connexion with the kings of Tūrān. Of his two sons, Mīrzā Ṣayfᵘ 'llāh and Mīrzā Ḥusayn Qulij, the latter is best known. [*Vide* note 2 to No. 42 of Āʾīn 30.—B.]

Lastly, his Majesty, trusting to his advisers and being occupied by various important affairs, paid at first but little attention to this subject, till after having received some intimation of the unsatisfactory state of this matter, he issued another regulation, which saved the nation further losses, and was approved of by every one, far and near. On the 26th of Bahman, of the year 36, according to the Divine era (A.D. 1592), he adopted the second [i.e. ʿAḍud[u] 'd-Dawlah] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhr the deficiency of which did not exceed *three*, and a *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which did not exceed *six*, *surkhs*, should still be regarded as of full weight. And this regulation was the only effectual method for preventing the fraudulent practices of unprincipled men; for the former regulations contained no remedy in cases when the officers of the mint coined money of the above deficiency in weight, or when treasurers reduced full coins to the same deficiency. Besides, shameless thievish people made light grain weights, and used to reduce muhrs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhrs six grains deficient as muhrs deficient by nine grains. This reduction of coins being continued, large quantities of gold were stolen, and the losses seemed never to end. By the command of his Majesty grain weights of *bābāghūrī* were made, which were to be used in weighing. On the same date other stringent regulations were issued, that the treasurers and revenue collectors should not demand from the tax-payers any particular species of coins, and that the exact deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be, should be taken according to the present rate and no more. This order of his Majesty disappointed the wicked, taught covetous men moderation, and freed the nation from the cruelty of oppressors.

Āʾīn 11.

THE *DIRHAM* AND THE *DĪNĀR*.

Having given some account of the currency of the empire, I shall add a few particulars regarding these two ancient coins, and remark on the value of ancient coinage.

The *Dirham*, or *Dirhām*, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone. During the *khilāfat* of ʿ*Umar*,[1] it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of *Zubayr* it was impressed with the words *Allāh*[u] (God), *barakat* (blessing). *Ḥajjāj*

[[1] *Fārūq*.—P.]

stamped upon it the chapter of the Qur'ān called *Ikhlāṣ*; and others say that he imprinted it with his own name. Others assert, that ʿUmar was the first who stamped an impression on *dirhams*; whilst, according to some, Greek, Khusravite, and Ḥimyarite *dirhams* were in circulation at the time of ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Malik, the son Marwān, by whose order Ḥajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, had struck *dirhams*. Some say that Ḥajjāj refined the base *dirhams*; and coined them with the words *Allāhᵘ aḥad* (God is one), and *Allāhᵘ aṣ-ṣamad* (God is eternal); and these *dirhams* were called *makrūha* (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured, unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Ḥajjāj, at the time of the reign of Yazid bin ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Malik, ʿUmar bin Hubayrah coined in the kingdom of ʿIrāq better *dirhams* than Ḥajjāj had made; and afterwards Khālid bin ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Qasrī, when governor of ʿIrāq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf son of ʿUmar. Again, it has been said that Muṣʿab bin Zubayr was the first who struck *dirhams*. Various accounts are given of their weights: some saying that they were of ten or nine, or six or five *misqāls*: whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve, and ten *qīrāts*, asserting at the same time that ʿUmar had taken a *dirham* of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen *qīrāts*, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of ʿUmar there were current several kinds of *dirhams*: *first*, some of eight *dāngs*, which were called *baghlī*, after *Rās baghl*, who was an assay-master, and who struck *dirhams* by the command of ʿUmar:[1] but others call them *baghallī*, from *baghal*, which is the name of a village;[2] *secondly*, some of four *dāngs*, which were called *ṭabrī*: *thirdly*, some of three *dāngs*, which were known as *maghribī*: and *lastly*, some of one *dāng*, named *yamanī*, the half of which four kinds ʿUmar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fāẓil of Khujand says that in former days *dirhams* had been of two kinds: *first*, full ones of eight and six *dāngs* (1 *dāng* of his = 2 *qīrāts*; 1 *qīrāt* = 2 *tassūj*: 1 *tassūj* = 2 *ḥabbah*); and *secondly*, deficient ones of four *dāngs* and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The *Dīnār* is a gold coin, weighing *one misqāl*, i.e. 1⅗ *dirhams*, as they put 1 *misqāl* = 6 *dāngs*; 1 *dāng* = 4 *tassūj*; 1 *tassūj* = 2 *ḥabbas*: 1 *ḥabbas* = 2 *javs* (barley grains); 1 *jav* = 6 *khardals* (mustard-grain); 1 *khardal* = 12 *fals*; 1 *fals* = 6 *fatīls*; 1 *fatīl* = 6 *naqīrs*; 1 *naqīr* = 6 *qitmīrs*; and 1 *qitmīr* = 12 *zaras*. One *misqāl*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. *Misqāl* is a weight, used in weighing gold: and it is

[[1] عمر خطاب in the Persian.—P.]

[2] According to some inferior MSS., the name of a kind of gold.

also the name of the coin.[1] From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek *mis̤qāl* is out of use, and weighs two *qīrāṭs* less than this; and that the Greek *dirham* differs likewise from others, being less in weight by 1/6 or 1/4 of a *mis̤qāl*.

*Ā*ʼ*īn* 12.

THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.

One round muhr of 11 *māshas* buys one tola of gold of 10 *bān*; or one tola, 2 *surkhs* of 9¾ *bān*; or 1 tola, 4 *s*. of 8½ *bān*; or 1 tola 6 *s*. of 9¼ *bān*; or 1 tola, 1 *māsha* of 9 *bān*; and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one *bān* increases the quantity of gold which a muhr can buy by one *māsha*.

The merchant buys for 100 *Laˁl-i Jalālī* muhrs 130 *t*. 2 *m*. 0⅝ *s*. of *Hun* gold of 8¼ *bāns*. Of this quantity 22 *t*. 9 *m*. 7½ *s*. burn away in melting, and mix with the *khāk-i khalāṣ*, so that 107 *t*. 4 *m*. 1⅛ *s*. of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tola of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the *khāk-i khalāṣ* are recovered 2 *t*. 11 *m*. 4 *s*. of gold, and 11 *t*. 11 *m*. 4½ *s*. of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12½ *tanqas*,[2] so that altogether the above-mentioned quantity of *Hun* gold yields 105 muhrs 39 Rs. and 25 *dāms*.

This sum is accounted for as follows. *First*, 2 *Rs*. 18 *d*. 12½ *j*., due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; *secondly*, 5 *Rs*. 8 *d*. 8 *j*. for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 *R*. 4 *d*. 1½ *j*. on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz. 26 *d*. 16½ *j*. dung[3]; 4 *d*. 20 *j*. *salonī*; 1 *d*. 10 *j*. water; 11 *d*. 5 *j*. quicksilver, and 4 *Rs*. 4 *d*. 6¼ *j*. on account of the *khāk-i khalāṣ* (viz. 21 *d*. 7¼ *j*. charcoal, and 3 *Rs*. 22 *d*. 24 *j*. lead); *thirdly*, 6 *Rs*. 37½ *d*., which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the *Dīwān* if the gold belongs to the exchequer; *fourthly*, 100 *Laˁl-i Jalālī* muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; *fifthly*, 12 *Rs*. 37 *d*. 3½ *j*. which the merchant takes as his profit; *sixthly*, 5 muhrs 12 *Rs*. 3½ *d*., which go to the exchequer.[4] According to this proportion, merchants make their profits.

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet

[1] In text "a gold coin".—B.]

[2] One *tanga* = 2 *dāms*; now-a-days one *tanga* = 2 *pais*.

[3] باجک دشتي.—P.]

[4] There is a slight mistake of 1¼ *jetals*, as the several items added up give 105 *m*. 39 *Rs*. 24 *d*. 23¾ *j*., but not 105 *m*. 39 *Rs*. 25 *d*.

Gold may also be obtained by the *Salonī*-process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus, and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold; however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.

One Rupee buys 1 *t.* 0 *m.* 2 *s.* of pure silver; hence for 950 Rs. the merchant gets 969 *t.* 9 *m.* 4 *s.* of silver. Out of this quantity, 5 *t.* 0 *m.* 4¾ *s.* burn away in casting ingots. The remainder yields 1006 rupees, and a surplus of silver worth 27½ *dāms*. The several items are—*first*, 2 *Rs.* 22 *d.* 12 *j.*, as wages for the workmen (viz. The *Weighman* 5 *d.* 7¾ *j.*, the *Chāshnīgīr* 3 *d.* 4½; the Melter 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*: the *Zarrāb* 2 *Rs.* 1 *d.* 0 *j.*; the *Sikkachī* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*); *secondly*, 10 *d.* 15 *j.*, on account of requisites (viz. 10 *d.* charcoal, and 15 *j.* water); *thirdly*, 50 *Rs.* 13 *d.* 0 *j.*, payable to the *Dīwān*; *fourthly*, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought; and *fifthly*, 3 *Rs.* 21 *d.* 10½ *j.*, being the profit of the merchant. If he refines the base silver at his own house, his profit will be much greater; but when he brings it to be coined, his profit cannot be so great.

Of the silver called *lārī* and *shāhī*, and the other above-mentioned baser coins, one rupee buys 1 *t.* 0 *m.* 4 *s.*, so that 950 rupees will buy 989 *t.* 7 *m.* In the *Sabbākī* process, 14 *t.* 10 *m.* 1 *s.* burn away, being at the rate of 1½ *t.* per cent.: and in making the ingots, 4 *t.* 11 *m.* 3 *s.* are lost in the fire. The remainder yields 1012 rupees; and from the *khāk-i kharal* 3½ *Rs.* are recoverable. The several items are—*first*, 4 *Rs.* 27 *d.* 24¾ *j.* on account of the wages of the workmen (viz. the Weighman 5 *d.* 7¾ *j.*; the *Sabbāk* 2 *Rs.* 0 *d.* 19 *j.*; the *Qurs-kob* 4 *d.* 19 *j.*; the *Chāshnīgīr* 3 *d.* 4 *j.*; the Melter 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*; the *Zarrāb* 2 *Rs.* 1 *d.*; the *Sikkachī* 6 *d.* 12½ *j.*); *secondly*, 5 *Rs.* 24 *d.* 15 *j.* for necessaries (viz. 5 *Rs.* 14 *d.* lead; 10 *d.* charcoal, and 15 *j.* water); *thirdly*, 50 *Rs.* 24 *d.*, payable to the State: *fourthly*, 950 *Rs.* which the merchant receives for his silver; *fifthly*, 4 *Rs.* 29 *d.* his profit.[1] Sometimes the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger.

1044 *dāms* buy one *man* of copper, i.e. at the rate of 26 *d.* 2¼ *j.* per *ser*. Out of this quantity, one ser is burnt away in melting; and as each *ser* yields 30 *dāms*, there are coined altogether 1170 *dāms*, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 *d.* 19½ *j.* as profit. 33 *d.* 10 *j.* go to the workmen; and 15 *d.* 8 *j.* for necessaries (viz. 13 *d.* 8 *j.* for charcoal; 1 *d.* for water; and 1 *d.* for clay); 58½ *d.* go to the state.

[1] These items added give *Rs.* 1015. 25 *d.* 14¾ *j.*, i.e., a little more than the sum mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl (1015 *Rs.* 20 *d.*).

Āʾīn 13.

THE ORIGIN OF METALS.

The Creator by calling into existence the four elements, has raised up wonderful forms. *Fire* is absolutely warm, dry, light; *air* is relatively warm, moist, light; water is relatively cold, moist, heavy; earth is absolutely cold, dry, heavy. Heat is the cause of lightness, and cold of heaviness; moistness easily separates particles, whilst dryness prevents their separation. This wonderful arrangement calls four compounds into existence, *first*, the *āṣār-i ʿulavī*[1]; *secondly*, stones; *thirdly*, plants; *fourthly*, animals. From the heat of the sun, watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up. Such a mixture is called *bukhār* (gas). From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up. This mixture is called *dukhān* (vapour). Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth. Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures *bukhār*, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of moist, or watery *bukhār*, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air dry *bukhār*, or *dukhānī bukhār* (vapour-like gas). Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, etc.; and, below the surface of our earth, earthquakes, springs, and minerals. They also look upon the *bukhār* as the body, and upon the *dukhān* as the soul of things. From a difference in their quality and quantity, various bodies are called into existence, as described in books on philosophy.

Minerals are of five kinds: *first*, those which do not melt on account of their dryness, as the *yāqūt*; *secondly*, those which do not melt, on account of their liquidity, as quicksilver; *thirdly*, those which can be melted, being at the same time neither malleable, nor inflammable, as blue stone; *fourthly*, those which can be melted, being, however, not malleable, but inflammable, as sulphur; *fifthly*, those which can be melted, and are malleable, but not inflammable, as gold. A body is said to melt when from the union of the inherent principles of dryness and moisture its particles are movable; and a body is called malleable when we can make it extend in such a manner as to yield a longer and wider surface without, however, either separating a part from it or adding a part to it.

When in a mixture of *bukhār* with *dukhān*, the former is greater in quantity, and when, after their mixture and complete union, the heat of the sun causes the whole to contract, quicksilver will be produced.

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[1] Or *doings from on high*, as rain, snow, etc.

Since no part of it is destitute of *dukhān*, the dryness is perceptible; hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it; and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān*, both are nearly in equal proportion, a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the *dukhān* and the greasiness are a little in excess, sulphur will be produced, in colour either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the *dukhān* is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the *bukhār* is greater, pure, black and yellow naphtha will arise, after the mixture gets solid. Since in all, cold was the cause of the contraction, they can be melted; and on account of the prevalence of greasiness and tenacious moistness, they are also inflammable, though, on account of the moistness, not malleable.

Although quicksilver and sulphur are the only component parts of "the seven bodies", there arise various forms from a difference in purity, or from peculiar circumstances of the mixture, or from a variety of the action of the component parts on each other. Thus *silver* will result, when neither of the two components mixes with earthy particles, when they are pure and become perfectly united, and when the sulphur is white, and less than the quicksilver. Or, when both are in equal proportions and the sulphur red, and capable of colouring, gold will originate. Again, under similar circumstances, if both contract after the mixture, but before a complete union has been effected, *Khārchīnī* will be produced. This body is also called *Āhanchīnī*, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called *the seven bodies*, and quicksilver has the name of *the mother of the bodies*, and sulphur, *the father of the bodies*. Quicksilver is also denominated *the spirit*, and arsenic and sulphur the *pivots of life*.

Jast (pewter),[1] which, according to the opinions of some, is ***Rūh-i***

[1 Or zinc.—P.]

tūtiyā, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of *Jālor*, which is a dependency of the Ṣūba of Ājmīr. Some practical mechanics[1] are of opinion that the metal called *riṣāṣ* is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver a silver in the state of apoplexy; that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt, and bronze crude gold; and that the chemist, like the doctor, can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition.

Practical men form of the above seven bodies, several compounds, used for ornaments, vessels, etc. Among them I may mention: 1. *Safīdrū*, which the people of Hindustan call *kāsī*. It is a mixture of 4 sers of copper to 1 ser of tin, melted together. 2. *Rūy*, 4 sers of copper to 1½ sers of lead. It is called in this country *bhangār*. 3. *Brass*, which the Hindūs call *pītal*, is made in three ways: *first*, 2½ sers copper to 1 ser *rūḥ-i tūtiyā*, which is malleable, when cold; *secondly*, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūḥ-i tūtiyā*, which is malleable, when heated; *thirdly*, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūḥ-i tūtiyā*, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. *Sīm-i sūkhta*, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. *Haft-josh*, which, like the *Khārchīnī*, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it *ṭālīqūn*, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. *Ashtdhāt*, a compound of eight metals, viz. the six of the *haftjosh*, *rūḥ-i tūtiyā*, and *kāsī*. It is also made of seven compounds. 7. *Kaulpatr*, 2 sers of *safīdrū*, and 1 ser of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.[2]

Āʾīn 14.

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān*, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, *bukhār* is *wet* or *dry*; and a complete union of the two sets in, sometimes before and after the mixture, and sometimes in either of these conditions. It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles; and likewise, every mineral in which the *bukhār* predominates

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[1] According to some MSS., the Hindūs.
[2] This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar.

over the *dukhān* is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the *bukhār* and *dukhān* has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light. Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body. Some one,[1] now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses (metre *Mujtass*) :—

Z' rū-yi jussa-yi haftād u yak diram sīmab,
Chil o shash ast, u z' arzīz siy u hasht shumār,
Zahab sad ast surb panjah u nuh, āhan chil,
Birinj o mis chihil o panj, nuqra panjah u chār.

"Quicksilver[2] is 71; Rūy is 46: Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 40; Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemo-technical words in rhyme (metre *Ramal*).—

Nuh filizz-i mustawiyyu 'l hajm rā chūn bar-kashī,
Ikhtilāf-i wazn dārad har yak-ī bī ishtibāh.
Zar lakan, zībaq alam, usrub dahan, arzīz hal,
Fizza nad, āhan yak-ī, miss u shabah mah, rūy māh.

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following *nine* metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows: gold *lakan*,[3] quicksilver *alam*, lead *dahan*, tin *hal*, silver *nad*, iron *yakī*, copper and brass *mah*, rūy *māh*." If of these nine metals pieces be taken of equal dimensions, their weights will be different. Some sages ascribe this variety in weight to the difference in the qualitative constitution of the bodies, and trace to it their lightness or heaviness, their floating or sinking in water, and their weights as indicated by common and hydrostatic balances. Several deep sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water. They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 *misqāls* of each metal; and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals, are found the differences between them in volume and weight. The greater the quantity of the water which 100 *misqāls* of a body displace, the greater is its volume and the less its weight,

[1] *Abū Nasr-i Farāhī*, of Farāh, a town in Sijistān. His real name is Muhammad Badru 'd Dīn. He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme, entitled *Nisābu 's-Sibyān*, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasa of Persia and India; *vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, for 1868, p. 7.

[2] We fix the specific gravities as follows: *Gold* 19·26; *Mercury* 13·6; *Lead* 11·325; *Silver* 10·47; *Copper* 9; *Tin* 7·32; *Iron* 7·7, for which numbers water is unity. Abū 'l-Fazl takes gold as standard; and assuming, for his values, 19·26 as its specific gravity, we would get, *Mercury* 13·87; *Lead* 11·36; *Silver* 10·40; *Copper* 8·67; *Iron* 7·76; *Tin* 7·32; *Rūy* 8·86.

[3] The Arabic consonants of the mnemo technical words *lakan*, *alam*, etc., represent numbers; thus, *l* + *k* + *n* = 30 + 20 + 50; *a* + *l* + *m* = 1 + 30 + 40; etc.

and reversely. Thus 100 *m.* of silver displace 9⅜ *m.* of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5¼ *m.* If the weight of the water displaced by a body be subtracted from its weight in air, its weight in water will be found. The scales of the air-balance are both suspended in air; those of the hydrostatic balance are both on the surface of the water. As the heavier body possesses the greater power for sinking, it will, in any case, move in the direction of the perpendicular; but, if either of the two scales be on the surface of the water, and the other in the air, the latter scale, although perhaps the lighter, will necessarily sink, as air, being a finer substance than water, does not offer so much resistance. A body will sink in water if the quantity of water displaced by it be less than the weight of the body, and a body will float if that quantity be greater; and if the water displaced be equal to the weight of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. *Abū Rayḥān* [1] has drawn up a table which I shall insert here.

Quantity of water displaced by 100 misqāls of				*Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 misqāls of*			
	Misqāl.	*Dāng.*	*Tassūj.*		*Misqāl.*	*Dāng.*	*Tassūj.*
Gold,[2]	5	1	2	Gold, ...	95	4	2
Quicksilver, ...	7	2	1	Quicksilver, ...	92	3	3
Lead, ...	8	5	3	Lead, ...	91	1	3
Silver, ...	9	4	1	Silver, ...	90	1	3
Rūy, ...	11	2	3	*Rūy,*	88	4	3
Copper, ...	11	3	3	Copper, ...	88	3	3
Brass, ...	11	4	3	Brass, ...	88	2	3
Iron, ...	12	5	2	Iron, ...	87	3	2
Tin, ...	13	4	3	Tin, ...	86	2	3
Yāqūt (light blue),	25	1	2	*Yāqūt* (light blue),	74	4	2
Yāqūt (red), ...	26	3	3	*Yāqūt* (red), ...	74	3	3
Ruby (*laʻl*), ...	27	5	2	Ruby (*laʻl*), ...	72	3	2
Zumurrud, ...	36	2	3	*Zumurrud,*	63	4	3
Pearl, ...	37	1	3	Pearl, ...	62	5	3
Lapis lazuli, ...	38	3	3	Lapis lazuli, ...	61	3	3
Cornelian, ...	38	3	3	Cornelian, ...	61	3	3
Amber, ...	39	3	3	Amber, ...	60	3	3
Bullūr, ...	40	3	3	*Bullūr,*	60	3	3

[[1] ابو ريحان بيروني. —P.]

[2] With the exception of *Quicksilver*, *Silver*, and *Yāqūt* (*light blue*), the numbers given in the MSS., and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 *misqāls* (1 *m.* = 6 *d.*; 1 *d.* = 4 *t.*). But in most items there is an excess of *one dāng*.

The weight (in air) of the undermentioned metals, the volume of 100 misqāls of gold being taken as the unit of volume.

	Misqāl.	*Dāng.*	*Tassūj.*
Gold, ...	100	0	0
Quicksilver, ...	71	1	1
Lead, ...	59	2	2
Silver, ...	54	3	3
Rūy, ...	46	2	3
Copper, ...	45	3	3
Brass, ...	45	3	5
Iron, ...	40	0	0
Tin, ...	38	2	2

The weight (in air) of the undermentioned precious stones, the volume of 100 misqāls of the blue yāqūt being taken as the unit of volume.

	Misqāl.	*Dāng.*	*Tassūj.*
Yāqūt (light blue),	94	3	3
Yāqūt (red), ...	94	3	3
Ruby, ...	90	2	3
Zumurrud, ...	69	3	3
Pearls, ...	67	5	2
Lapis lazuli, ...	65	3	2
(?)Cornelian, ...	64	4	2
Amber, ...	64	3	1
Bullūr	63	3	3

Āʾīn 15.

THE IMPERIAL HAREM.

His Majesty is a great friend of good order and propriety in business. Through order, the world becomes a meadow of truth and reality; and that which is but external, receives through it a spiritual meaning. For this reason, the large number of women [1]—a vexatious question even for great statesmen furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom, and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order.

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries: and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world.

As the sovereign, by the light of his wisdom, has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity, and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio. Short-sighted men think of impure gold, which will gradually turn into pure gold: [2] but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs [3] and chemical processes. Any kind of growth

[[1] [illegible].—P.]

[2] So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.

[3] Elixirs change *quickly* that which is worthless into pure gold.

will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as *dāroghas*, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs. *per mensem*. Some of the servants have from 51 to 20, others from 40 to 2 Rs. Attached to the private audience hall of the palace is a clever and zealous writer, who superintends the expenditure of the Harem, and keeps an account of the cash and the stores. If a woman wants anything, within the limit of her salary, she applies to one of the *Taḥwīldārs* (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. The *Taḥwīldār* then sends a memorandum to the writer, who checks it, when the General Treasurer makes the payment in cash, as for claims of this nature no cheques are given.

The writer also makes out an estimate of the annual expenditure, writes out summarily a receipt, which is countersigned by the ministers of the state. It is then stamped with a peculiar imperial seal, which is only used in grants connected with the Harem, when the receipt becomes payable. The money itself is paid by the cash-keeper of the General Treasury to the General *Taḥwīldār*, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-*Taḥwīldārs* for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All moneys are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.[1]

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women; the

[1] At 40 *dāms per rupee*.

most trustworthy of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty. Outside the enclosure the eunuchs are placed ; and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful *Rājpūts*, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, *Aḥadīs*, and other troops, according to their ranks.

Whenever *Begams*, or the wives of nobles, or other women of chaste character, desire to be presented, they first notify their wish to the servants of the seraglio, and wait for a reply. From thence they send their request to the officers of the palace, after which those who are eligible are permitted to enter the Harem. Some women of rank obtain permission to remain there for a whole month.

Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, his Majesty does not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order.

*A*ʿ*īn* 16

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.[1]

It would be difficult to describe a large encampment ; but I shall say something on the equipage used for hunting parties and short journeys.

1. The *Gulāl-bār* is a grand enclosure, the invention of his Majesty, the doors of which are made very strong, and secured with locks and keys. It is never less than one hundred yards square.[2] At its eastern end a pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long and 14 broad ; and in the middle there stands a large *chūbīn rā,oṭī*,[3] and round about it a *sarā-parda*.[3] Adjoining to the *chūbīn*, they built up a two-storied pavilion, in which his Majesty performs divine worship, and from the top of which, in the morning, he receives the compliments of the nobility. No one connected with the seraglio enters this building without special leave. Outside of it, twenty-four *chūbīn rā,oṭīs* are erected, 10 yards long and 6 yards wide, each separated by a canvas, where the favourite women reside. There are also other pavilions and tents for the servants, with *sāyabāns*[4] of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a *sarā-parda* of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the *Urdū-begīs*,[5] and other female

[[1] In text یورشها. *Yurish*, T properly means "attack, assault". *Yūrish-hā* seems to mean here "military expeditions.—P.]

[[2] ...ر، ۵ قرهر ز.—P.]

[3] Described in the twenty-first *A*ʿ*īn*.

[4] Awnings.

[5] Armed women

servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the *Mahtābī*; and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described, which is supported by poles 6 yards long, fixed in the ground at distances of two yards. The poles are one yard in the ground, and are ornamented with brass knobs on the top, and kept firm by two ropes, one passing inside and the other outside of the enclosure. The guards watch here, as has been described.

In the midst of the plain is a raised platform,[1] which is protected by an awning, or *Nam-gīra*, supported by four poles. This is the place where his Majesty sits in the evening, and none but those who are particularly favoured are here admitted. Adjoining to the *Gulāl-bār*, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the *Mahtābī*; and in the midst of it is a *Chūbīn rā,oṭī*, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards, and separated by canvases.[2] This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called *Ibachkī*,[3] which is the (*Chaghatā*ʾ*ī*) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a *Sarā-parda* is being put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the *Sarā-parda* being, as before, sustained by poles with knobs. In the midst of it, the state-hall is erected, by means of a thousand carpets; it contains seventy-two rooms, and has an opening fifteen yards wide. A tent-like covering, or *Qalandarī*, made of wax-cloth, or any other lighter material, is spread over it, which affords protection against the rain and the sun; and round about it, are fifty awnings, of twelve yards each. The pavilion, which serves as *Dīwān-i khāṣṣ* or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles and the officers of the army, after having obtained leave through the *Bakhshīs*,[4] pass before the Emperor, the list of officers eligible for admission being changed on the first of every month. The place is decorated, both inside and outside with carpets of various colours, and resembles a beautiful flower-bed. Outside of it, to a distance of 350 yards, ropes are drawn, fastened to poles, which are set up at a distance of three yards from each other. Watchmen are stationed about them. This is the *Dīwān-i*ʿ*Āmm*, or public audience hall, round which, as above described,

[1] As may be still seen in the ruins of Fathpūr Sīkrī.

[[2] قنات "tent-wall".—P.]

[[3] In text *ibachkī-khāna*.—P.]

[4] Paymasters. The Commanding Officers were at the same time paymasters, as they collected the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents.

the various guards are placed. At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve *ṭanābs* [1] is the *Naqqāra Khāna*,[2] and in the midst of the area the *Ākās-diya* [3] is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the *Farrāshes* on a piece of ground which the *Mīr Manzils* [4] have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty. Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, *Manṣabdārs*,[5] *Aḥadīs*. Besides, there are employed a thousand *Farrāshes*, natives of Īrān, Tūrān, and Hindustān, 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers, and torch-bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers.

The monthly pay of the foot varies from 240 to 130 *dāms*.

Āʾīn 17.

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY.

Although his Majesty but rarely collects his armies, a large number of troops accompany him in whatever direction an expedition may go; but a considerable number, in every province, are employed on various services, and are not allowed to follow him. On account of the crowding of camp followers, and the number of the troops themselves, it would take a soldier days to find his tent; and how much worse would it be for a stranger! His Majesty has invented an admirable method of encamping his troops, which is a source of much comfort to them. On an open ground they pitch the imperial seraglio, the audience hall and the *Naqqāra Khāna*, all occupying a space the length of which is 1530 yards. To the right and left, and behind, is an open space of 300 yards, which no one but the guards is allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to the left [6] and centre are the tents of Maryam Makānī,[7] and Gulbadan Begum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dāniyāl; to the

[[1] طناب دست گزی. —P.]

[2] A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the [illegible], *vide* the tenth *Āʾīn* of the third book.

[3] A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. *Vide* p. 50

[4] Quartermasters.

[5] Grandees.

[[6] *Qol*, M. is said to be the *centre* of an army in battle array. P.]

[7] *Maryam Makānī* (i.e., dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Āsiyah, the wife of Pharaoh, Khadija, Muhammad's first wife, and Fāṭimah, his daughter, are the four *perfect* women of Islām) is the title of Akbar's mother. Her name was *Ḥamīda Bānū Begum*; *vide* Badāoni, ed. Bibl. Ind. i, p. 437. Gulbadan Begum (*i.e.*, Lady Rose-body) appears to be the name of one of Akbar's favourite wives. [No, his aunt. —B.]

right, those of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and to the left, those of Prince Shāh Murād. Behind their tents, at some distance, the offices and workshops are placed, and at a further distance of 30 yards behind them, at the four corners of the camp, the bāzārs. The nobles are encamped without on all sides, according to their rank.

The guards for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday encamp in the centre; those for Sunday and Monday, on the right; and those for Tuesday and Wednesday, on the left.

Ā'īn 18.

ON ILLUMINATIONS.

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider this forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select",[1] is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element which is the source of man's existence, and of the duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

How beautifully has Shaykh Sharfu 'd-Dīn[2] said: "What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp when the sun is down?" Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty.

At noon of the day, when the sun enters the 19th degree of Aries, the whole world being then surrounded by his light, they expose a round piece of a white and shining stone, called in Hindī *Sūrajkrānt*, to the rays of the sun. A piece of cotton is then held near it, which catches fire from the heat of the stone. This celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons. The lamp-lighters, torch-bearers, and cooks of the household, use it for their offices; and when the year has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire. The vessel in which this fire is preserved, is called *Agingir*, i.e. fire-pot.

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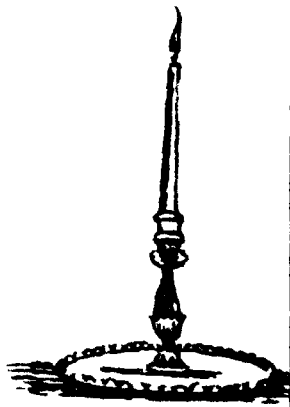
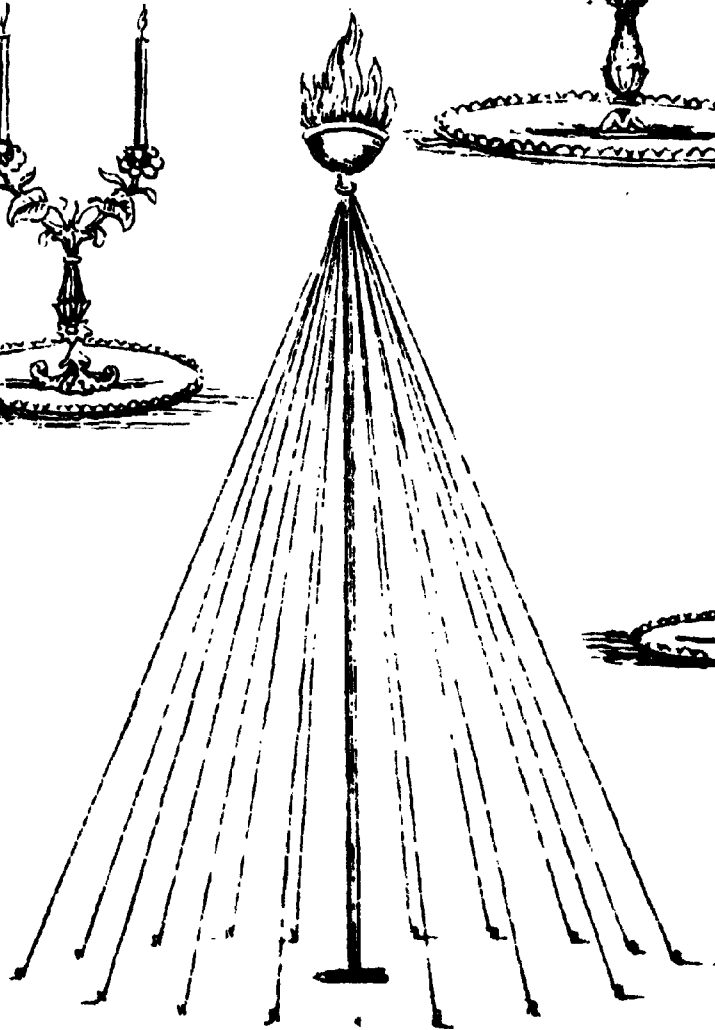
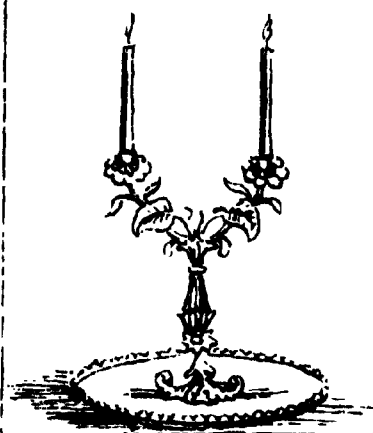
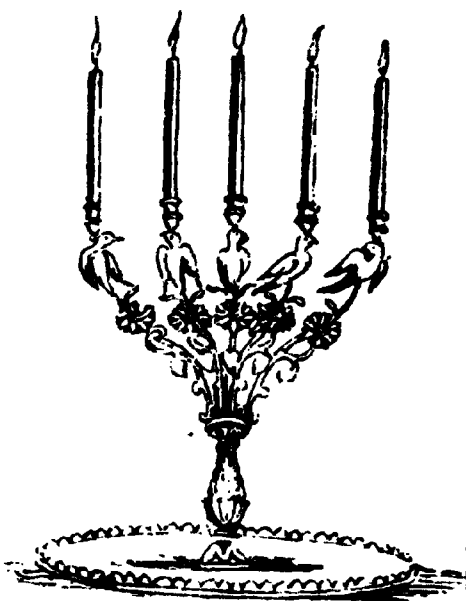
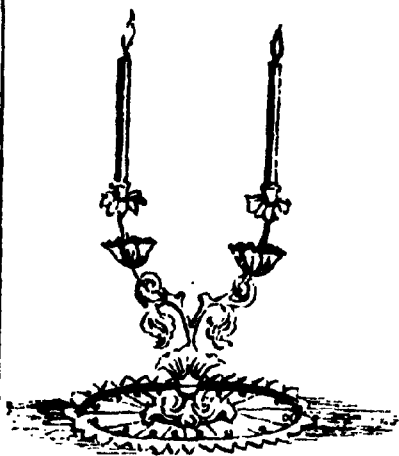
[1] The members of the *Divine Faith*.

[2] This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Munair is a town in Bahār; *vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1868, p. 7, l. 3, from below, and the biographies of Indian Saints in the fourth book. His works are to be found among the Persian MSS. of the Society's Library.

There is also a shining white stone, called *Chandrkrānt*, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one *ghaṛī*[1] before sunset, his Majesty, if riding, alights, or, if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles,[2] on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candlesticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten *mans* and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more: they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux,[3] both inside and outside, which increase the light very much. The first, second, and third nights of every lunar month, when there is moonlight but for a short time, eight wicks are used;[4] from the fourth to the tenth, they decrease one in number every night, so that on the tenth night, when the moon is very bright, one is sufficient; and they continue in this state till the fifteenth, and increase one wick every day from the sixteenth to the nineteenth. For the twentieth night the number is the same as on the nineteenth; on the twenty-first and twenty-second they increase one daily; the twenty-third is the same as the twenty-second; and from the twenty-fourth to the last, eight wicks are lighted up. They allow for every wick one ser of oil, and half a ser of cotton. In some places there are fat-burners, where grease is burnt instead of oil. The allowance varies according to the size of the wick.

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from far, his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbār, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes;

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[1] One *ghaṛī* 24 minutes.

[2 [illegible], i.e., wax candles.—P.]

[3] Oil burners with several wicks are very common in India.

[4] For each flambeau.

and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call *Ākās-diya*.[1] Its light, seen from great distances, guides the soldiers to the imperial camp, and helps them to find their tents. In former times, before the lamp was erected, the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road.

In this department Manṣabdārs, Aḥadīs, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 *dāms*.

Aʾīn 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The *Shamsa*[2] of the arch of royalty is a divine light, which God directly transfers to kings, without the assistance of men; and kings are fond of external splendour, because they consider it an image of the Divine glory. I shall mention some of the insignia used at present.

1. The *Awrang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The *Chatr*, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The *Sāya-bān* is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones. One of the attendants holds it, to keep off the rays of the sun. It is also called *Āftābgīr*. 4. The *Kawkaba*,[3] of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

5. The *ʿAlam*, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the *Qūr*,[4] wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The *Chatrtoq*, a kind of *ʿAlam*, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The *Tumantoq* is like the *Chatrtoq*, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The *Jhanḍā* is an Indian flag. The *Qūr* necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

Of musical instruments used in the *Naqārahkhāna*, I may mention, 1. *the Kuwarga*, commonly called *damāma*; there are eighteen pair of

[1] From *Ākās* sky, and *diya* lamp. The Ākāsdiya is also mentioned by *Bernier*.

[2] *Shamsa* is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.

[3] *Vide* the plates

[4] The *Qūr* is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.

Pl. VIII
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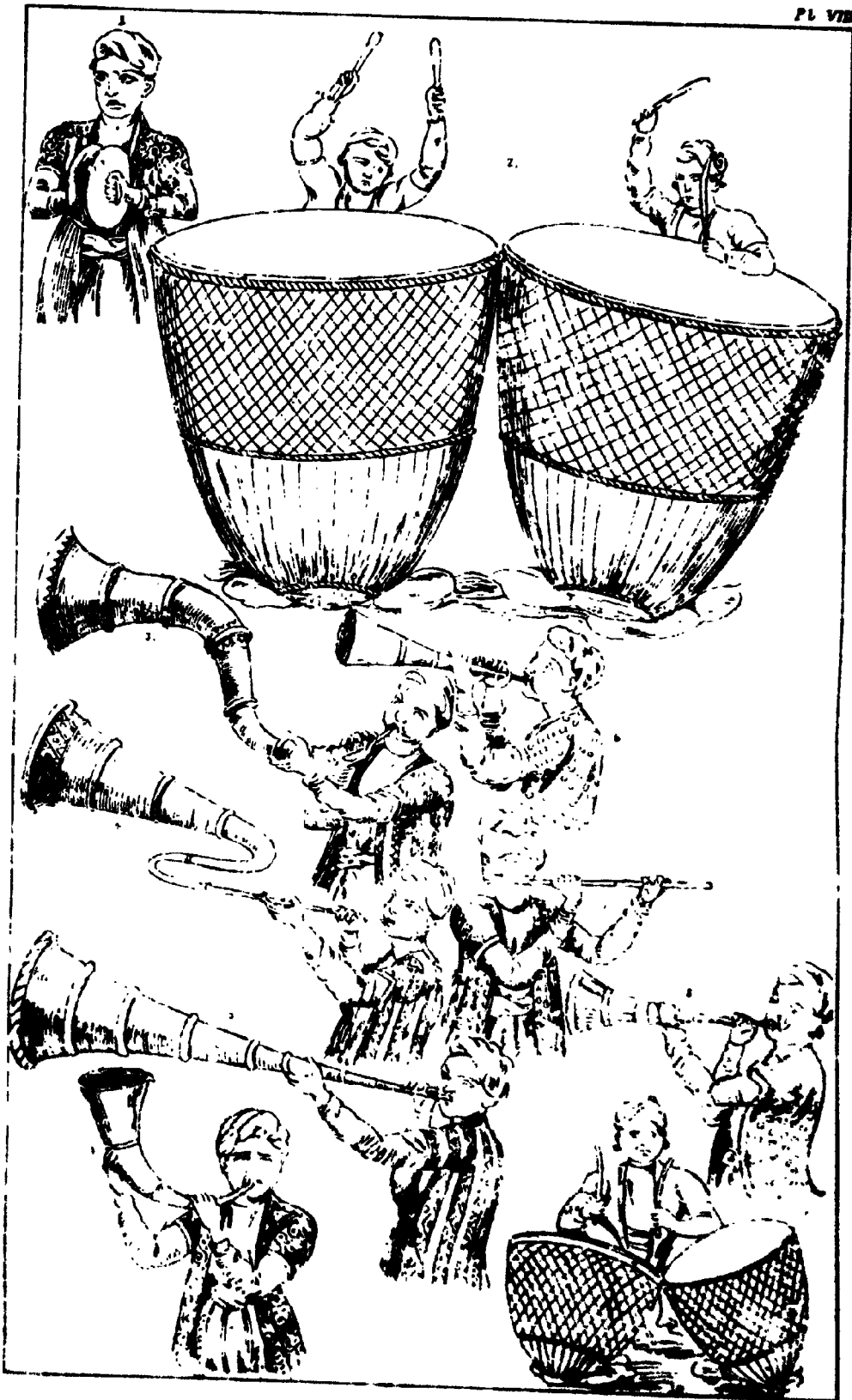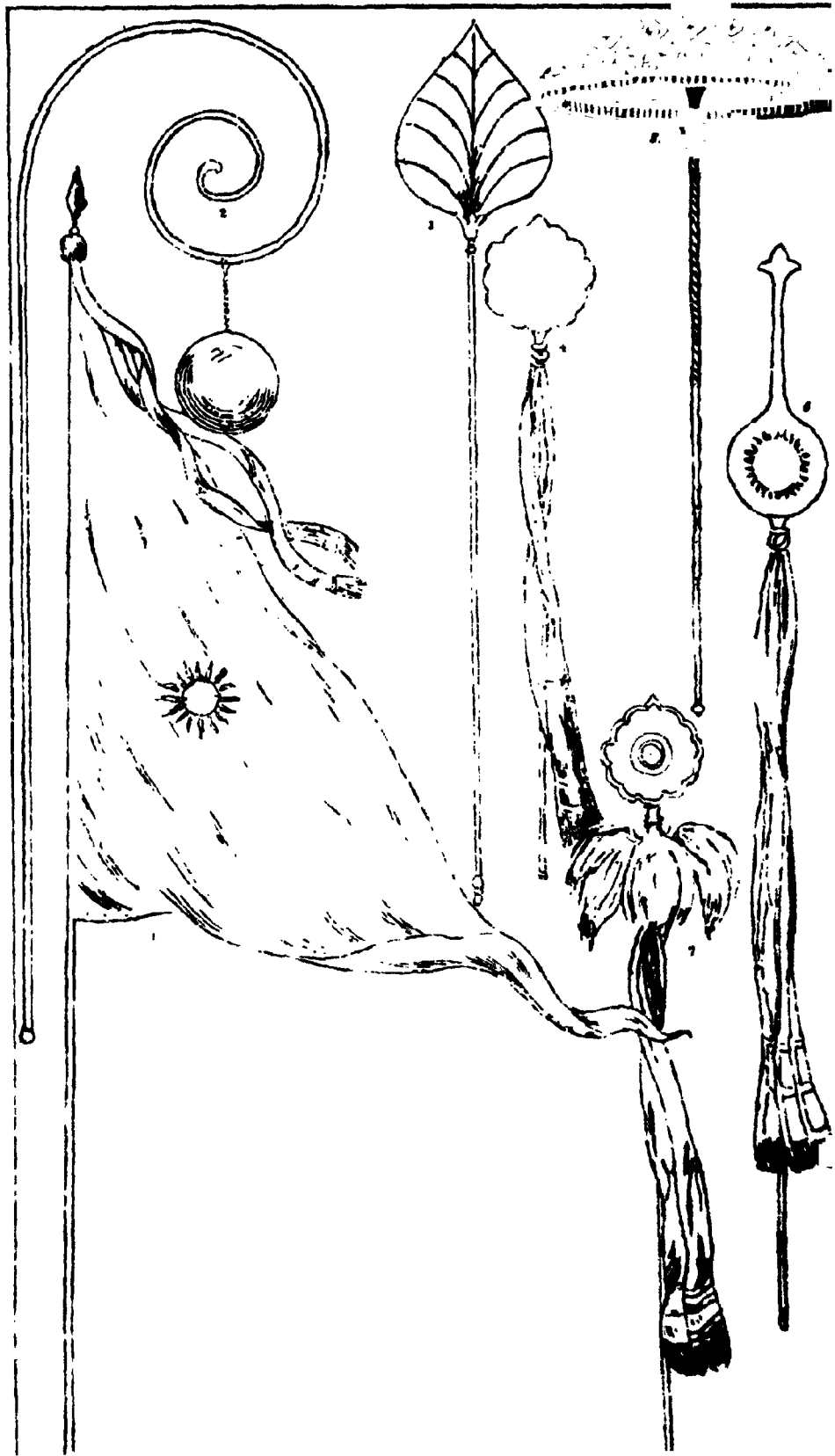
them more or less; and they give a deep sound. 2 *The naqāra*, twenty pair, more or less. 3. *The duhul*, of which four are used. 4. The *Karnā* [1] is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals, and they never blow fewer than four. 5. *The surnā* of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The *nafīr*, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The *sing* is of brass and made in the form of a cow's horn; they blow two together. 8. The *sanj*, or cymbal, of which three pair are used.

Formerly the band played four *gharīs* before the commencement of the night, and likewise four *gharis* before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One *gharī* before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the *surnā*, and wake up those that are asleep; and one *gharī* after sunrise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the *kuwarga* a little, whereupon they blow the *karnā*, the *nafīr*, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the *naqāra*; after a little pause the *surnās* are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the *nafīrs*. One hour later the *naqāras* commence, when all musicians raise "the auspicious strain." [2] After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The *Mursalī*, which is the name of a tune played by the *mursil*; and afterwards the *bardāsht*, which consists likewise of certain tunes, played by the whole band. This is followed by a pianissimo, and a crescendo passing over into a diminuendo. 2. The playing of the four tunes, called *ikhlāṭī*, *ibtidā'ī*, *shīrāzī*, *qalandarī nigār qatra*,[3] or *nigār qatra*, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old [4] Khwārizmite tunes. Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes *Jalālshāhī*, *Mahāmīr karkat* (?), and the *Nauroz*. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of *Bā miyān daur*. 6. The passing into the tune *azfar*, also called *rāh-i bālā*, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwārizmite tunes, played by the *Mursil*, after which he passes into the *mursalī*; he then pauses, and commences the blessings on his Majesty, when the whole band strikes up a pianissimo. Then follows the reading of beautiful sentences and poems. This also lasts for an hour. Afterwards the surnā

[1] Or Karrana. [In text *karnā*. P.]

[2] Probably blessings on his Majesty.

[3] Several of these names of melodies are unclear, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words *shīrāzī qalandarī*, "a dervish of Shīrāz," belong to each other. *Nigār qatra* means, *behold the tear*. [*Qalandar* is a kind of *wandering* dervish of wild appearance. P.]

[4] [In text "old and new." P.]

players perform for another hour, when the whole comes to a proper conclusion.

His Majesty has such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess; and he is likewise an excellent hand in performing, especially on the *naqāra*.

Manṣabdārs, Aḥadīs, and other troops are employed in this department. The monthly pay of a foot-soldier does not exceed 340 and is not less than 74 *dāms*.

Āʾīn 20.

THE ROYAL SEALS.

Seals are used in the three [1] branches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions.[2] In the beginning of the present reign, Mawlānā Maqṣūd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqāʿ* character, the name of his Majesty, and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timūrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nastaʿlīq* character, only with his Majesty's name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, *miḥrābī* in form,[3] which had the following verse round the name of his Majesty :—

Rāstī mūjib-i riẓā-yi khudāst kas nadīdam ki gum shud az rāh-ī rāst.

"Uprightness is the means of pleasing God; I never saw any one lost in the straight road."

Tamkīn made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Mawlānā ʿAlī Aḥmad of Dihlī improved both. The round small seal goes by the (*chaghatāʾī*) name of *Uzuk*, and is used for *farmān-i sabtīs*; [4] and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of his Majesty, was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but nowadays for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words *Allāh^u Akbar jall^a jalālahū*, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to *farmāns*, another stamp is used of various forms.

Of seal-engravers I shall mention

1. *Mawlānā Maqṣūd of Hirāt*, one of the servants of Humāyūn, who writes well the *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* characters. The astrolabe, globes, and

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[1] Corresponding to the threefold division of the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*.

[2] The word *muhr*, a seal, means also a *stamp*, and generally, the *signature of a man*. We *sign* documents Orientals stamp their names to them. Sealing wax is rarely used on account of the climate; a tenacious black liquid, or the juice of the *Bhelā* nut is preferred. [The marking-nut tree commonly called *bhilāwā*.—P.]

[3] *Vide* note p 30.

[4] *Vide* the eleventh *Āʾīn* of the second book.

various *misṭars*[1] which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

2. *Tamkīn of Kābul.* He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the *nastaʿlīq*.

3. *Mīr Dost of Kābul.* He cuts both the *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His *riqāʿ* is better than his *nastaʿlīq*. He also understands assaying.

4. *Mawlānā Ibrāhīm.* In the art of cutting cornelians he is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd. He surpasses the ancient engravers; and it is impossible to distinguish his *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words *laʿl jalālī*, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. *Mawlānā ʿAlī Aḥmad*[2] of Dihlī who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are used as copies. His *nastaʿlīq* is charming; but he writes also other characters as well. He learned the trade from his father Shaykh Ḥusayn, studied the manner of Mawlānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all.

Āʾīn 21.

THE FARRĀSH KHĀNA.

His Majesty considers this department[3] as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it as a part of Divine worship. The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions. I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers.

1. The *Bārgāh*, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

[1] Copyists take a piece a pasteboard of the same size as the paper on which they write. Then they draw two parallel vertical lines, each about an inch from the two vertical sides of the pasteboard. Along these lines they make small holes at equal intervals, and draw a string from the first hole at the left hand to the first hole of the right of the pasteboard. Similarly, the two second holes are joined, and so on, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. This contrivance is called *misṭar*, from *saṭar*, a line. The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the *misṭar*, and presses on them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

[2] *Niẓām* of Hirāt, in his Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.

[[3] کارکاه.—P]

people. It takes a thousand *farrāshes*, a week to erect with the help of machines. There are generally two door poles, fastened with hinges. If plain (i.e. without brocade, velvet, or gold ornaments) a *bārgāh* costs 10,000 rupees and upwards, whilst the price of one full of ornaments is unlimited. The price of others may be estimated from the price of a plain one. 2. The *Chūbīn rāwaṭī* is raised on ten pillars. They go a little into the ground, and are of equal height, with the exception of two, which are a little higher, as the crossbeam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a *dāsa*,[1] to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the *dāsas* and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two; and at the height of the lower *dāsas* there is a raised platform. The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet-sackcloth,[2] tied to the walls with silk tape. 3. The *Do-āshiyāna manzil*, or house of two storeys, is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform; and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper storey. The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding On the march it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship, where he prays to the Sun; and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motley *sarā* of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter to pay their compliments, and after them, outsiders. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc.), which is called *jharōka*,[3] or window. 4. The *Zamīndoz* is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The *ʿAjāʾibī* consists of nine awnings on four pillars. Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The *Mandal* is composed of five awnings joined together, and is supported by four poles Four of the awnings are let down so as to form a private room; sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open 7. The *Āth-khamba* consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes

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[1] A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, a *support*.

[[2] *Saqirlāt*, perhaps a scarlet broad-cloth.—P.]

[[3] *Jharokā*, a small window in an upper storey, especially one in a palace, to obtain a view.—P.]

separate, sometimes joined together; they are supported by eight poles. 8. The *Khargāh* is a folding tent made in various ways; some with one, others with two doors. 9. The *Shāmyāna*-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The *Qalandarī* has been described.[1] 11. The *Sarāparda* was made in former times of coarse canvas, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness. 12. The *Gulābār* is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the *Khargāh*, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together when the camp breaks up. The *gulābār* is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

Carpets.[2]

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many masterpieces. The *gilīms* of Īrān and Tūrān are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goshkān,[3] Khūzistān, Kirmān, and Sabzwār. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. These are found in every town, especially in Āgra, Fatḥpūr and Lāhor. In the imperial workshops single *gilīms* are made 20 *gaz* 7 *tassūjes* long, and 6 *gaz* 11½ *tassūjes* broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees.

Takya-namads, or woollen coverlets, are brought from Kābul and Persia,[4] but are also made in this country.

It would take up too much time to describe the *jājams*, *shatrinjīs*, *balūchīs*, and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk.

Āʾīn 22.

THE ĀBDĀR KHĀNA.

His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality", and has committed the care of this department to proper persons. He does not drink much, but pays much attention to this matter. Both at home and

[1] *Vide* p. 48.

[2] In text *gilīm*, which is a carpet without a pile.—P.]

[3] *Goshkān*, or *Joshuqān*, a town in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjamī, halfway between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. Khūzistān is the Persian province of which Shushtar, or Shustar, is the capital; the ancient *Susiana*. Kirmān is the capital of the Persian province Kirmān, which borders on Balūchistān. *Sabzwār* is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Khurāsān, between Mashhad (Meshed) and the Caspian Sea.

[[4] In text ولايت *wilāyat*. Both countries are known by the name, as also England in modern times.—P.]

on travels he drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch the water in sealed jars. When the court was at the capital Āgra and in Fatḥpūr, the water came from the district of Sorūn,[1] but now[2] that his Majesty is in the Panjāb, the water is brought from Hardwār. For the cooking of the food, rain-water or water taken from the Jamna and the Chanāb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On journeys and hunting parties, his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters.

Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small. Saltpetre is a saline earth. They fill with it a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through, they boil it, clean it, and let it crystallize. One ser of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sers of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sers of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold. The price of saltpetre varies from ¾ to 4 *mans* per rupee.

Since the thirtieth year[3] of the *Divine Era*, when the imperial standards were erected in the Panjāb, snow and ice have come into use. Ice is brought by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the district of Panhān, in the northern mountains, about forty-five *kos* from Lāhor. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sers of ice being sold per rupee. The greatest profit is derived when the ice is brought by water, next when by carriages, and least when by bearers. The inhabitants of the mountains bring it in loads, and sell it in piles containing from 25 to 30 sers, at the rate of 5 *dāms*. If they have to bring it very far, it costs 24 *d.* 17 *j.*; if the distance be an average one, 15 *d.*

Out of the ten boats employed for the transport of ice, one arrives daily at the capital, each being manned by four boatmen. The ice bundles contain from six to twelve sers, according to the temperature. A carriage brings two loads. There are fourteen stages, where the horses are changed, and besides, one elephant is used. Twelve pieces of ten to four sers arrive daily. By this kind of transport, a ser of ice costs in winter 3 *d* 21 *j.*; during the rains 14 *d.* 20 *j.*; in the intermediate time 9 *d.* 21½ *j.*;

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[1] The nearest station on the Ganges from Āgra.

[2] A D 1596. As in 1586 Fatḥpūr had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjāb.

[3] A D. 1586.

and in the average,[1] 5 *d.* 15½ *j.* If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5 *d.* 19½ *j.*; in the middle 16 *d.* 2⅛ *j.*; and in the end 19 *d.* 15⅝ *j.* per ser; in the average,[1] 8⅞ *d.*

All ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year.

Áʾín 23.

THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN.

His Majesty even extends his attention to this department, and has given many wise regulations for it; nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, as the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown for appropriate food. This knowledge distinguishes man from beasts, with whom, as far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same level. If his Majesty did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an understanding, so universal a kindness, he would have chosen the path of solitude and given up sleep and food altogether; and even now, when he has taken upon himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people, the question, "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passes over his tongue. In the course of twenty four hours his Majesty eats but once, and leaves off before he is fully satisfied, neither is there any fixed time for this meal, but the servants have always things so far ready, that in the space of an hour, after the order has been given, a hundred dishes are served up. The food allowed to the women of the seraglio commences to be taken from the kitchen in the morning, and goes on till night.

Trustworthy and experienced people are appointed to this department; and all good servants attached to the court, are resolved to perform well whatever service they have undertaken. Their head is assisted by the Prime Minister himself. His Majesty has entrusted to the latter the affairs of the state, but especially this important department. Notwithstanding all this, his Majesty is not unmindful of the conduct of the servants. He appoints a zealous and sincere man as *Mír Bakáwal*, or

[1] The text has *sardsari* which may mean the *average*; but the price given by Abú'l-Fazl is not an average. The charges for ice at the time of Akbar may be compared to the prices of the present age. Here, in Calcutta, one ser of American ice costs two annas, or ⅛ rupee, i.e., $\frac{40}{8}$ = 5 *dáms* of Akbar.

Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-house being sealed with the seals of the *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer; and every month a correct statement of the daily expenditure is drawn up, the receipt for which is sealed by the same two officers, when it is entered under the head of the expenditure. At the beginning of every quarter,[1] the *Dīwān-i buyūtāt*[2] and the *Mīr Bakāwal*, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g. *Sukhdās* rice from Bharāij,[3] *Dewzīra* rice from Gwāliār, *Jinjin* rice from Rājórī and Nīmlah, *ghī* from *Hiṣār Fīrūza*; ducks,[4] water-fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmīr. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, berberies,[5] fowls, ducks,[6] etc., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept less than a month. The slaughter-house is without the city or the camp, in the neighbourhood of rivers and tanks, where the meat is washed, when it is sent to the kitchen in sacks sealed by the cooks. There it is again washed, and thrown into the pots. The water-carriers pour the water out of their leather bags into earthen vessels, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of cloth, and sealed up; and the water is left to settle before it is used. A place is also told off as a kitchen garden, that there may be a continual supply of fresh greens. The *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer determine the price of every eatable, which becomes a fixed rule; and they sign the day-book, the estimates, the receipts for transfers, the list of wages of the servants, etc., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthenware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the *Sub-*

[[1] *Fasl.*—P.]
[2] Superintendent of the stores, workshops, etc.
[[3] Bahrāich.—B.]
[[4] Qāz T. goose not duck.—P.]
[[5] Apparently the Barbary goat.—P.]
[[6] Qāz T. goose.—P.]

Bakāwals. During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lookers-on kept away. The cooks tuck up their sleeves, and the hems of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and noses when the food is taken out; the cook and the *Bakāwal* taste it, after which it is tasted by the *Mīr Bakāwal*, and then put into the dishes. The gold and silver dishes are tied up in red cloths, and those of copper and china in white ones. The *Mīr Bakāwal* attaches his seal, and writes on it the names of the contents, whilst the clerk of the pantry writes out on a sheet of paper a list of all vessels and dishes, which he sends inside, with the seal of the *Mīr Bakāwal*, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the *Bakāwals*, the cooks, and the other servants, and macebearers precede and follow, to prevent people from approaching them. The servants of the pantry send at the same time, in bags containing the seal of the *Bakāwal*, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance; first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The *Mīr Bakāwal* is always in attendance. The dishes are taken away according to the above list. Some victuals are also kept half ready, should they be called for.

The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes, etc., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

Āʾīn 24.

RECIPES FOR DISHES.

There are many dishes, but the description is difficult. I shall give some particulars. Cooked victuals may be arranged under three heads, *first*, such in which no meat is used, called now-a-days *ṣūfiyāna*; *secondly*, such in which meat and rice, etc., are used; *thirdly*, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First, 1. *Zard birinj*: 10 *s*. of rice: 5 *s*. of sugarcandy; 3½ *s*. of ghi; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ *s*. of each; ¼ *s*. of salt; ⅛ *s*. of fresh ginger; 1½ *dāms* saffron, 2½ *misqāls* of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without

any: and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt. 2. *Khushka*: 10 *s*. rice; ½ *s*. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of *Dewzīra* paddy yields 25 *s*. of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot; *jinjin* rice yields 22 sers. 3. *Khichṛī*: Rice, *mūng* dāl,[1] and ghī 5 *s*. of each; ⅓ *s*. salt; this gives seven dishes. 4. *Shīrbirinj*: 10 *s*. milk; 1 *s*. rice; 1 *s*. sugarcandy; 1 *d*. salt; this gives five full dishes. 5. *Thūlī*: 10 *s*. of wheat, ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of ghī; 10 *misqāls* of pepper; 4 *m*. cinnamon; 3½ *m*. cloves and cardamums; ⅓ *s*. salt; some add milk and sweetmeats: this gives four dishes. 6. *Chikhī*: 10 *s*. of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 *s*. of fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 *s*. ghī; 1 *s*. onions; saffron, cardmums, and cloves, ½ *d*. of each; cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 *d*. of each; fresh ginger, salt 3 *d*. of each: this gives two dishes; some add lime juice. 7. *Bādinjān*:[2] 10 *s*.; 1½ *s*. ghī: 3¾ *s*. onions; ¼ *s*. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 *m*. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafœtida, each ½ *m*. This gives six dishes. 8. *Pahit*: For ten sers of dāl of vetches (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc.) take 2½ *s*. ghī; ½ *s*. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 *m*. cuminseed; 1½ *m*. assafœtida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with *Khushka*. 9. *Sāg*: It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 *s*. spinach, fennel, etc., 1½ *s*. ghī; 1 *s*. onions; ½ *s*. fresh ginger; 5½ *m*. of pepper; ½ *m*. of cardamums and cloves; this gives six dishes. 10. *Ḥalwā*: Flour, sugarcandy, ghī, 10 *s*. of each, which will give fifteen dishes; it is eaten in various ways.

There are also various kinds of sugared fruits, and drinks, which I cannot here describe.

Secondly, 1. *Qabūlī*: 10 *s*. rice; 7 *s*. meat; 3½ *s*. ghī; 1 *s*. gram skinned; 2 *s*. onions; ½ *s*. salt; ¼ *s*. fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cuminseed, of each 1 *d*.: cardamums and cloves, ½ *d*. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Duzdbiryān*. 10 *s*. rice, 3½ *s*. ghī; 10 *s*. meat; ½ *s*. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. *Qīma*[3] *Palāo*: Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 *s*. ghī; 1 *s*. peeled gram; 2 *s*. onions; ½ *s*. salt; ¼ *s*. fresh ginger, and pepper; cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 *d*. of each: this gives five dishes. 4. *Shulla*: 10 *s*. meat, 3½ *s*. rice; 2 *s*. ghī; 1 *s*. gram; 2 *s*. onions; ½ *s*. salt; ¼ *s*. fresh

[[1] All *split* peas, pulse, lentils, vetches, etc., are called *dāl*.—P.]
[[2] *Bādinjān* is the egg-plant or brinjāl.—P.]
[[3] *Qīma* is pounded (or minced) meat.—P.]

ginger; 2 *d.* garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d.* of each: this gives six dishes. 5. *Bughrā*: 10 *s.* meat; 3 *s.* flour; 1½ *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* gram; 1½ *s.* vinegar; 1 *s.* sugarcandy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ¼ *s.* of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 *d.* of each; 2 *d.* cinnamon; 8 *m.* round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. *Qīma Shūrbā*: 10 *s.* meat; 1 *s.* rice; 1 *s.* ghī; ½ *s.* gram, and the rest as in the *Shulla*: this gives ten full dishes. 7. *Harīsa*: 10 *s.* meat; 5 *s.* crushed wheat; 2 *s.* ghī; ½ *s.* salt; 2 *d.* cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. *Kashk*: 10 *s.* meat; 5 *s.* crushed wheat; 3 *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* gram; ¼ *s.* salt; 1½ *s.* onions; ½ *s.* ginger; 1 *d.* cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 *m.* of each: this gives five dishes. 9. *Halīm*: The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 *s.* ghī; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ½ *s.* of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. *Quṭāb*, which the people of Hind call *sanbūsa*: This is made in several ways. 10 *s.* meat; 4 *s.* fine flour; 2 *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* onions; ¼ *s.* fresh ginger; ½ *s.* salt; 2 *d.* pepper and coriander seed; cardamums, cuminseed, cloves, 1 *d.* of each; ¼ *s* of *summāq*. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. *Biryān*. For a whole *Dashmandī* sheep, take 2 *s.* salt; 1 *s.* ghī; 2 *m.* saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways. 2. *Yakhnī*[1]: for 10 *s.* meat, take 1 *s.* onions, and ½ *s.* salt. 3. *Yulma*: A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off; it is then prepared like *yakhnī*, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. *Kabāb* is of various kinds. 10 *s.* meat; ½ *s.* ghī; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ *s.* of each; cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, 1½ *d.* of each. 5. *Muṣamman*: They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole; ½ *s.* minced meat; ½ *s.* ghī; 5 eggs; ¼ *s.* onions; 10 *m.* coriander; 10 *m.* fresh ginger; 5 *m.* salt; 3 *m.* round pepper; ½ *m.* saffron. It is prepared as the preceding. 6. *Dupiyāza*: 10 *s.* meat that is middling fat; 2 *s.* ghī; 2 *s.* onions; ½ *s.* salt; ⅛ *s.* fresh pepper; cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d.* of each; 2 *d.* pepper: this will give five dishes. 7. *Muṭanjana*[2] sheep: 10 *s.* meat that is middling fat; 2 *s.* ghī; ½ *s.* gram; ½ *s.* ginger; 1 *d.* cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 *d.* of each; this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. *Dampukht*:[3] 10 *s.* meat; 2 *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* onions; 11 *m.* fresh ginger; 10 *m.* pepper; 2 *d.* cloves; 2 *d.* cardamums. 9. *Qaliyy*:

[1 *Yakhnī* is a gravy or broth.—P.]
[2 Does this mean fried?]
[3 *Dam-pukht* means cooking slowly in a vessel with its lid closed by paste.—P.]

10 *s.* meat; 2 *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* onions; 2 *d.* pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 *d.* each; ⅛ *s.* salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing *qaliya*, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the *mutanjana*. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways. 10. *Malghūba*: 10 *s.* meat; 10 *s.* curds; 1 *s.* ghī; 1 *s.* onions; ¼ *s.* ginger; 5 *d.* cloves: this will give ten dishes.

Āʾīn 25.

OF BREAD.

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a *large* kind,[1] baked in an oven, made of 10 *s.* flour; 5 *s.* milk; 1½ *s.* ghī; ¼ *s.* salt. They make also smaller ones. The *thin* kind is baked on an iron plate. One ser will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it; one kind is called *chapātī*, hich is sometimes made of *khushka*; it tastes very well when served ot. For the bread used at court, one *man* of wheat is made to yield ½ *m.* of fine flour; 2 *s.* coarsely pounded flour; and the rest bran; if this degree of fineness be not required, the proportions are altered.

Āʾīn 26.

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (*Ṣūfiyāna.*)[2]

His Majesty cares very little for meat, and often expresses himself to that effect. It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures, and lending a ready hand in killing and eating them; none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty, but makes himself a tomb for animals. If his Majesty had not the burden of the world on his shoulders, he would at once totally abstain from meat; and now it is his intention to quit it by degrees, conforming, however, a little to the spirit of the age. His Majesty abstained from meat for some time on Fridays, and then on Sundays; now on the first day of every solar month, on Sundays, on solar and lunar eclipses, on days between two fasts, on the Mondays of the month of Rajab[3] on the feast-day of every

[[1] Probably a large flat cake.—P.]

[2] Living according to the manners of the Ṣūfis.

[3] Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. The Mondays of the month of Rajab were observed as fasts, because the Sundays had been included in the list of fast days. The members of the Divine *Faith* fasted likewise during the month of their birth.

solar month, during the whole month of *Farwardīn*,[1] and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz. the month of *Ābān*. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of *Ābān* had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of *Āẕar* also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month. These fast days, however, from pious motives, are annually increased by at least five days. Should fasts fall together, they keep the longer one, and transfer the smaller by distributing its days over other months. Whenever long fasts are ended, the first dishes of meat come dressed from the apartments of Maryam Makānī, next from the other begums, the princes, and the principal nobility.

In this department nobles, *aḥadīs*, and other military, are employed. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 *dāms*.

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 27.

STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES.

The prices of course vary, as on marches, or during the rains, and for other reasons ; but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers.

A. The spring harvest.

Article	Price	Article	Price
Wheat, per *man*	12 *d.*	Safflower seed (carthamus), do.	8 *d.*
Kābul gram, do.	16 *d.*	Fenugreek, do.	10 *d.*
Black gram, do	8 *d*	Peas,[2] do.	6 *d.*
Lentils, do.	12 *d.*	Mustard seed, do.	12 *d.*
Barley, do.	8 *d.*	*Kewū*, do.	7 *d.*
Millet, do.	6 *d.*		
Linseed, per *man*	10 *d.*		

B. The autumnal harvest.

Article	Price	Article	Price
Mushkīn, paddy per *man*	110 *d.*	Jinjin rice, do.	80 *d.*
Sāda paddy, do.	100 *d.*	Dakah (?) rice, do.	50 *d.*
Sukhdās rice, do	100 *d.*	Zirhī rice, do.	40 *d.*
Dūnaparsād rice, do.	90 *d.*	Sāṭhī rice, do.	20 *d.*
Sāmzīra rice, do.	90 *d.*	*Mūng* (black gram) do.	18 *d.*
Shakarchīnī rice, do.	90 *d.*	*Māsh* (a kind of vetch) per *man*	16 *d.*
Dewzira rice, do.	90 *d.*		

[1] February-March ; [or March and April ?—P] ; *vide* the first *Ā*ʾ*īn* of the third book ; *Ābān* corresponds to October-November.

[[2] *Mashang* or *mushang*, a pea ?—P.]

Moth (a kind of vetch), per *man*	12 *d.*
White sesame, do.	20 *d.*
Black sesame, do.	19 *d.*
Lobiyā (a kind of bean), do.	12 *d.*
Juwārī (a kind of millet), do.	10 *d.*
Lahdara, do.	8 *d.*
Kōdram, do.	7 *d.*
Kūrī, do.	7 *d.*
Shamākh (Hind. *Sāwank*), do.	6 *d.*
Gāl (Hind. *Kangnī*), do.	8 *d.*
Millet (Hind. *chīna*), do.	8 *d.*

Mūng dāl, per *man*	18 *d.*
Nukhūd dāl, do.	16½ *d.*
Dāl of Lentils, per *man*	16 *d.*
Moth dāl, do.	12 *d.*

Wheat flour, per *man*	22 *d.*
Do. coarse, do.	15 *d.*
Nukhūd flour, per *man*	22 *d.*
Barley flour, do.	11 *d.*

C. Vegetables.

Fennel, per *man*	10 *d.*
Spinach, do.	16 *d.*
Mint, do.	40 *d.*
Onions, do.	6 *d.*
Garlic, do.	40 *d.*
Turnips, do.	21 *d.*
Cabbage, per *ser* [1]	1 *d.*
Kankachhū, from Kashmīr, do	4 *d.*
Dunwretū,	2 *d.*
Shaqāqul (wild carrot [2]), do.	3 *d.*
Garlic flowers, per *ser*	1 *d.*
Upalhāk, (from Kashmīr) do.	1 *d.*
Jūtū, do.	3 *d.*
Ginger (green), do.	2½ *d.*
Po,ī, do.	1 *d.*
Kachnār buds, do.	½ *d.*
Chūkā (sorrel), do.	½ *d.*
Bathwa, do.	¼ *d.*
Ratsakā, do.	1 *d.*
Chaulā,ī, do.	¼ *d.*

D. Living animals and meats.

Dāshmandī sheep, per *head*	6½ *R.*
Afghān sheep, 1st kind, do.	2 *R.*
Do., 2nd kind, do.	1½ *R.*
Do., 3rd kind, do.	1¼ *R.*
Kashmīr sheep, do.	1½ *R.*
Hindustāni sheep, do.	1½ *R.*
Barbarī goat, 1st kind, do.	1 *R.*
Do., 2nd kind, do.	¾ *R.*
Mutton, per *man*	65 *d.*
Goat, do.	54 *d.*
Geese, per *head*	20 *d.*
Duck, per *head*	1 *R.*
Tughdarī (bustard),[3] do.	20 *d.*
Kulang (crane),[4] do.	20 *d.*
Jarz (a kind of bustard),[5] do.	18 *d.*

[1 *Turb* radish, not turnip.—P.]
[2 Or wild parsnip ?—P.]
[3 *Tughdarī* is the Hubara bustard.—P.]
[4 *Kulang* is the Common Crane or "coolan".—P.]
[5 For *charz*. In Baluchistan this is the name of the Hubara, but elsewhere of the Florican.—P.]

Durrāj (black partridge), per *head* . . . 3 *d.*
Kabg[1] (partridge), do. . 20 *d.*
Būdana,[2] do. . . 1 *d.*
Lāwah,[3] do. . . . . 1 *d.*
Karwānak (stone curlew), do. . . . . . 20 *d.*
Fākhta (ringdove), do. . 4 *d.*

E. Butter, Sugar, etc.

Ghī, per *man* . . 105 *d.*
Oil, do. . . . 80 *d.*
Milk, do. . . . 25 *d.*
Curds, do. . . . 18 *d.*
Refined Sugar, per *ser* . 5 *d.*
White sugar candy, do. . 5½ *d.*
White sugar, per *man* . 128 *d.*
Brown sugar, do. . . 56 *d.*

F. Spices.

Saffron, per *ser* . . 400 *d.*
Cloves, do. . . . 60 *d.*
Cardamums, do. . . 52 *d.*
Round pepper, do. . 17 *d.*
Long pepper, do. . . 16 *d.*
Dry ginger, do. . . 4 *d.*
Fresh do., do. . . 2½ *d.*
Cuminseed, do. . . 2 *d.*
Aniseed, per *ser* . . 2 *d.*
Turmeric (Hind. *haldī*) do. . . . . . 10 *d.*
Coriander seed, do. . 3 *d.*
Siyāhdāna (Hind. *kalaunjī*), do. . . . . . 1½ *d.*
Assafœtida, do. . . 2 *d.*
Sweet fennel, do. . . 1 *d.*
Cinnamon, do. . . 40 *d.*
Salt, per *man* . . 16 *d.*

G. Pickles.

Sour limes, per *ser* . . 6 *d*
Lemon-juice, do. . . 5 *d.*
Wine vinegar . . 5 *d.*
Sugarcane vinegar, do. . 1 *d.*
Pickled *ashtarghāz*, do. . 8 *d.*
Mangoes in oil, do. . 2 *d.*
Do. in vinegar, do. . 2 *d.*
Lemons in oil, do. . . 2 *d.*
Do. in vinegar, do. . 2 *d.*
Do. in salt, do. . 1½ *d.*
Do. in lemon-juice, do. . 5 *d.*
Pickled ginger . . 2½ *d.*
Adarshākh, do. . . 2½ *d.*
Turnips in vinegar, do. . 1 *d.*
Pickled carrots, do. . ½ *d.*
Pickled bamboo, per *ser* 4 *d.*
Do. apples, do. . . 8 *d.*
Do. quinces, do. . . 9 *d.*
Do. garlic, do. . . 1 *d.*
Do. onions, do. . . ½ *d.*
Do. *bādinjān* (egg-plant), do. . . . . . 1 *d.*
Do. raisins and *munaqqa*,[4] do. . . . . . 8 *d.*
Do. *kachnār*, do. . . 2 *d.*
Do. peaches, do. . . 1 *d.*
Do. *sahajna* (horse-radish) . . . 1 *d.*
Do. *karīl buds* (capparis), do. . . . . . ½ *d.*

[[1] *Kabk* the Chukor partridge.—P.]
[[2] The Common Quail.—P.]
[[3] The Rock Bush-quail.—P.]
[[4] *Kishmish* sultana raisins; *munaqqa* large black raisins.—P.]

Pickled *karīl berries*, per *ser*	½ *d.*	Do. cucumbers, do.	½ *d.*
Do. *sūran*, do.	1 *d.*	Do. *bādrang*,[1] (gourd) do.	½ *d.*
Do. mustard	½ *d.*	Do. *kachālū*, do.	½ *d.*
Do. *torī* (a kind of cucumber)	½ *d.*	Do. radishes, do.	½ *d.*

Āʾīn 28.

THE FRUITERY.

His Majesty looks upon fruits as one of the greatest gifts of the Creator, and pays much attention to them. The horticulturists of Īrān and Tūrān have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state. Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent; and water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, etc., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kābul, Qandahār, and Kashmīr, loads of fruit are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bāzārs well supplied. Muskmelons come in season, in Hindūstān, in the month of *Farwardīn* (February–March),[2] and are plenty in *Urdībihish* (March–April).[3] They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called *nāshpātī, bābāshaykhī, ʿalīsherī, alcha, barg-i nay, dūd-i chirāgh*, etc. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of *Sharīwar* (August),[4] they come from Kashmīr, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kābul; during the month of *Āzar* (November),[5] they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshān, and continue to be had during *Day* (December).[6] When they are in season in Zābulistān, good ones also are obtainable in the Panjāb; and in Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter. Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from *Khurdād* (May)[7] to *Amurdād* (July),[8] whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmīr grapes during *Shahrīwar*.[4] Eight sers of grapes sell in Kashmīr for one *dām*, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per *man*. The Kashmīris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

[1 *Bādrang*, not gourd. Perhaps a citron.—P.]
[2 March–April.—P.]
[3 April–May.—P.]
[4 August–September.—P.]
[5 November–December.—P.]
[6 December–January.—P.]
[7 May–June.—P.]
[8 July–August.—P.]

From *Mihr* (September)[1] till *Urdībihist*[2] grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries,[3] which his Majesty calls *shāhālū*, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, *girdālūs*, and *ālūchas*, etc., many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or *kūknār* (he calls the latter *sabras*), the servants in charge place before him stands of fruits; he eats a little, but most is distributed. The fruits are marked according to their degree of excellence: melons of the first quality are marked with a line drawn round the top; those of the second, with two lines; and so on.

In this department *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, and other soldiers are employed; the pay of a foot soldier varies from 140 to 100 *d.*

The following tables contain particulars regarding the names, seasons, taste, and prices of various fruits.

Á. *Tūrānī Fruits.*

Fruit	Price
Arhang melons, 1st quality, at	2½ *R.*
Do., 2nd and 3rd do., at 1 to	2½ *R.*
Kābul melons, 1st do., at 1 to	1½ *R.*
Do., 2nd do., at ¾ to	1 *R.*
Do., 3rd do., at ½ to	¾ *R.*
Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for	1 *R.*
Quinces, 10 to 30 for	1 *R.*
Pomegranates, per *man*, 6½ to	15 *R.*
Guavas, 10 to 100 for	1 *R.*
Kābul and European apples, 5 to 10 for	1 *R.*
Kashmīr grapes, per *man*	108 *d.*
Dates, per *ser*	10 *d.*
Raisins (*kishmish*), do.	9 *d.*
Ābjosh (large raisins), do.	9 *d.*
Plums, do.	8 *d.*
Khūbānī (dried apricots), per *ser*	8 *d.*
Qandahar dry grapes, do.	7 *d.*
Figs, per *ser*	7 *d.*
Munaqqa, do.	6¾ *d.*
Jujubes, do.	3½ *d.*
Almonds, without the shell, do.	28 *d.*
Do., with do., do	11 *d.*
Pistachios, do., do.	9 *d.*
Chilghūza[4] nuts, per *ser*	8 *d.*
Sinjid (jujubes), do.	6½ *d.*
Pistachios, without shell, do.	6 *d.*
Jawz (nuts), do.	4½ *d.*
Filberts, do.	3 *d.*
Hazel[5] nuts, do.	2½ *d.*

[[1] September–October.—P.]

[2] The original has a word *kīlās*, which is not to be found in our dictionaries. It may be cerasus. [Gīlās is the common name in Persia and in Kashmir for the white sweet cherry.—P.]

[3] A town in Bada Khshān.

[[4] Edible seed of pinus Gerardiana.—P.]

[[5] *Girdgān* is properly the walnut.—P.]

B. *The sweet fruits of Hindustan.*

Fruit	Price	Fruit	Price
Mangoes, *per hundred*, up to	40 *d.*	*Tendū*, do.	2 *d.*
Pine-apples, one for	4 *d.*	*Ūsīrā*	*
Oranges,[1] two for	1 *d.*	Dates, per *ser*	4 *d.*
Sugarcanes, two for	1 *d.*	*Angūhal*	*
Jackfruits, two for	1 *d.*	*Delā*, do.	1 *d.*
Plantains, do.	1 *d.*	*Gūla*	*
Ber, per *ser*	2 *d.*	*Bholsarī*, per *ser*	4 *d.*
Pomegranates, per *man*, 80 to	100 *d.*	*Tarkul*, two for	1 *d.*
Guavas,[2] two for	1 *d.*	*Paniyāla*, per *ser*	2 *d.*
Figs, per *ser*	1 *d.*	*Lahsaura*, do.	1 *d.*
Mulberry, do.	2 *d.*	*Gumbhī*, do	4 *d.*
Custard-apples,[3] one for	1 *d.*	*Karahrī*	4 *d.*
Melons, per *man*	40 *d.*	*Tarrī*	*
Water-melons, one	2 to 10 *d.*	*Banga*, two for	1 *d.*
Khirnī, per *ser*	4 *d.*	*Gūlar*,[4] per *ser*	2 *d.*
Mahuwā, do.	1 *d.*	*Pīlū*, do.	2 *d.*
Dephal, do.	4 *d.*	*Barauta*	*
		Piyār, do.	4 *d.*

* The original does not mention the price.

Mulberries and *gūlars* are in season during *spring*; pine-apples, oranges, sugarcane, *bers*, *ūsīrās*, *bholsarīs*, *gumbhīs*, *déphals* during *winter*; jackfruits, *tarkuls*, figs, melons, *lahsauras*, *karahrīs*, *mahuwās*, *tendūs*, *pīlūs*, *barautas*, during *summer*; and mangoes, plantains, dates, *ḍelās*, *gūlas*, pomegranates, guavas, water-melons, *paniyālas*, *bangas*, *khirnīs*, *piyārs*, during the rains.

C. *Dried Fruits.*

Fruit	Price	Fruit	Price
Coco-nuts, one for	4 *d.*	*Makhānā*, per *ser*	4 *d.*
Dry Dates, per *ser*	6 *d.*	*Sūpyārī*, do	8 *d.*
Walnuts, do.	8 *d.*	*Kaulgatta*, do.	2 *d.*
Chiraunchī, do	4 *d.*		

Dates, walnuts, *chiraunchīs*, and *kaulgattas* are in seasons during *summer*, and coco-nuts, *makhānās*, and *supyārīs*, during *winter*.

[1 *Kāwla* ?]
[2 *Amrūd* guava, but in Persia and locally too in India, a pear.—P.]
[3 *Sadā-phal*. The custard-apple is *sitā-phal*.—P.] The original says that custard-apples are to be had throughout the whole year. This seems a mistake of the MSS. The remark suits the next fruit (melons).
[4 *Gūlar* wild fig.—P.]

D. Vegetables.

Palwal, per *ser*	2 d.	*Kachālū*, per *ser*	2 d.
Gourd,[1] one	2½ d.	*Chachīndā*, do.	2 d.
Bādinjān, per *ser*	1½ d.	*Sūran*, do.	1 d.
Tura,ī, do.	1½ d.	Carrots, do.	1 d.
Kandūrī, do.	1½ d.	*Singhāra*, do.[2]	3 d.
Sēnb, do.	1½ d.	*Sālak*, do.	2 d.
Peṭh, do.	1½ d.	*Pinḍālū*, do.	2 d.
Karīla, do.	1½ d.	*Siyātī*	*
Kakūra, do.	1½ d.	*Kaserū*, do.	3 d.

Sūrans and *siyātīs* are in season during *summer*; *palwals*, gourds, *tura,īs*, *kachālūs*, *chachīndās*, *kandūrīs*, *senbs*, *peṭhs*, *karīlas*, *kakūras*, and *singhāras* during the *rains*; and carrots, *sālaks*, *pinḍālūs*, and *kaserūs*, during *winter*. *Bādinjāns* are to be had throughout the year.

E. Sour Fruits.

Limes, *four* up to	1 d.	*Ghep*	*
Amalbet, do.	1 d.	*Bijaurā*, one for	8 d.
Galgal, two up to	1 d.	*Āwlā*,[3] per *ser*	2 d.

Limes and *āwlas* are to be had in summer, the others during the rains.

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

Ambīlī, per *ser*	2 d.	*Kait*, four up to	1 d.
Baḍhal, one for	1 d.	*Kānkū*	*
Kamrak, four up to	1 d.	*Pākar*, per *ser*	½ d.
Nārangī,[4] two up to	1 d.	*Karnā*, one for	1 d.
Mountain grapes	*	*Labhīrā*	*
Jāman, per *ser*	1 d.	*Janbhīrī*, five up to	1 d.
Phālsa, do	1½ d.	*Garna!*	*
Karaundā, do.	1 d.		

* The original does not mention the price.

Kamraks and *nārangīs*,[4] are in season during *winter*; *ambīlīs*, *baḍhals*, mountain-grapes, *phālsas*, *labhīrās*, during *summer*; and *kaits*, *pākars*, *karnās*, *jāmans*, *karaundās*, *jhanbhīrīs*, during the *rains*.

The fruits of Hindustan are either sweet, or subacid, or sour; each kind is numerous. Some fruits also taste well when dry; others as above described are used when cooked. I shall give now a few details.

[[1] *Kadū* pumpkin.—P.]
[[2] The water-nut.—P.]
[[3] The emblic myrobalans.—P.]
[[4] The orange with *close* skin.—P.]

The Mangoe : The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusraw*.[1] This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmets of Tūrān and Īrān place it above muskmelons and grapes. In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one ser and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a walnut-tree, and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger. The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn, and look green and yellow, orange, peach-coloured, and bright red. The flower, which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious.[2] About a month after the leaves have made their appearance, the fruit is sour, and is used for preserves and pickles. It improves the taste of *qalyas* (p. 64), as long as the stone has not become hard. If a fruit gets injured whilst on the tree, its good smell will increase. Such mangoes are called *koyilās*. The fruit is generally taken down when unripe, and kept in a particular manner. Mangoes ripened in this manner are much finer. They mostly commence to ripen during summer, and are fit to be eaten during the rains; others commence in the rainy season, and are ripe in the beginning of winter; the latter are called *Bhadiyya*. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down, else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrāt, Mālwah, Khāndesh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Panjāb, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Lāhor his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put milk and treacle round about the tree, which makes the fruits sweeter. Some trees yield in one year a rich harvest, and less in the next one; others yield for one year no fruit at all. When many mangoes are eaten, digestion is assisted by drinking milk with the kernels of the mangoe stones. The kernels of old stones are subacid, and taste well; when two or three years old they are used as medicine. If a half-ripe mangoe, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year.

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[1] *Vide* the fourth note on p. 75 of my Persian text edition.
[[2] *Shigarf*, beautiful, fine.—P.]

Pine-apples [1] are also called *kaṭhal-i safarī*, or travelling jackfruits, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mangoe. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them, and put them singly into the ground; they are the seedlings. Each plant bears only once, and one fruit only.

Oranges [2] have the colour of saffron, and the shape of quinces. They belong to the best fruits to be had in Hindūstān. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

Sugarcane, which the Persians call *Nayshakar*, is of various kinds; one species is so tender and so full of juice, that a sparrow can make it flow out by pecking it; and it would break to pieces, if let fall. Sugarcane is either soft, or hard. The latter is used for the preparation of brown sugarcandy, common sugar, white candy, and refined sugar, and thus becomes useful for all kinds of sweetmeats. It is cultivated as follows. They put some healthy sugarcane in a cool place, and sprinkle it daily with water. When the sun enters the sign of Aquarius, they cut off pieces, a cubit [3] and upwards in length, put them into soft ground, and cover them up with earth. The harder the sugarcane is, the deeper they put it. Constant irrigation is required. After seven or eight months it will come up.

Sugarcane is also used for the preparation of intoxicating liquor, but brown sugar is better for this purpose. There are various ways of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound *Babūl* [4] bark mixing it at the rate of ten *sers* to one *man* of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse-dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but a stringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergris, camphor, etc. They also let meat dissolve in it. This beverage, when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

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[1] Jahāngir in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad. p. 3) states that the pine-apples at his time came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese.

[[2] *Kāwlā*.—P.]

[[3] *Wajab*, a span.—P.]

[[4] A species of acaic, the *kikar* of the Panjāb.—P.]

They have several methods of distilling it; *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it. The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay. After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm. As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup. *Secondly*, they close the same vessel with an earthen pot, fastened in the same manner with clay, and fix to it two pipes, the free ends of which have each a jar attached to them, which stands in cold water. The vapour through the pipes will enter the jars and condense. *Thirdly*, they fill an earthen vessel with the above-mentioned liquor, and fasten to it a large spoon with a hollow handle. The end of the handle they attach to a pipe, which leads into a jar. The vessel is covered with a lid, which is kept full with cold water. The arrack, when condensed, flows through the spoon into the jar. Some distil the arrack twice, when it is called *Duātasha*, or twice burned. It is very strong. If you wet your hands with it, and hold them near the fire, the spirit will burn in flames of different colours without injuring the hands. It is remarkable that when a vessel containing arrack is set on fire you cannot put it out by any means; but if you cover the vessel, the fire gets extinguished at once.

The *Jackfruit* has the shape of a black-pudding,[1] looks greenish, and is sometimes a yard long, and half a yard broad. When small, it resembles a water-melon; its peel is full of thorns. It grows out of the branches, the trunk, and the roots. Those that grow below the ground are sweetest. On opening you see round clusters, so viscous, that the fingers stick together, when you take them out. The tree looks like a nut tree, but is somewhat bigger and has larger leaves. The flower, like the fruit, has a good smell. The fruits are also taken down when unripe. They then apply lime, etc., when the fruits will get ripe.

The *Plantain* tree looks straight like a spear; the leaves come out of the trunk thick and soft, and resemble an unsewn plaited[2] sleeve, but are much larger and wider. Out of the middle rises something looking like a spindle, of a lilac[3] colour; this is the bud. The fruit consists of a cluster of seventy to eighty plantains. In shape they resemble small cucumbers; the peel is easily removed. As plantains are very heavy, you cannot eat many. There are various kinds of plantains. The plant is every year

[1 *Kīpā* the gut of a sheep stuffed with mince and rice.—P.]
[2 اتو کرده might mean ironed.—P.]
[3 *Sūsan* is the common purple flag-iris.—P.]

cut down, and a stump only is left of it: if this is not done, it will no longer bear fruit. The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor, but this is wrong; for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees—another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine.

The *Mahuwā* tree resembles the mangoe tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called *Gilaunda*, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The *Bholsirī* tree is large and handsome,[1] the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles the jujube.

The *Tarkul* tree, and its fruit, resemble the coco-nut palm and its fruit. When the stalk of a new leaf comes out of a branch, they cut off its end and hang a vessel to it to receive the out-flowing juice. The vessel will fill twice or three times a day. The juice is called *tārī*; when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time it turns subacid and is inebriating.

The *Paniyāla* fruit resembles the *Zardālū*[2] and its tree the lime tree; the leaves are like those of the willow. When unripe the fruit is green, and red when ripe.

The *Gumbhī* has a stem the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the *kunār*, come from below the roots.

The *Tarrī* forms at the root; it grows mostly in the mountains, and weighs a *man*, more or less, when the creeper is a year old; and two, when two years old. It looks like a millstone. When older it grows larger according to the same proportion. Its leaves resemble those of the water melon.

The *Piyār* is like a small grape; brownish and sweet. The inside of the kernel is like butter, and is used in the preparation of food; it is called *Chiraunjī*. Its tree is about a yard high.

The *Coco-nut* is called by the Persians *Jawz-i Hindī*: the tree resembles the date tree, but is larger; its wood, however, looks better, and the leaves are larger. The tree bears fruit throughout the whole year; the fruits ripen in three months. They are also taken down, when unripe and green, and kept for some time. Their inside contains a cup full of milk-like juice, which tastes well, and is very often drunk in summer, mixed with sugar. When ripe, the fruit looks brown. The juice has now become solid, and

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[1] The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand.

[[2] *Zardālū* the acid apricot.—P.]

gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with *pān*-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and *ghichaks* (a kind of violin). There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve *sers* and upwards. The bark of the tree is used for ropes; the large ropes used on ships are made of it.

Dates are called in Hindi *Pinḍ-khajūr*. The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits.

The *Sūpyārī*, or betel nut, is called in Persian *fūfal*. The tree is graceful and slender, like the cypress. The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground; but it rises up again. There are various kinds. The fruit when eaten raw tastes somewhat like an almond, but gets hard when ripe. It is eaten with betel leaves.

The *Singhāra* is a triangular fruit; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. It is eaten raw or roasted.

The *Sālak* grows in tanks under the earth. They go into the water and dig it up.

The *Pinḍālū* is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high. Its leaf resembles the betel lead; they dig up the root.

The *Kaserū* grows in tanks. When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled.

The *Siyālī* root is long and conical; the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached.

The *Orange* [1] has the shape of an egg One kind is called *kāghazī*.[1] Between the peel and the fruit is a thin white membrane. The fruit is juicy, and tastes well; one kind is to be had throughout the whole year.

The *Amalbet* is like a lime,[2] and very sour. If you put a steel needle into this fruit, the needle in a short time will dissolve; and a white shell when put into its juice will soon disappear.

The *Karnā* resembles an apple, and appears after the plant has reached the third year. At first the fruit is green, sour, and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter; when ripe it is red and sweet. When it is kept long, it turns green again. The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader, and the buds like fine arrows.[3]

[[1] *Nāranj*, orange ?—P.]

[[2] *Līmū*, lime. *Kāghazī* is applied to a small green lime with a skin as thin as paper.—P.]

[[3] *Paykān-i khākī* ?—P.]

The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergris; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The Betel leaf is, properly speaking, a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit. Mīr Khusraw of Dihlī, in one of his verses, says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in Hindustān." The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called *Bilahrī* is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days when greater efforts are made. 2. The *Kāker* leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The *Jaiswār* leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The *Kapūrī* leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The *Kapūrkānt* leaf is yellowish-green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banāras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The *Bangla* leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of *Chait* (March–April), about New-Year's[1] time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with *Karhanj* leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put milk, sesame oil and its dregs, etc., about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The *Karhanj* leaf, which they separate for seedlings and call *Perī*. The new leaf is called *Gaḍauta*. 2. The *Nautī* leaf. 3. The *Bahutī* leaf. 4. The *Chhīw* leaf. 5. The *Adhinīdā* leaf. 6. The *Agahniya* or *Lewār* leaf. 7. The *Karhanj* leaf itself. With the exception of the *Gaḍauta*, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some;

[[1] The 21st March is New Year's Day.—P.]

others keep it for seeding: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the *Peṛī*.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called *Lahāsa*, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called *Ḍholī*; a *lahāsa* is made up of *ḍholīs*. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From 5 to 25 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and displayed in various ways. They also put some betel nut and *kath*[1] on one leaf, and some lime[2] paste on another, and roll them up; this is called a *bīṛā*. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread. Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus. They are also prepared as a dish.

Āʾīn 29.

ON FLAVOURS.

As I have mentioned various kinds of food, I shall also say something on flavours. *Heat* renders pungent that which is agreeable, bitter that which is greasy, and brackish that which has the proper flavour; *cold* makes the first acid, the second astringent, and the third tart. Astringency when affecting the tongue merely, is called in Arabic *qabẓ*; and *ʿufūṣat* when affecting the whole frame. A *moderate* temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless. These are the fundamental flavours. Others count four, viz., the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish. The flavours produced by combinations are endless; some have, however, names, e.g. *bashāʿat* is a bitter and tart flavour, and *zuʿūqa* a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

Āʾīn 30.

ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloewood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes; whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used

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[1] An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the *pān* leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red. [Catechu ?—P.]

[2] In Persian *chūna*; but in Anglo-Indice, *chunām*.

in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. *Santūk* is used for keeping the skin fresh: 1½ *tolās* Civet; 1 *t.* *Chūwa*[1]; 2 *māshas Chambelī* essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. *Argaja* ¾ *s.* sandalwood; 2 *t.* *Iksīr* and *Mīd*; 3 *t.* *Chūwa*; 1 *t.* violet root, and *gehla* (the seed of a plant); ½ *m.* camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. *Gulkāma*: Pound together 1 *t.* best Ambergris; ½ *t.* *Lādan*; 2 *t.* best musk; 4 *t.* wood of aloes, and 8 *t.* *Iksīr-i ʿabīr*; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a *ser* of the juice of the flower called *Gul-i surkh*,[2] and expose it to the sun, till it dries up. Wet it in the evening with rose-water and with the extract of the flower called *Bahār*, and pound it again on *Samāq*[3] stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called *Bahār-i Nāranj*,[4] and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black *Rayḥān* (also called black *Nāzbū*).[5] A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. *Rūḥ-afzā*, 5 *s.* Aloewood; 1½ *s.* Sandalwood; 1½ *s.* *Lādan*; *Iksīr*, *Lūbān*, *Dhūp* (a root brought from Kashmīr), 3½ *t.* of each; 20 *t.* violet root; 10 *t.* *Ushna*, called in Hind. *Chharīla*: Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into discs with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine. 5. *Opatna* is a scented soap: 2¾ *s.* *Lādan*; 1½ *s.* 5 *d.* Aloewood; the same quantity of *Bahār-i Nāranj*,[4] and 1½ *s.* of its bark; 1 *s.* 10 *d.* Sandalwood; 1 *s.* 5 *d.* *Sumbul*ᵘ *'t-ṭīb*, called in Hind *Chhaṛ*; the same quantity of *Ushna*; 38½ *t.* musk; 1 *s.* 4 *t.* *pācha* leaves; 36 *t.* apples; 11 *t.* *Suʿd*, called in Hind *Moṭh*; 5 *d.* violet root; 1 *s.* 2 *m.* *Dhūp*; 1½ *t.* *Ikankī* (a kind of grass); the same quantity of *Zurumbād*, called in Hind. *kachūr* (zerumbet); 1 *t.* 2 *m* *Lūbān*; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of *Bahār*. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist let it dry. 6. *ʿAbīrmāya*,[6] 4 *d.* Aloewood; 2 *d.* Sandalwood; 1 *d.* violet root; 3 *d.* *Sumbul*ᵘ *'t-ṭīb*; 3 *d.* *Duwālak*; 4 *t.* musk of *Khatā* (Cathay); 2½ *d.* *Lādan*; 7½ *d.* *Bahār-i Nāranj*. Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. *Kishta*, 24 *t.* Aloewood; 6½ *Lādan*, *Lūbān*, and Sandalwood; *Iksīr* and *Dhūp*, 2 *t.* of each; violet root and musk, 2 *t.*;

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[1] This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.

[[2] *Gul-i surkh* in Persian is a pink fragrant rose that blooms in Spring.—P.]

[[3] *Summāq* (vide *sumāq*) is the hardest kind of marble.—P.]

[[4] Orange-flower bloom.—P.]

[[5] Sweet basil.—P.]

[6] *Vide* below the twelfth flower.

1 *t.* *Ushna*; mix with 50 *t.* refined sugar, and boil gently in two bottles of rose-water. It is made into discs. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. *Bukhūr* : 1 *s.* Aloewood and Sandalwood; ¼ *s.* *Lādan*; 2 *t.* musk; 5 *t.* *Iksīr*; mix with two *sers* of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. *Fatīla*: 5 *s.* Aloewood; 72 *t.* Sandalwood; *Iksīr* and *Lādan*, 20 *t.* of each; 5 *t.* Violet root; 10 *t.* *Lūbān*; 3 *t.* refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. *Bārjāt*; 1 *s.* Aloewood; 5 *t.* *Lādan*; 2 *t.* musk; 2 *t.* Sandalwood; 1 *t.* *Lūbān*; ½ *t.* Camphor. Then distill it like *Chūwa* (*vide* below). 11. ʿ*Abīr-Iksīr* : ¾ *s.* Sandalwood; 26 *t.* *Iksīr*; 2 *t.* 8 *m.* musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. *Ghasūl* (a liquid soap), 35 *t.* Sandalwood; 17 *t.* *Katūl* (?)[1]; 1 *t.* musk; 1 *t.* *Chūwa*; 2 *m.* Camphor; 2 *m.* *Mīd*. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

A List of Perfumes[2] *and their Prices.*

Perfume	Price
ʿ*Ambar i ashhab*	1 to 3 Muhurs, per *tolā*.
Zabād (civet)	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*, *do.*
Musk	1 to 4½ *R.*, *do.*
Lignum aloes Hind. *Agar*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*, per *ser.*
Chūwa (Distilled wood of Aloes)	⅛ *R.* to 1 *R.*, per *tolā.*
Gaura[3]	3 to 5 *R.*, *do.*
Bhīmsīnī Camphor	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*, *do.*
Mīd	1 to 3 *R.*, *do.*
Zaʿfarān	12 to 22 *R.*, per *ser.*
Zaʿfarān-i Kamandī	1 to 3 *M.*, *do.*
Zaʿfarān (from Kashmīr)	8 to 12 *R.*, *do.*
Sandalwood	32 to 55 *R.*, per *man.*
Nāfa-yi mushk	3 to 12 *M.*, per *ser.*
Kalanbak (Calembic)	10 to 40 *R.*, per *man.*
Silāras	3 to 5 *R.*, per *ser.*
ʿ*Ambar-i Lādan*	1½ to 4 *R.*, *do.*
Kāfūr-i Chīna	1 to 2 *R.*, *do.*
ʿ*Araq-i Fitna*	1 to 3 *R.*, per *bottle.*
ʿ*Araq-i Bēd-i Mushk*	1 to 4 *R.*, *do.*
Rosewater	½ to 1 *R.*, *do.*
ʿ*Araq-i Bahār*	1 to 5 *R.*, *do.*
ʿ*Araq-i Chambelī*	⅛ to ¼ *R.*, *do.*
Violet-root	½ to 1 *R.*, per *ser.*

[1] According to some MSS. *Kanwal.*
[2] Most of the following names are explained below.
[3] In the text, p. 85, by mistake *Kaurah*. *Vide* my text edition, p. 94, l. 6.

Aẓfār^u 't-ṭīb	1½ to 2 *R.*, per *ser.*
Barg-i Māj (brought from Gujrāt) . .	½ to 1 *R.*, *do.*
Sugandh Gūgalā	10 to 13 *R.*, *do.*
Lūbān (from Sargard ?)	½ to 3 *R.*, per *tolā.*
Lūbān (other kinds)	1 to 2 *R.*, per *ser.*
Alak, Hind. *Chhaṛ*	¼ to ½ *R.*, *do.*
Duwālak, Hind. *Chharīla*	3 to 4 *d.*, *do.*
Gehla	*
Suᶜd	*
Ikankī	*
Zurumbād	*

* The original does not mention the prices.

A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The *Sewtī.* Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.

2. The *Bholsarī.* Whitish; in the rains.

3. The *Chambelī.* White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.

4. *Rāy-bel.* White and pale yellow. In the end of the hot season, and the beginning of the rains.

5. The *Mongrā.* Yellow. In summer.

6. The *Champa.* Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.

7. *Ketkī.* The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot summer.

8. *Kūza.* White. During the hot season.

9. The *Pādal.* Brownish lilac. In spring.

10. The *Jūhī.* White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.

11. The *Niwārī.* Whitish. In spring.

12. The *Nargis.* White. In spring.

13. The *Kewara.* From Leo to Libra.

14. The *Chalta.*

15. The *Gulāl.* In spring.

16. The *Tasbīḥ Gulāl.* White. In winter.

17. The *Singārhār.* It has small white petals. In the hot season.

18. The *Violet.* Violet. In the hot season.

19. The *Karna.* White. In spring.

20. The *Kapūr bél.*

21. The *Gul-i Zaᶜfarān.* Lilac-colour. In autumn.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

1. The *Gul-i Āftāb*. Yellow.

2. The *Gul-i Kāwal*. White and also bluish. In the rains.

3. The *Jaʿfarī*. A golden yellow, or orange coloured, or greenish. In spring.

4. The *Guḍhal*. Of different colours, red, yellow, orange, white. In the rains.

5. The *Ratan-manjanī*. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.

6. The *Kesū*. In the hot season.

7. The *Senbal*. Dark red. In spring.

8. The *Ratan-mālā*. Yellow. In spring.

9. The *Sonzard*. Yellow. In spring.

10. The *Gul-i Māltī*.

11. The *Karnphūl*. A golden red.

12. The *Karīl*. In spring.

13. The *Kaner*. Red and white.

14. The *Kadam*. Outside green ; in the middle yellow threads ; the inside leaves white. In spring.

15. The *Nāg-kesar*. In spring.

16. The *Surpan*. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.

17. The *Sirī khanḍī*. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.

18. The *Jait*. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.

19. The *Champala*. White, like orange blossoms. In spring.

20. The *Lāhī*. It blooms in Pisces.

21. The *Gul-i Karaunda*. White. It is smaller than the Chambēlī, and blooms during the rains.

22. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nīlūfar*. During the rains.

23. The *Gul-i Ḥinnā*.

24. The *Dupahriyā*. Bright red and white. All the year.

25. The *Bhūn Champā*. Peach coloured.

26. The *Sudarsan*. Yellow ; it resembles the *Nīlūfar*, but is smaller.

27. The *Kanglā,ī*. There are two kinds, red and white.

28. The *Sirs*. Yellowish green. It is full of stamens. In spring.

29. The *San*. Yellow. During the rains.

On the Preparation of some Perfumes.

1. *ʿAmbar.* Some say that *ʿAmbar* grows at the bottom of the sea, and that it is the food brought up again after eating, by various animals living in the sea. Others say that fishes eat it and die from it, and that it is taken from their intestines. According to some, it is the dung of the sea-cow, called *sārā*; or the foam of the sea. Others again say, it trickles from the mountains of islands. Many look upon it as marine gum; others whose opinion I adopt, take it to be wax. It is said that on some mountains a great deal of honey is to be found, so much in fact that it runs into the sea; the wax rises to the surface, when the heat of the sun reduces it to a solid state. As the bees collect the honey from sweet smelling flowers, *ʿAmbar* is, naturally, scented. Bees are also occasionally found in it. *Abū Sīnā* thinks that there is a fountain at the bottom of the sea, from which *ʿAmbar* rills, when it is carried by waves to the shore. *ʿAmbar*, when fresh, is moist; the heat of the sun causes it to dry up. It is of various colours: the white is the best, and the black is the worst; the middling sort is pistachio-coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of *ashhab*. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is the better. Next in quality is the pistachio-coloured *ʿAmbar*; and the inferior to it the yellow kind, called *Khashkhāshī*. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bāzār-dealers will mix it with wax, *Mandal*, and *Lādan*, etc.; but not every one has recourse to such practices. *Mandal* is a kind of *ʿAmbar* taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

2. *Lādan* is also often called *ʿAmbar*. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of *Qibrus* (Cyprus) and *Qīsūs* (Chios) or *Qistūs*. It is a moisture that settles on the leaves of the tree. When goats in grazing pass near it, the hairs of their thighs and the horn of their hoofs stick to it, and the whole then dries up. Such *Lādan* as is mixed with goat's-hair is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But *Lādan* which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the *Lādan* which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into discs.

3. The *Camphor tree* is a large tree growing in the ghauts of Hindustan and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree. Camphor is collected from the trunk and the branches. Some say that during summer a large number of snakes wind themselves round about the tree for the sake of its coolness; people then mark such trees by shooting an arrow into the trunks, and collect the camphor during

the winter. Others say that camphor trees are much frequented by leopards,[1] which like camphor so much that they seldom leave them. The camphor within the tree looks like small bits of salt; that on the outside like resin. It often flows from the tree on the ground, and gets, after some time, solid. If there are earthquakes during the year or any other cosmical disturbances, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called *Ribāḥī*, or *Qayṣūrī*.[2] Although different in name, they are the same; for it is said that the first camphor was found by a king of the name of *Ribāḥ* near *Qayṣūr*, which is a place near the island of Ceylon. According to some books, it is white like snow; and this is true, for I have broken it myself from the tree. Ibn Bayṭār, however, said that it was originally red and shining, and only got white by artificial crystallization. Whatever the case may be, there is certainly a kind of camphor which is white in its natural state. And of all kinds it is the best, the whitest, has the thinnest layers, and is the cleanest and largest. Inferior to it is the kind called *Qurqūy*, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called *Kawkab*. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of *Bālūs*. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books, camphor in its natural state is called *Jūdāna or Bhīmsīnī*. If kept with a few barley grains, or peppercorns,[3] or *surkh dāna*, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of *Zurumbād* by mixing it with other ingredients, is called *Chīnī* or *Mayyit*-camphor. White Zurumbād is finely pounded, and mixed with sour cream [4] of cow or buffalo; on the fourth day they put fresh cream [4] to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of *Surkh Gul*. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. *Zabād* (civet) is also called *Shākh*. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having, how-

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[[1] *Yūz*, the cheeta or hunting-leopard.—P.]

[2] *Fanṣūrī* according to Marco Polo. *Fanṣūr* is a state in Sumatra.—B.

[3] Bāzār dealers give a few peppercorns along with every piece of camphor.

[[4] *Dogh* buttermilk, not cream.—P.]

ever, a larger face and mouth. The *zabād* which is brought from the harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Āchīn, goes by the name of Sumatra zabād, and is by far the best. The moist substance itself is yellowish white. The animal has below its tail a bag, of the size of a small hazel nut, in which there are from five to six holes. The bag may be emptied every week or fortnight, and yields from half a *tolā* to eight *māshas*. Some civet cats become so tame as to keep still when the bag is being emptied; but in the case of most animals, they have to catch hold of the tail and draw it through the cage when they take out the *zabād* with a shell, or by pressing gently against the bag. The price of a civet cat varies from 300 to 500 Rs. The *zabād* of the male is better than that of the female, because in the latter the vulva is just above the bag. When removed, the *zabād* is washed, and becomes afterwards one of the finest perfumes. The perfume will remain a long time in the clothes, and even on the skin. There are several ways of washing it. If the quantity be small, they put in into a cup, or if greater, into a larger vessel, and wash it thirty times in cold water, and three times in warm water. The latter renders it thin and removes impurities. Then they wash it again in cold water till it gets solid, when they wash it three times in lime juice, which removes all unpleasant smell. After this, they wash it again three times in cold water, pass it through a piece of cloth, put it into a China cup, and wash it three times in rose-water. They then smear the *zabād* on the inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of *Chambelī*, or *Rāy-bel*, or *Surkh gul*, or *Gul-i Karna*, and expose it at daytime to the rays of the sun, covered with a piece of white cloth till all moisture goes away. It may then be used, mixed with a little rose-water.

5. *Gaura* looks greyish white, but does not smell so well as the preceding. It is a moisture secreted during the rutting season by an animal like the civet cat, but somewhat larger. It is also brought from the confines of Āchīn. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

6. *Mīd*[1] resembles the preceding, but is inferior to it. They mix it with other substances; hence they sell it in larger quantities. The animal which yields *Mīd* is found in various countries, and sells for from five to six *dāms* only. Some say that *Mīd* is the dried bag of the civet cat, pounded and boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the surface is the *Mīd*.

7. ʿ*Ūd*, or wood of Aloes, called in Hind. *Agar*, is the root of a tree. They lop it off and bury it in the earth, when whatever is bad rots, and the

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[1] ميد with the kasrah, a kind of perfume. *Kashf*[u] *'l-lughāt*.

remainder is pure aloes. Some say that they do so with the whole tree. The statement occasionally found in some old books that the habitat of the tree is Central India, is an absurdity of fanciful writers. There are several kinds: the best is called *Mandalī*, and the second in quality, *Jabalī* or *Hindī*. The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive against fleas; but some think both kinds equal in this respect. Of other good kinds I may mention the *Samandūrī*; the *Qumārī*, which is inferior to it; the *Qāqulī*, next in rank; the *Barrī*; the *Qiṭʿī*; and the Chinese, also called *Qismūrī*, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the *Jalālī*, the *Māyatāqī*, the *Lawāqī*, the *Rīṭalī*.[1] But of all kinds, the *Mandalī* is the best. The *Samandūrī* is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whitishness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrāt, and nowadays it grows in Chānpānīr. It is generally brought from Āchīn and Dahnāsarī. Nothing is known of the *habitat* mentioned in old books. Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes; when eaten, it is exhilarating. It is generally employed in incense; the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes.

8. *Chūwa* is distilled wood of aloes; it is in general use. The preparation is as follows: They take fine clay, mix it with cotton or rice bran and beat it well. When properly intermixed, they take a small bottle large enough to put a finger in, smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry. After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloes into it, so as nearly to fill the bottle. The wood must have been kept wet for a week before. Another vessel, with a hole in the middle, is now placed on a three-legged stand. Into this vessel, they pass the neck of the little bottle inverted, placing a cup full of water at the bottom of the vessel in such a manner that the mouth of the bottle reaches the surface of the water. On the top of the vessel they then put cow's dung, and light a gentle fire. Should flames break out they extinguish them with water. The wood of aloes will then secrete a moisture which trickles on the surface of the water where it remains. This is collected, and washed several times with water and rose water, to take off all smell of smoke. The oftener it is washed, and the older it gets, the better will be the scent. It looks black, although experienced people make it white. One *ser* of wood aloes will yield from two to fifteen *tolās* of Chūwa. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people.

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[1] The last three names are doubtful.

9. *Sandalwood* is called in Hind. *Chandan*. The tree grows in China. During the present reign, it has been successfully planted in India. There are three kinds, the white, the yellow, the red. Some take the red to be more refreshing than the white; others prefer the white. The latter is certainly more cooling than the red, and the red more so than the yellow. The best is that which is yellow and oily; it goes by the name of *Maqāṣarī*. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. *Silāras* (storax) is called in Arabic *Mīʿah*. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear is called *Mīʿah-yi sāyila* (liquid); the other kinds, *Mīʿah-yi yābisa* (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. *Kalanbuk* (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zīrbād (?)[1]: it is heavy and full of veins. Some believe it to be raw wood of aloes. When pounded it looks grey. They use it for compound perfumes; and they also make rosaries of it.

12. The *Malāgīr* is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When pounded it looks reddish white.

13 *Lubān* (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java. Some take it to be the same as *Mīʿah-yi yābisa*. When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor. The *Lubān* which the Persians call *Kundur-i daryāʾī* (mastix) is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. *Aẓfāru 'ṭ-ṭīb*, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind *Nakh*, and in Persian *Nākhun-i boyā*. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on *sumbul*; it is found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Baṣrah, and Baḥrayan, the latter being considered the best. It is also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer it to the other kinds. It is heated in butter; some expose it to the fire, pound it, and mix it with other perfumes.

15. *Sugandh gūgalā* (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan; it is used in perfumes.

As I have said something on perfumes, I shall make a few remarks on several beautiful flowers.

1. The *Sewtī* resembles the *Gul-i Surkh*, but is smaller. It has in

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[1] *Zīrbād* (Zīrābād), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. *Ghiyāṣu 'l-lughāt.*
[The Persian translation of the Malay *Bāwah angin*, "below the wind, leeward," being the Malay name for the countries and islands to the East of Sumatra.—B.]

the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals. *Habitat*, Gujrāt and the Dakhin.

2. Of the *Chambelī* there are two kinds. The *Rāy Chambelī* has from five to six petals, outside red. The *Chambelī proper* is smaller, and has on the top a red stripe. Its stem is one and a half or two yards high, and trails over the ground. It has many long and broad branches. It flowers from the first year.

3. The *Rāybel* resembles the jasmin. There are various kinds ; single and double, etc. A quintuple is very common, so that each petal might be separated as a distinct flower. Its stem grows a yard high. The leaves of the tree resemble those of the lime tree ; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

4. The *Mungrā* resembles the *Rāybel*. It is larger, but inferior in perfume. It has more than a hundred petals ; the plant grows to a large tree.

5. The *Champa* flower has a conical shape, of the size of a finger,[1] and consists of ten petals and more, lying in folds one above the other. It has several stamens. The tree looks graceful, and resembles in leaf and trunk the nut tree. It flowers after seven years.

6. The *Ketkī* has the form of spindle[2] of the size of a quarter of a yard, with twelve or more petals. Its smell is delicate and fragrant. It bears flowers in six or seven years.

7. The *Kewra* resembles the preceding, but is more than twice as big. The petals have thorns. As they grow on different places, they are not all equal. In the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey-coloured threads, not without smell. The flower smells even after it is withered. Hence people put it into clothes when the perfume remains for a long time. The stem of the tree is above four yards high ; the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer, and triangular, with three thorns in each corner. It flowers from the fourth year. Every year they put new earth round about the roots. The plant is chiefly found in the Dakhin, Gujrāt, Mālwah, and Bihār.

8. The *Chalta* resembles a large tulip.[3] It consists of eighteen petals, six green ones above, six others, some red, some green, some greyish yellow, and six white. In the midst of the flower, as in the flower called *Hamesha Bahār*, there are nearly two hundred little yellow leaves, with a red globule in the centre. The flower will remain quite fresh for five or six

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[1] Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.

[[2] *Sanābarī-paykar*, a fir-cone ?—P.]

[[3] *Lāla* is the name of the common red poppy, as well as of the tulip.—P.]

days after having been plucked. It smells like the violet. When withered, the flower is cooked and eaten. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree; and its leaves look like those of the lime tree. It blooms in seven years.

9. The *Tasbīḥ gulāl* has a fine smell. The petals have the form of a dagger. The stem of the plant is two yards high. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week.

10. The *Bholsarī* is smaller than the jasmin; its petals are indented. When dry the flower smells better. The tree resembles the walnut tree, and flowers in the tenth year.

11. The *Singārhār* is shaped like a clove, and has an orange-coloured stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds. The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree. It flowers in five years.

12. The *Kūza* looks like a *Gul-i surkh*; but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make *ʿAbīrmāya* and an extract from it.

13. The *Pāḍal* has five or six long petals. It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell. It is on this account that people preserve the flowers, mixed with clay, for such times when the flower is out of season. The leaves and the stem are like those of a nut tree. It flowers in the twelfth year.

14. The *Jūhī* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Niwārī* looks like a simple *Rāy-bel*, but has larger petals. The flowers are often so numerous as to conceal the leaves and branches of the plant. It flowers in the first year.

16. The *Kapūr bél* has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower. This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The *Zaʿfarān* (saffron).[1] In the beginning of the month of *Urdībihisht*, the saffron seeds are put into the ground, which has been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain-water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of Ābān; the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes two-thirds below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens

[1] *Vide* a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Ṣūba Kābul).

are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour; they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt. At the time of Ghāzī Khān,[1] the son of (Khājī) Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven *tarks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tark* was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhī sers of clean, dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshāhī *mans* [2] of saffron flowers they had to give two sers of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by his Majesty on his third visit to Kashmīr, to the great relief of the people.

When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

Saffron comes chiefly from the place Panpūr, which belongs to the district of Mararāj.[3] The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kós*. Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspūr, near Indrakol, not far from Kamrāj, where the fields extend about a *kos*.

18. The *Aftābī* (sun-flower) is round, broad, and large, has a large number of petals, and turns continually to the sun. Its stem reaches a height of three yards.

19. The *Kanwal*. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the *shaqāyiq*,[4] but its red is paler. Its petals which are never less than six in number, enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at night, and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close.

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[1] He was the contemporary of Shér Khān; *vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of Kashmīr Rulers in the third book. A good biography of *Ghāzi Khān* may be found in the beginning of the *Ma āṣir-i Raḥīmī*, Persian MS. No. 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] One Kashmīrī *Tark* = 8 *sers* (of Akbar) = 4 Kashm. *mans*; 1 Kash. *man* = 4 Kash. *sers*; 1 Kash. *ser* = 7½ *pals*.

[3] These places lie to the south of Srīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr; for *Mararāj* the text has مرارج. *Vide* Ṣūba Kābul, third book.

[4 The *shaqāyiq* is probably the anemone.—P.]

20. The *Jaʿfarī* is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger than the *sadbarg*. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months.

21. The *Guḍhal* resembles the *jūghāsū* tulip, and has a great number of petals. Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards; the leaves look like mulberry leaves. It flowers in two years.

22. The *Ratanmanjanī* has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The tree and the leaves resemble the *rāy-bel*. It flowers in two years.

23. The *Kesū* has five petals resembling a tiger's claw. In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue. The plant is very large, and is found on every meadow; when it flowers, it is as if a beautiful fire surrounded the scenery.

24. The *Kaner* remains a long time in bloom. It looks well, but it is poisonous. Whoever puts it on his head is sure to fall in battle.[1] It has mostly five petals. The branches are full of the flowers; the plant itself grows to a height of two yards. It flowers in the first year.

25. The *Kadam* resembles a *tumāgha*[2] (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the walnut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The *Nāg kesar*, like the *Gul-i surkh*, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the walnut tree in the leaves and the stem; and flowers in seven years.

27. The *Surpan* resembles the sesame flower, and has yellow stamens in the middle. The stem resembles the *Ḥinnā* plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The *Srīkandhī* is like the *Chambelī*, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

29. The *Ḥinnā* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Nāfarmān*. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The *Dupahriyā* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamesha-bahār*. It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The *Bhūn champā* resembles the *Nīlūfar*, and has five petals. The stem is about a span long. It grows on such places as are periodically under water. Occasionally a plant is found above the water.

32. The *Sudarsan* resembles the *Rāy-bel*, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sūsan*[3] flower.

[[1] آویزه در اسد gets entangled in quarrels?—P.]
[[2] *Tumāgha* locally survives in the sense of a hawk's hood.—P.]
[[3] *Sūsan* is properly the flag-iris.—P.]

33. *Senbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.

34. The *Ratanmālā* is round and small. Its juice, boiled and mixed with vitriol and *muʿaṣfar*,[1] furnishes a fast dye for stuffs. Butter, sesame, oil, are also boiled together with the root of the plant, when the mixture becomes a purple dye.

35. The *Sūnzard* resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the *Chambelī*. It flowers in two years.

36. The *Māltī* is like the *Chamhelī*, but smaller. In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed. It flowers in two years more or less.

37. The *Karīl* has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well. The flower is also boiled and eaten; they also make pickles of it.

38. The *Jait* plant grows to a large tree; its leaves look like Tamarind leaves.

39. The *Chanpala* is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like walnut leaves. It flowers in two years. The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red. It grows chiefly in the hills; its wood burns bright like a candle.

40. The *Lāhī* has a stem one and a half yards high. The branches before the flowers appear are made into a dish, which is eaten with bread. When camels feed on this plant they get fat and unruly.

41. The *Karaunda* resembles the *Jūhī* flower.

42. The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nīlūfar*, and looks very well. It is a creeper.

43. The *Siras* flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a *tumāgha*. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the *Pīpal* and *Bar*[2] trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.

44. The *Kanglā,ī* has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The *San* (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the *Chinār*.[3] Of the bark of the plant strong ropes are made. One kind of this plant bears a flower like the cotton tree, and is called *Paṭ-san*. It makes a very soft rope.

[[1] *Muʿaṣfar* is perhaps bastard saffron —P.]
[[2] *Bar* the banyan tree.—P.]
[[3] *Chinār*, the plane tree.—P.]

It is really too difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of this country : I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know something about them. There are also found many flowers of Īrān and Tūrān, as the *Gul-i surkh*, the *Nargis*, the violet, the *Yāsman-i kabūd*, the *Sūsan*,[1] the *Rayḥān*,[2] the *Raᶜnā*, the *Zébā*, the *Shaqāyiq*,[3] the *Tāj-i khurūs*, the *Qulgha*, the *Nāfarmān*, the *Khaṭmī*,[4] etc. Garden and flower beds are everywhere to be found. Formerly people used to plant their gardens without any order, but since the time of the arrival in India of the emperor Bābar, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained ; and travellers nowadays admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains.

It would be impossible to give an account of those trees of the country whose flowers, fruits, buds, leaves, roots, etc., are used as food or medicine. If, according to the books of the Hindus, a man were to collect only one leaf from each tree, he would get eighteen *bārs* (or loads) (5 *surkhs*=1 *māsha* ; 16 *māshas*=1 *karg* ; 4 *kargs*=1 *pal* ; 100 *pals*=1 *tulā* ; 20 *tulās*= 1 *bār*) ; *i.e.*, according to the weights now in use, 96 *mans*. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two *gharīs* (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years. The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand *jūjans*.[5] When a tree dies, its life is said to pass into one of the following ten things : fire, water, air, earth, plants, animals, animals of two senses, such as have three, or four, or five senses.

Āᵉīn 31.

THE WARDROBE[6] AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES.

His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs ; hence Īrānī, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The imperial workshops, the towns of Lāhor, Āgra, Fatḥpūr, Aḥmadābād, Gujrāt, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship ; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

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[1] *Sūsan*, the iris.—P.]

[2] *Rayḥān*, sweet basil.—P.]

[3] *Shaqāyiq*, *vide* p. 85, note 1.—P.]

[4] *Khaṭmī*, the hollyhock and the marsh mallow.—P.]

[5] Regarding this measure, *vide* the fourth book.

[6] The text has a word کرکراق which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī ; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagatāi Dictionary. The meaning, *a wardrobe*, is however clear. [Also spelt کرک یراق.—B.]

fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade; and on account of the care bestowed upon them the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection; and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description.

All articles which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved; and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents. Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices. Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. Even the prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous G͟hiyāṣ-i Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhrs, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten.[1] His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by his Majesty may be of interest.

1. The *Takauchiya* is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side.[2] It requires seven yards and seven *girihs*,[3] and five *girihs* for the binding. The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees; but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a *miṣqāl* of silk is required.

2. The *peshwāz* (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

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[1] Or as we would say, the prices have become less by 66⅔, and even 75 per cent.

[2] The coats used nowadays both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (*Germ.* Schlafrock), but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the *left*, and the Hindus on the *right* side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin (*chādar*).

[3] It is not stated in *Aʼīn* how many *girihs* the tailor's *gaz*, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 *girihs* = 1 *gaz*, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, *vide* the 87th and 89th *Aʼīns* of this book. The Persian word *girih* is pronounced in India *girah*.

3. The *Dutāhī* (*a coat with lining*) requires six yards and four *girihs* for the outside, six yards lining, four *girihs* for the binding, nine *girihs* for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One *miṣqal* of silk is required.

4. The *Shāh-ajīda* (or the royal stitch coat) is also called *Shaṣt-khaṭṭ* (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches *per girih*. It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making is two rupees *per* yard.

5. The *Sūzanī* requires a quarter of a *ser* of cotton and two *dāms* of silk. If sewed with *bakhya* [1] stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with *ajīda* stitches costs four rupees.

6. The *Qalamī* requires ⅜ *s.* cotton, and one *dām* silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The *Qabā*, which is at present generally called *jāma-yi pumba-dār*, is a wadded coat. It requires 1 *s.* of cotton, and 2 *m.* silk. Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee.

8. The *Gadar* is a coat wider and longer than the *qabā*, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven *gaz* of stuff, six yards of lining, four *girihs* binding, nine for bordering, 2½ *s.* cotton, 3 *m.* silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

9. The *Farjī* has no binding, and is open in front. Some put buttons to it. It is worn over the *jāma* (coat), and requires 5 *gaz* 12 *girih* stuff; 5 *gaz* 5 *girih* lining; 14 *girih* bordering; 1 *s.* cotton; 1 *m.* silk. Price, from a quarter to one rupee.

10. The *Fargul* resembles the *yāpanjī*,[2] but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe,[3] but everyone nowadays wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 *gaz* 6½ *girih* stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 *m.* silk, 1 *s.* cotton. It is made both single and double. Price from ½ to 2 rupees.

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[1] *Bakhya*, in Hind. *bakhiyā*, corresponds to what ladies call *backstitching*. *Ajīda* is the buttonhole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which *bakhya* and *ajīda* now have. *Sūzanī*, a name which in the text is transferred to the coat, is a kind of embroidery, resembling our *satin-stitch*. It is used for working leaves and flowers, etc., on stuffs, the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find *sūzanī* work in rugs, small carpets, etc. The rugs themselves are also called *sūzanī*. A term sometimes used in dictionaries as a synonym for *sūzanī* is *chikin*; but this is what we call *white embroidery*.

[2] A coat used in rainy weather. *Calcutta Chagatāi Dictionary*.

[3] The etymology of the word *fargul* is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, nowadays current in India, are Portuguese; as *sāya*, a petticoat; *fīta*, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are *padrī*, clergyman; *girjā*, a church, Port. *igréja*; *kobī*, cabbage, Port. *cuove*; *chābī*, a key, Port. *chave*.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's explanation (*vide* my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II, p. 663*a*.

11. The *Chakman*[1] is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of *Dārā*ʾ*ī* wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 *gaz.* stuff, 5 *girih* binding, and 2 *m.* silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 *R.*; of wool, 1½ *R.*; of wax cloth, ½ *R.*

12. The *Shalwār* (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 *gaz* 11 *girih* cloth, 6 *girih* for the hem through which the string runs, 3 *gaz* 5 *girih* lining, 1¼ *m.* silk, ¼ *s.* cotton. Price, from ¼ to ½ rupee.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the *chīras*, *fawtas*, and *dupattas*,[2] or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grandees of the present time. Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness. From his indifference to everything that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears *woollen*[3] stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that his Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms.[4] Instead of *jāma* (coat), he says *sarbgātī*, i.e. covering the whole body; for *izār* (drawers), he says *yār-pīrāhan* (the companion of the coat); for *nīmtana* (a jacket), *tanzeb*; for *fauta*, *patgat*; for *burqa*ʿ (a veil), *chitragupita*; for *kulāh* (a cap), *sīs sobhā*; for *mūy-bāf* (a hair ribbon), *kesghan*; for *patkā* (a cloth for the loins), *katzeb*; for *shāl* (shawl), *parmnarm*; for . . .,[5] *parmgarm*; for *kapārdhūr*, a Tibetan stuff, *kapūrnūr*; for *pāy-afzār* (shoes), *charndharn*; and similarly for other names.

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[1] As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vuller's form *chaspán*.

[2] Stuffs of different shapes used for making turbans.

[3] In allusion to the practice of *Ṣūfīs*, who only wear garments made of wool (*ṣūf*). Abū 'l-Faẓl often tries to represent Akbar as a *Ṣūfī* of so high a degree as to be able to work miracles, and he states below that it was his intention to write a book on Akbar's miracles. The charge of fulsomeness in praise has often been brought against Abū 'l-Faẓl, though it would more appropriately lie against *Fayẓī*, who—like the poets of imperial Rome—represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar's character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.

[4] The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar's predilection for *Hindī* terms.

[5] The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banāras MS. has *pardak Firāng*, or European Pardak (?).

Āʾīn 32.

ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, ETC.

His Majesty improved this department in *four* ways. The improvement is visible, *first*, in the *Ṭūs* shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name; its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye. *Secondly*, in the *Safīd Alchas*,[1] also called *Ṭarḥdārs*, in their natural colours. The wool is either white or black. These stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black, or mixed. The first or white kind, was formerly dyed in three ways; his Majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways. *Thirdly*, in stuffs as *Zardozī*,[2] *Kalābatūn*, *Kashīda*, *Qalgha*ʾ*ī*, *Bāndhnūn*, *Chhīnṭ*, *Alcha*, *Purzdār*, to which his Majesty pays much attention. *Fourthly*, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; his Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress.

The garments stored in the Imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months, and years, of their entries, and according to their colour, price, and weight. Such an arrangement is nowadays called *misl*, a set. The clerks fix accordingly the degree of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the pieces. Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the imperial wardrobe on the *Urmuzd* day (first day) of the month of *Farwardīn*, provided they be of a good quality, have a higher rank assigned to them than pieces arriving on other days; and if pieces are equal in value, their precedence or otherwise, is determined by the character[3] of the day of their entry; and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank; and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour. The following is the order of colours: *ṭūs*, *safīdalcha*, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the *Ratanmanjanī*

[1] *Alcha*, or *Alācha*, any kind of corded (*mukhaṭṭaṭ*) stuff. *Ṭarḥdār* means *corded*.

[2] *Zardozī*, *Kalābatūn* (Forbes, *kalabattūn*), *Kashīda*, *Qalghaī*, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; *Bāndhnūn*, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; *Chhīnṭ* is our *chintz*, which is derived from *Chhīnṭ*. *Purzdār* are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.

[3] Akbar, like the Parsees, believed in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most unpractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following *Āʾīns*. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.

flower, coloured like the *Kāsnī* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, . . .,[1] *bhojpatra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *galghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the *Fākhta*.[2]

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmīr. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Nowadays they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well.

His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmīr. In Lāhor also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called *māyān*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chīras* (turbans), *fotas* (loin bands), etc.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

A. Gold stuffs.

Brocaded velvet, from *Yazd*,[3] *per piece*	15 to 150 *M.*
Do. from Europe, do.	10 to 70 *M.*
Do. from *Gujrāt*, do.	10 to 50 *M.*
Do. from *Kāshān*, do.	10 to 40 *M.*
Do. from *Hirāt*, do.	*
Do. from *Lāhor*, do.	10 to 40 *M.*
Do. from *Barsah* (?), do.	3 to 70 *M.*
Muṭabbaq, do.[4]	2 to 70 *M.*
Mīlak, do.	3 to 70 *M.*
Brocade, from Gujrāt, do.	4 to 60 *M.*
Tās[5]-Brocade, from do. do.	1 to 35 *M.*

[1] The text contains two doubtful words. The next word *bhojpatra* is the bark of a tree used for making *ḥuqqa* tubes.

[[2] *Fākhta* is the Common Ring-dove of India, the *Turtur risoria* of Jerdon.—P.]

[3] *Yazd* is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khurāsān. *Kāshān* lies in *Irāq-i ʿAjamī*, north of Iṣfahān. "The asses of Khāsān are wiser than the men of Iṣfahān," which latter town is for Persia what Bœotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, of the kingdom of Fife for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bihār for India—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls, the Sayyids of Bārhah enjoyed a similar notoriety.

[4] *Muṭabbaq*, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from *Khallukh*, and *Mīlak* from *Naushād* in Turkestān. *Ghiyāsu-l-lughat.*

[5] *Tās* means *generally* brocade; *Dārāībāf* is a kind of brocaded silk; *Muqayyash* is silk with stripes of silver—the *Ghiyās* says that *Muqayyash* comes from the Hind. *kesh*, hair to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicized form of the *Hindī* word as *qaranful*, a clove, for the Hind. *karnphul*; *itrīfal*, a kind of medicine for *trīphal*, as it consists of *three* fruits, etc. *Mushajjar* is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; *Debā* is coloured silk; *Khārā*, moirée antique; *Khass* is *floselle*-silk. For *tafṣīla* (*vide* Freytag III, p. 353), we also find *tafsila*.

Item	Price
Dārāʼī-bāf, from Gujrāt	2 to 50 *M.*
Muqayyash, do.	1 to 20 *M.*
Shirwānī Brocade, do.	6 to 17 *M.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*	1 to 4 *M.*
Debā silk, do. do.	1 to 4 *M.*
Do., from *Yazd*, do.	1 to 1½ *M.*
Khārā, do.	5 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Satin, from Chinese Tartary	*
Tawār, from do.	*
Khazz silk	*
Tafsīla (a stuff from Mecca)	from 15 to 20 *R.*
uṭtahwār, from Gujrāt	1 to 20 *M.*
Mindīl	1 to 14 *M.*
Chīra (for turbans)	½ to 8 *M.*
Dupaṭṭā, do.	9 to 8 *R.*
Foṭas (loin bands)	½ to 12 *M.*
Counterpanes	1 to 20 *M.*

* The Text does not give the prices.

B. Silks, etc., plain.

Item	Price
Velvet from Europe, *per yard*	1 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Kāshān, *per piece*	2 to 7 *M.*
Do. from Yazd, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Mashhad, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Hirāt, do.	1½ to 3 *M.*
Do. Khāfī, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Lāhor, do.	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Gujrāt, *per yard*	1 to 2 *R.*
Qaṭīfa-yi i Pūrabī,[1] do.	1 to 1½ *R.*
Tāja-bāf, *per piece*	2 to 30 *M.*
Dārāʼī-bāf, do.	2 to 30 *M.*
Muṭabbaq, do.	1 to 30 *M.*
Shirwānī, do.	1½ to 10 *M.*
Mīlak, do.	1 to 7 *M.*
Kamkhāb, from Kābul and Persia, do.	1 to 5 *M.*
Tawār (?), do.	2 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Khūrī (?), do.	4 to 10 *R.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Do. from Yazd, *per piece*	1 to 2 *M.*

[1] A kind of velvet.

Satin, from Europe, *per yard* . . . . . . 2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Satin, from Hirāt, *per piece* . . . . . 5 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Khārā, *per yard* . . . . 1 *R.* to 6 *R.*
Sihrang,[1] *per piece* . . . . . . 1 to 3 *M.*
Quṭnī,[2] do. . . . . $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.* to 2 *M.*
Katān,[3] from Europe, *per yard* . . . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *R.*
Tāfta,[4] do. . . . . $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 *R.*
Anbarī, do. . . . . 4 *d.* to $\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
Dārā'ī, do. . . . . $\frac{1}{8}$ *R.* to 2 *R.*
Sitīpūrī, *per piece* . . . . 6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Qabāband, do. . . . . 6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Ṭāṭ bandpūrī, do. . . . . 2 *R.* to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Lāh, *per yard* . . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{7}$ *R.*
Miṣrī, *per piece* . . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *M.*
Sār, *per yard* . . . . $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ *R.*
Ṭassar,[5] *per piece* . . . . $\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 *R.*
Plain *Kurtawār* Satin, *per yard* . . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *R.*
Kapūrnūr, formerly called *Kapūrdhūr*, do. . . . $\frac{1}{8}$ to 1 *R.*
Alcha, do. . . . . $\frac{1}{7}$ to 2 *R.*
Tafṣīla, *per piece* . . . . 7 to 12 *R.*

C. Cotton cloths.

Khāṣa, *per piece* . . . . 3 *R.* to 15 *M.*
Chautār, do. . . . . 2 *R.* to 9 *M.*
Malmal, do . . . . 4 *R.*
Tansukh, do. . . . . 4 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Sirī Ṣāf, do. . . . . 2 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Gangājal, do. . . . . 4 *R.* to 5 *M.*
Bhīraun, do. . . . . 4 *R.* to 4 *M.*
Saḥan, do. . . . . 1 to 3 *M.*
Jhona, do. . . . . 1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Aṭān, do. . . . . $2\frac{1}{2}$ *R.* to 1 *M.*
Asāwalī, do. . . . . 1 to 5 *M.*
Bāfta, do. . . . . $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.* to 5 *M.*
Maḥmūdī, do. . . . . $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *M.*

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[1] Changing silk.
[2] A stuff made of silk and wool.
[3] Generally translated by *linen*. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is *Muslin*.
[4] Properly, woven; hence *taffeta*.
[5] Nowadays chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; *vulgo*, *tessa*.

Panchtoliya, per piece	1 to 3 *M.*
Jholā, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Sālū, per piece	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Doriwa, per piece	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Bahādur Shāhī, do.	6 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Garba Sūtī, do.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *M.*
Shela, from the Dakhin, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *M.*
Mihrkul, do.	3 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Mindīl, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *M.*
Sarband, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *M.*
Dupaṭṭa, do.	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Katāncha, do.	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Foṭa, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 *R.*
Goshpech, do.	1 to 2 *R.*
Chhīnṭ, per yard	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*
Gazīna, per piece	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
Silāhaṭī. per yard	2 to 4 *d.*

D. Woollen stuffs.

Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe,[1] and Portugal, *per yard*	$2\frac{1}{4}$ *R.* to 4 *M.*
Do., from Nāgor and Lāhor, *per piece*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Ṣūf-i murabbaʿ, do.	4 to 15 *M.*
Ṣūf-i . . .,[2] do.	3 *R.* to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Parmnarm, do.	2 *R.* to 20 *M.*
Chīra-yi-Parmnarm, do.	2 *R.* to 25 *M.*
Foṭa, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *M.*
Jāmawār-i Parmnarm, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 *M.*
Goshpech, do.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *R* to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Sarpech, do.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 *M.*
Aghrī, do.	7 *R.* to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*

[1] The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (*vide* Badāonī II p. 290, l. 2 from below; p. 338, l. 7) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abū l-Faẓl several are no longer known, as native weavers cannot compete with the English Longcloth and the cheap European Muslins, Alpacas, Chintzes, and Mohairs, which are nowadays in common use with the natives all over the East. At the time of the Moguls, and before, the use of woollen stuffs and, for the poorer classes, blankets, was much more general than now. Even the light caps generally worn by Muhammadans in this country, called in Hind. *ṭopī*, and in Persian *takhfīfa* (*vide* Bahār-i ʿAjam) are mostly imported from England. I am not aware that the soldiers of the armies of the Moguls were uniformly dressed, though it appears that the commanders of the contingents at least looked to uniformity in the caps and turbans.

[2] The MSS. have an unintelligible word.

Parmgarm, per piece	3 *R.* to 2½ *M.*
Katās, do.	2½ *R.* to 10 *M.*
Phūk, do.	2½ to 15 *R.*
Durman, do.	2 *R.* to 4 *M.*
Paṭū, do.	1 to 10 *R.*
Rewkār, do.	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Miṣrī, do.	5 to 50 *R.*
Burd-i Yamanī, do.	5 to 35 *R.*
Mānjī (?) *namad*, do.	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Kanpak (?) *namad*, do.	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Takyal namad, from Kābul and Persia	*
Do., country made, do.	1½ to 5 *R.*
Loʿī, do.	14 *d.* to 4 *R.*
Blankets, do.	10 *d.* to 2 *R.*
Kashmīrian Caps, do.	2 *d.* to 1 *R.*

* The price is not given in the text.

Āʾīn 33.

ON THE NATURE OF COLOURS.

White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours. They are looked upon as extremes, and as the component parts of the other colours. Thus white when mixed in large proportions with an impure black, will yield *yellow*; and white and black, in equal proportions, will give *red*. White mixed with a large quantity of black, will give a *bluish green*. Other colours may be formed by compounding these. Besides, it must be borne in mind that cold makes a juicy white body, and a dry body black; and heat renders that which is fresh black, and white that which is dry. These two powers (heat and cold) produce, each in its place, a change in the colour of a body, because bodies are both *qābil*, i.e. capable of being acted upon, and *muqtaẓa*, i.e. subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

Āʾīn 34.

THE ARTS OF WRITING AND PAINTING.

What we call *form* leads us to recognize a body; the body itself leads us to what we call *a notion, an idea*. Thus, on seeing the form of a letter, we recognize the letter, or a word, and this again will lead us to some idea. Similarly in the case of what people term *a picture*. But though it is true

that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental states,[1] so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality: yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and become a means to intellectual progress.

I shall first say something about the art of writing, as it is the more important of the two arts. His Majesty pays much attention to both, and is an excellent judge of form and thought. And indeed, in the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within it beams forth; and, in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup[2] in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate; it contains the secret word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure; but the deepsighted a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it; or, it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye.[3] A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas; a dark night ushering in day, a black cloud pregnant with knowledge; the wand for the treasures of insight; speaking, though dumb; stationary, and yet travelling; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God's knowledge falls on man's soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (*mujarrad*) and that which is material (*māddī*). The result[4] is a concrete thing mixed with the absolute, or an absolute thing mixed with that which is concrete. This compound steps forward on man's tongue, and enters, with the assistance of the conveying air, into the windows of the ears of others. It then drops the

[1] *Khilqī* (from *khilqat*) referring to states of mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, etc. These, *Abu l'Fazl* says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.

[2] The fabulous cup of King Jamshed, which revealed the secrets of the seven heavens.

[3] Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Ḥāfiẓ would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhārā. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

[4] The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.

burden of its concrete component, and returns, as a single ray, to its old place, the realm of thought. But the heavenly traveller occasionally gives his course a different direction by means of man's fingers, and having passed along the continent of the pen and crossed the ocean of the ink, alights on the pleasant expanse of the page, and returns through the eye of the reader to its wonted habitation.

As the letter is a representation of an articulate sound, I think it necessary to give some information regarding the latter.

The sound of a letter is a mode of existence depending on the nature of the air. By *qaraʿ* we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by *qalaʿ*, the separation of the same. In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion; and thus the state is produced which we call *sound*. Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion; but others look upon it as the primary effect, i.e. they define sound to be the very *qaraʿ*, or the *qalaʿ*, of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances; it may be a piano, deep, nasal, or guttural, as when the throat is affected by a cold. Again, from the nature of the organ with which man utters a sound, and the manner in which the particles of the air are divided, another modifying circumstance may arise, as when two pianos, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abū ʿAlī Sīnā, call this modifying element (*ʿāriẓ*) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (*maʿrūẓ*); but the far-sighted define an articulate sound as the union of the modifying element and the original state modified. This is evidently the correct view.

There are fifty-two articulate sounds in Hindī, so and so many[1] in Greek, and eighteen in Persian. In Arabic there are twenty-eight letters represented by eighteen signs, or by only fifteen when we count the joined letters, and if we take the *Hamzah* as one with the *alif*. The reason for writing an *alif* and a *lām* (لا) separately as the end of the single letters in the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a *sākin* letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter *lām* is preferred[2] as an example is because the letter *lām* is the

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[1] Abū 'l Faẓl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because چ, خ, and ح, have the same fundamental sign.

[2] Or rather the *alif* was preferred to the *wāw* or *yā*, because these two letters may be either *sākin* or *mutaḥarrik*. But the custom has become established to call the *alif*, when mutaḥarrik, *hamzah*; and to call the *alif*, when *sākin*, merely *alif*. ʿ*Abdulwāsi*, of *Hānsah*, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled *Risāla-yi ʿAbdul-wāsi*, which is read all over India, says that the *lām-alif* has the meaning of *not*,

middle letter of the word *alif*, and the letter *alif* the middle letter of the word *lām*.

The vowel-signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink ; thus a red dot placed *over* a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an *a* ; a red dot in front of the letter signified a *u* ; and a red dot below a letter an *i*. It was Khalīl ibn-i Aḥmad,[1] the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel-signs as they are now in use.

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste : hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, *Maʿqalī*, *Kūfī*, *Kashmīrī*, Abyssinian, *Rayḥānī*, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, *Rūḥānī*, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ādam-i Hafthazārī ;[2] but some mention Idrīs[3] as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the *Maʿqalī* character. According to several statements, the Kūfic character was derived by the Khalīfah ʿAlī from the *Maʿqalī*.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes : thus the Kūfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines ; the *Maʿqalī* has no curved lines at all ; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

In writing we have to remember that black and white look well, as these colours best prevent ambiguities in reading.

In Īrān and Tūrān, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

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i.e., "do *not* read this compound *lām-alif* but pass over it, when you say the Alphabet : look upon it as a mere example of a *sākin* letter."

The term *hamzah*, as used here in native schools, is carefully distinguished from the terms *Shakl-i Hamzah* and *Markiz-i Hamzah*. *Shakl-i Hamzah* is the small sign consisting of a semicircle, one extremity of which stands upon a straight line slightly slanting. *Markiz-i Hamzah* is either of the letters *alif*, *wāw*, or *yā*, but chiefly the latter, when accompanied by the *Shakl-i Hamzah*. *Hamzah* is a general term for either of the three letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yā*, when accompanied by the *Shakl-i Hamzah*. In European grammars, the chapter on the *Hamzah* is badly treated, because all explain the word *Hamzah* as the name of a *sign*.

Another peculiarity of European grammars is this, that in arranging the letters of the alphabet, the *wāw* is placed *after* the *he* ; here in the East, the *he* is invariably put before the *yā*.

[1] He is said to have been born A.H. 100, and died at Basrah, A.H. 175 or 190. He wrote several works on the science which he had established, as also several books on the rhyme, lexicographical compilations, etc.

[2] Ādam is called *Haft-hazārī*, because the number of inhabitants on earth at his death had reached the number *seven thousand*. A better explanation is given by Badāonī (II, p. 337, l. 10), who puts the creation of Ādam *seven thousand* years before his time. *Vide* the first *Āʾīn* of the Third Book.

[3] *Idrīs*, or Enoch.

systems [1] current, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived in A.H. 310 by *Ibn-i Muqlah* from the *Maʿqalī* and the Kūfic characters, viz., the *Ṣuls̤*, *Tauqīʿ*, *Muḥaqqaq*, *Naskh*, *Rayḥān*, *Riqāʿ*. Some add the *Ghubār*, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The *Naskh* character is ascribed by many to *Yāqūt*, a slave of the Khalīfah Mustaʿsam Billāh.[2] The *Ṣuls̤* and the *Naskh* consist each of one-third [3] curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the *suls̤*) is *jalī*,[4] whilst the latter (the *naskh*) is *khafī*. The *Taūqīʿ* and *Riqāʿ* consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines; the former is *jalī*, the latter is *khafī*. The *Muḥaqqaq* and *Rayḥān* contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is *jalī*, and the *Rayḥān* is *khafī*.

Among famous copyists I must mention ʿAlī ibn-i Hilāl, better known under the name of *Ibn-i Bawwāb*; [5] he wrote well the six characters. Yāqūt brought them to perfection. Six of Yāqūt's pupils are noticeable; 1. Shaykh Aḥmad, so well known under the name of Shaykh-zāda-yi Suhrwardī; 2. Arghūn of Kābul; 3. Mawlānā Yūsuf Shāh of Mash,had; 4. Mawlānā Mubārik Shāh, styled *Zarrīn-qalam* (the golden pen; 5. Ḥaydar, called *Gandahnawīs* (i.e., the writer of the *jalī*); 6. Mīr Yaḥyā.

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[1] It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abū 'l-Fazl's letters, where nearly the whole of this *Āʾīn* is repeated, contain a reference to *printed* books. "The first book printed in India was the *Doctrina Christiana* of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I know, first cast Tamulic characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, which was followed (?) by the Tamulic Dictionary of Father Antonio de Proenza, printed in 1679, at Ambalacate, on the coast of Malabar. From that Period the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti Fabricii *Salutaris lux Evangelii*." *Johnston's translation* of *Fra P. Da San Bartolomeo's Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 395. The Italian Original has the same years: 1577, 1578, 1679.

[2] He was the last caliph, and reigned from 1242 to 1258, when he was put to death by Hulāgū, grandson of Chingiz Khān. [*Billāh* is not in the text.—P.]

[3] Hence, the name *suls̤*, or *one-third*.

[4] *Jalī* (i.e. clear) is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a pen full of ink. *Ghiās*.—*Khafī* (hidden) is the opposite.

[5] *Ibn Muqlah*, *Ibn Bawwāb*, and *Yāqūt* are the three oldest caligraphists mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Bakhtwar Khān's *Mir-ātul ʿĀlam*:—

Ibn Muqlah, or according to his full name, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn-i ʿAlī ibn-i Ḥasan ibn-i Muqlah, was the vizier of the Khalīfahs Muqtadir billah, Alqāhir billah, and ArRāzī billah, who reigned from A.D. 907 to 940. The last, cut off Ibn-i Muqlah's right hand. He died in prison, A.H. 327, or A.D. 938–9.

Ibn-i Bawwāb, or Abū 'l-Hasan ʿAlī ibn i Hilāl, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalīfah, Alqādir billah (A.D. 992–1030), the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and died A.H. 416, or A.D. 1025.

Yāqūt, or Shaykh Jamālᵘ 'd-Dīn, was born at Baghdād, and was the Librarian of Mustaʿṣam billah, the thirty-seventh and last Khalīfah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shīʿah tendencies. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Halāgū Khān and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A.H. 697, or A.D. 1297, during the reign of Ghāzān Khān Halāgū's great grandson.

The following caligraphists are likewise well-known: Ṣūfī Naṣr[u] 'llāh, also called Ṣadr-i ʿIrāqī; Arqūn; ʿAbd[u] 'llāh; Khwāja ʿAbd[u] 'llāh-i Ṣayrafī; Ḥājī Muḥammad; Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'llāh-i Āshpaz; Mawlānā Muḥi of Shīrāz; Muʿīn[u] 'd-Dīn-i Tanūrī; Shams[u] 'd-Dīn-i Khaṭā'ī; ʿAbd[u] 'r-Raḥīm-i Khalūlī (?); ʿAbd[u] 'l-Ḥayy; Mawlānā Jaʿfar[1] of Tabrīz; Mawlānā Shāh of Mash,had; Mawlānā Maʿrūf[2] of Baghdād; Mawlānā Shams[u] 'd-Dīn Bāyasanghur; Muʿīn[u] 'd-Dīn of Farāh; ʿAbd[u] 'l-Ḥaqq of Sabzwār; Maulānā Niʿmat[u] 'llāh-i Bawwāb; Khwājagī Mumin-i Marwārīd, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper: Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh; Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥakīm Ḥāfiẓ; Mawlānā Maḥmūd Siyā,ūsh; Mawlānā Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn; Mawlānā Pīr Muḥammad; Mawlānā Faẓl[u] 'l-Ḥaqq of Qazwīn.[3]

A *seventh* kind of writing is called *Taʿlīq*, which has been derived from the *Riqāʿ* and the *Tawqīʿ*. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khwāja Tāj-i Salmānī,[4] who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern caligraphists I may mention: Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l-Ḥayy, the Private Secretary[5] of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, who wrote *Taʿlīq* well; Mawlānā Darwīsh;[6] Amīr Manṣūr; Mawlānā Ibrāhīm of Astarābād; Khwāja Ikhtiyār;[7] Munshī Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn; Muḥammad of Qazwīn; Mawlānā Idrīs; Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusayn Munshī; and Ashraf Khān,[8]

[1] He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (1404-47).

[2] A contemporary and rival of the great poet Salmān of Sāwah (died 769). The name *Maʿrūf* appears to have been common in Baghdad since the times of the famous saint *Maʿrūf* of *Karkh* (a part of Baghdad).

[3] The *Maktūbāt* and the *Ma'āṣir* also mention Mullā Abā Bakr, and Shaykh Maḥmūd.

[4] According to the Maktūbāt and several MSS. *Sulaymānī*.

[5] In the original text, p. 114, l. 5 by mistake, Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l-Ḥayy *and* the Munshī of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd.

[6] Mawlānā Darwīsh Muḥammad was a friend of the famous Amīr ʿAlī Sher, the vizier of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān (A.D. 1470 to 1505), and the patron of the poet Jāmī. Mawlānā Darwīsh entered afterwards the service of Shāh Junayd-i Ṣafawī, king of Persia (A.D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Mawlānā may be found in the *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī* p. 751.

[7] Khwāja Ikhtiyār, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding caligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

[8] This is the title of Muḥammad Aṣghar a Sayyid from Mashhad—or according to the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, from ʿArabshāhī. He served Humāyūn as Mīr Munshī, Mīr ʿArẓ, and Mīr Mālī. He accompanied Tardī Beg on his flight from Dihlī, was imprisoned by Bayrām, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Akbar in A.H. 968, when Bayrām had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of *Ashraf Khān*, and served under Munʿim Khān in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Akbar's reign, A.H. 973. In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khān is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Badā,onī mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. Abū 'l-Muẓaffar, Ashraf Khān's son, was, A.D. 1596, a commander of five hundred.

the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the *Ta^ʕlīq* very much.

The *eighth* character which I have to mention is the *Nasta^ʕlīq*; it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mīr ʕAlī of Tabrīz, a contemporary of Tīmūr, derived it from the *Naskh* and the *Taʕlīq*; but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the *Nastaʕlīq* character written before Tīmūr's time. Of Mīr ʕAlī's pupils, I may mention two:[1] Mawlānā Jaʕfar of Tabrīz, and Mawlānā Aẕhar; and of other caligraphists in *Taʕlīq*, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Awbah (near Hirāt), an excellent writer; Mawlānā Bārī of Hirāt; and Mawlānā Sulṭān ʕAlī[2] of Mash,had, who surpasses them all. He imitated the writing of Mawlānā Aẕhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Khandān;[3] Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr; Mawlānā ʕAlāʼᵘ 'd-Dīn[4] of Hirāt; Mawlānā Zaynᵘ 'd-Dīn (of Nīshāpūr); Mawlānā ʕAbdī of Nīshāpūr; Muḥammad Qāsim Shādī Shāh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good caligraphists, who are famous for their skill in *Nastaʕlīq*; as Mawlānā Sulṭān ʕAlī, of Qāyin;[5] Mawlānā Sulṭān ʕAlī of Mashhad;[6] Mawlānā Hijrānī;[7] and after them the illustrious Mawlānā Mīr ʕAlī,[8] the pupil, as it appears, of Mawlānā Zaynᵘ 'd-Dīn. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sulṭān ʕAlī of Mash,had. The new method, which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many masterpieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Mawlānā. He said, "I also have brought writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

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[1] The *Mirʼāt* mentions a third immediate pupil of Mīr ʕAlī *Mawlānā Khwāja Muḥammad*, and relates that he put Mīr ʕAlī's name to his own writings, without giving offence to his master.

[2] He also was a friend of Amīr ʕAlī Sher, and died A.H. 910, during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, mentioned in the fourth note.

[3] He was called *Khandān*, as he was always *happy*. He was a friend of Amīr ʕAlī Sher, and died A.H. 915.

[4] In the *Maktūbāt* ʕ*Alāʼ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad* of Hirāt.

[5] He was the instructor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā's children, and died A.H. 914. *Qāyin is a Persian town, S.E. of Khurāsān, near the frontier of Afghānistān. It is spelt Ghayan on our maps.*

[6] According to the *Maktūbāt*, Mawlānā Sulṭān ʕAlī *sher* of Mashhad, which is evidently the correct reading.

[7] A poet and friend of Amīr ʕAlī Sher. He died A.H. 921.

[8] Mawlānā Mīr ʕAlī, a Sayyid of Hirāt, died A.H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mīr Aḥmad, son of Mīr Khusraw of Dihlī, and Bayrām Khān, Akbar's Khānkhānān, as a master of *Dakhl* poetry. *Dakhl*, or *entering*, is the *skilful* use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.

In conclusion, I may mention: Shāh Maḥmūd[1] of Nīshāpūr; Maḥmūd Is-ḥāq; Shams[u] 'd-Dīn of Kirmān; Mawlānā Jamshed, the riddle-writer; Sulṭān Ḥusayn of Khujand; Mawlānā ʿAyshī; Ghiyāṣ[u] 'd-Dīn, the gilder; Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] ṣ-Ṣamad; Mawlānā Malik; Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l-Karīm; Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'r-Raḥīm of Khwārizm; Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad; Mawlānā Shāh Maḥmūd-i Zarrīnqalam (or gold pen); Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn[2] of Tabrīz; Mawlānā Ḥasan ʿAlī of Mash,had; Mīr Muʿizz of Kāshān; Mīrzā Ibrāhīm of Iṣfahān; and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful caligraphists. *Nastaʿlīq* has especially received a new impetus. The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of his Majesty, has become a master of caligraphy, is Muḥammad Ḥusayn[3] of Kashmīr. He has been honoured with the title of *Zarrīnqalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l-ʿAzīz; his *maddāt* and *dawāʾir*[4] show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr ʿAlī. Of other renowned caligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mawlānā Bāqir, the son of the illustrious Mullā Mīr ʿAlī; Muḥammad Amīn of Mash,had; Mīr Ḥusayn-i Kulankī; Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l-Ḥay; Mawlānā Dawrī;[5] Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'r-Raḥīm; Mīr ʿAbd[u] 'llah; Niẓāmī of Qazwīn; ʿAlī Chaman of Kashmīr; Nūr[u] 'llah Qāsim Arsalān.

His Majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within, and some without, the Harem. Each part of the library

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[1] According to the *Maktūbāt* and the *Mirʾāt*, Shāh *Muḥammad* of Nīshāpūr. Both mention another caligraphist, *Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Mashhad*.

[2] He was the teacher of the celebrated caligraphist ʿ*Imād*, whose biography will be found in the *Mirʾāt*. *Vide* also the preface of Dr. Sprenger's *Gulistān*.

[3] He died A.H. 1020, six years after Akbar's death.

[4] By *Maddāt* (extensions), caligraphists mean letters like ب, ف; by *dawāʾir* (curvatures), letters like س, ح.

Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals; call the spaces between them *a*, *b*, *c*, of which *a* is the highest. Every letter which fills the space *b* is called a *shūsha*; as ذ, م, و, د. The diacritical points are immaterial. Every line above *b* is called a *markaz*; every line below *b*, i.e., in *c*, a *dāman*. Thus ك consists of a *shūsha* and a *markaz*; س of a *shūsha* and a *dāman*. The knob of a ع, ف, or ق, is called *kalla*. Thus ف is a *Madda*, consisting of a *kalla*, and a *dāman*; so also ع, ح, ک. The ک consists of a *markaz* and a *dāman*.

In *Grammar* the word *markaz* means the same as *shūsha* in caligraphy; thus أ, ﻷ, consist of a *markaz*, and a *shakl-i hamza*.

By *iṣlāḥ*, caligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or refilling a written letter with ink (Hind. *siyāhī bharnā*), or erasing (Hind. *chhīlnā*).

[5] His name is Sulṭān Bāyizid; he was born at Hirāt. *Dawrī* is his poetical name. *Vide* Badāonī's list of poets (vol. iii of the Bibl. Indica). Akbar bestowed on him the title of *Kātib[u] 'l-Mulk*, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusayn, an Aḥadī (*vide* Badāonī, ii, p. 394, where for *Ibrāhīm*, in the Tārīkh, read *Barāhīm*).

is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindī, Persian, Greek, Kashmīrian, Arabic,[1] are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in his Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī, the Kīmiyā-yi Saʿādat, the Qābūsnāma, the works of Sharaf of Munayr (*vide* p. 50), the Gulistān, the Ḥadīqa of Ḥakīm Sanāʾī, the Masnawī of Maʿnawī, the Jām-i Jam, the Bustān, the Shāhnāma, the collected Masnawīs of Shaykh Niẓāmī, the works of Khusraw and Mawlānā Jāmī, the Dīwāns of Khāqānī, Anwarī, and several works on History, are continually read out to His Majesty. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindī, Greek, Arabic, and Persian books, into other languages. Thus a part of the Zīchi-i Jadīd-i Mīrzāʾī (*vide* 3rd book, Āʾīn 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amīr Fatḥᵘ 'llah of Shīrāz (*vide* p. 34), and also the Kishnjoshī, the Gangādhar, the Mohesh Mahānand, from Hindī (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahābhārat which belongs to the ancient books of Hindūstān has likewise been translated, from Hindī into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqīb Khān,[2] Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir of Badāon,[3] and Shaykh Sulṭān of

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[1] Observe that the Arabic books are placed last. [But see p. 104, line 4.—B.]

[2] Regarding this renowned man, *vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 161.

[3] Mullā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir, poetically styled *Qādirī*, was born A.H. 947 [or 949] at Badāon, a town near Dihlī. He was thus two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaykh Mulūk Shāh, and was a pupil of the Saint Bechū of Sambhal. ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir, or *Badāonī*, as we generally call him, studied various sciences under the most renowned and pious men of his age, most of whom he enumerates in the beginning of the third volume of his *Muntakhab*. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court *Imām* for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jalāl Khān Qūrchī (*vide* List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 213). For forty years Badāonī lived in company with Shaykh Mubārak, and Fayẓī and Abū 'l-Faẓl, the Shaykh's sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badāonī looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the *Ramāyan* (*Badāonī*,

Thanesar.[1] The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history *Razmnāma*, the book of Wars. The same learned men translated also into Persian the Ramāyan, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rām Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind translated into Persian the *Atharban* [2] which, according to the Hindūs, is one of

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II, pp. 336, 366), from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand *sloks* 150 Ashrafīs and 10,000 Tangahs; and parts of the Mahābhārat; extracts from the History of Rashīd; and the *Bahr*ᵘ *'l-Asmār*, a work on the *Ḥadīs*. A copy of another of his works, entitled *Najāt*ᵘ *'r-Rashīd*, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab*ᵘ *'t-Tawārīkh*, is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnāma* or the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* or the *Maᵉāsir-i Raḥīmī*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A.H. 1004, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badāonī died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mirᵉat*ᵘ *l-ϛĀlam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāonī's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badāonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which the *Maᵉāsir-i Raḥīmī* was written, whose author complained of the want of a history beside the Ṭabaqāt, and the Akbarnāma.

In point of style, Badāonī is much inferior to Bakhtāwar Khān (*Mirᵉat*ᵘ *'l-ϛAlam*) and Muḥammad Kāẓim (the *ϛĀlam-gīr Nāma*), but somewhat superior to his friend Mīrzā Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad of Hirāt, author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, and to ϛAbdᵘ 'l-Hamīd of Lāhor, author of the *Pādishāhnāma*.

ϛAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir of Badāon must not be confounded with Mawlānā Qādirī, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

[1] *Vide* Badāonī II, p. 278; and for Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, iii, p. 139. [ii, p. 278.—B.]

[2] "In this year (A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaykh Bhāwan, had come from the Dakhin and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *Atharban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaykh Bhāwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaykh Fayẓī, and then Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *Atharban*, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lā illāhᵃ illā 'l-lāh*. Besides, I found that a Hindū, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindūs *bury* their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaykh used to defeat other Brahmins in argument; and they had in fact led him to embrace Islām. Let us praise God for his conversion!" *Badāonī*, ii, p. 212.

The translation of the Mahābhārat was not quite a failure. "For two nights His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahābhārat, and told Naqīb Khān to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqīb Khān; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a *Harāmkhur* and a *turnip-eater*, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqīb Khān and Mullā Sherī, and another part by Sulṭān Ḥājī of Thanesar; then Shaykh Fayẓī was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Ḥājī wrote two other parts, adding a *verbal* translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred *juz* together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the

the four divine books. The Līlawatī, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian mathematicians on arithmetic, lost its Hindū veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Fayẓ-i Fayẓī.[1] At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khān of Gujrāt translated into Persian the Tājak, a well-known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs [2] of Bābar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ-'r-Raḥīm Khān, the present Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmīr, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmīrian into Persian [3] by Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād. The *Muʿjamᵘ 'l-Buldān*, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullā Aḥmad of Thathah,[4] Qāsim Beg, Shaykh Munawwar, and others. The *Haribās*, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlānā Sherī (*vide* the poetical extracts of the second book). By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the Kalīlah Damnah, and published it under the title of *ʿAyār Dānish*.[5] The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naṣrᵘ 'llah-i Mustawfī and Mawlānā Ḥusayn-i Wāʿiẓ has translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindī story of the love of Nal and Daman, which melts the hearts of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my

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original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue nowadays the fight between Panḍūs and the Kurūs. May God Almighty protect those that are not engaged in this work, and accept their repentance, and hear the prayer of pardon of every one who does not hide his disgust, and whose heart rests in Islām; for 'He allows men to return to Him in repentance!' This *Razmnāma* was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Faẓl wrote an introduction to it of about two *juz*, etc." *Badāonī*, ii, p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen *fans* (فن) is among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One *juz* (جزو) = sixteen pages *quarto*, or two sheets.

[1] This work has been printed. Abū 'l-Faẓl's words *Hindū veil* are an allusion to Līlawatī's sex.

[2] *Vide* Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 417. The Wāqiʿāt-i Tīmūr were translated into Persian, during the reign of Shāhjahān, by Mīr Abū Ṭālib-i Turbatī. *Pādshāhnāma* ii, p. 288. edit. Bibl. Indica. "Conqueror of the world," *getī sitānī*, is Bābar's title. Regarding the titles of the Mogul Emperors from Bābar to Bahādur Shāh, *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, Part I, p. 39.

[3] "During this year (A.H. 999, or A.D. 1590–1), I received the order from His Majesty to re-write in an easy style, the History of Kashmir, which Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād. a very learned man, had translated into Persian. I finished this undertaking in two months, when my work was put into the Imperial Library, to be read out to His Majesty in its turn." *Badāonī*, ii, p. 374.

[4] Regarding the tragic end of this "heretic", *vide Badāonī*, ii, p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of Badāonī.

[5] For *ʿIyār-i Dānish*. Such abbreviations are common in *titles*.

brother Shaykh Fayẓi-i Fayyāẓī, in the *masnawī* metre of the Layī Majnūn, and is now everywhere known under the title of *Nal Daman.*[1]

As His Majesty has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several well-informed writers to compose a work containing the events which have taken place in the seven zones for the last one thousand years. Naqīb Khān, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullā Aḥmad of Thathah, and the whole concluded by Jaʿfar Beg-i Āṣaf Khān. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of *Tārīkh-i Alfī,*[2] the History of a thousand years.

The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *taṣvīr*. His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Dārōghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces, worthy of a *Bihzād,*[3] may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable: even inanimate

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[1] "Fayẓī's *Naldaman* (for *Nal o Daman* contains about 4,200 verses, and was composed, A.H. 1003, in the short space of five months). It was presented to Akbar with a few *ashrafis* as *nazar*. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqīb Khān was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a masnawī, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khusraw of Dihlī, has composed." *Badāonī*, ii, p. 296

[2] In A.H. 1000, A.D. 1591-2, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that Islām and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be *Imām Mahdī*, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badāonī's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the *Dīn-i Ilāhī*. The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

The copy of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 19) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of ʿUmar ibn-i ʿAbdu 'l-Malik (A.H. 99, or A.D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, *vide Badāonī*, ii, p. 317.

[3] "*Bihzād* was a famous painter, who lived at the court of Shāh Ismaʿīl-i Ṣafawī of Persia." *Sirājullughāt.*

objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus;[1] their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.

Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention:

1. Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī of Tabrīz.[2] He learned the art from his father. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success.

2. Khwāja ʿAbdu 'ṣ-Ṣamad, styled *Shīrīnqalam*, or *sweet pen*. He comes from Shīrāz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee[3] of the Court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khwāja's pupils became masters.

3. Daswanth. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khwāja. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.

4. Basāwan. In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so that many critics prefer him to Daswanth.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Kesū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushkīn, Farrukh the Qalmāq (Calmuck), Mādhū,[4] Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tārā, Sāwlā, Haribās, Rām. It would take me too long to describe the excellencies of each. My intention is "to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf".

I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an

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[1] Compare with Abū 'l-Faẓl's opinion, Elphinstone's *History of India*, second edition, p. 174.

[2] Better known as a poet under the name of *Judāʾī*. *Vide* the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the *Story of Amīr Hamzah*, mentioned on the next page.

[3] He was a *Chahārṣadī*. *Vide* the list of grandees in the second book, No. 266.

[4] Mentioned in the *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* (p. 753) as in the service of ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Akbar's commander-in-chief.

antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."

The number of masterpieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The *Story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznāma, the Ẓafarnāma,[1] this book, the Razmnāma, the Ramāyan, the Nal Daman, the Kalilah Damnah, the ʿAyār Dānish, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.

In the same manner, as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line-drawers, and pagers.

Many *Manṣabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1,200 to 600 *dāms*.

Āʾīn 35.

THE ARSENAL.

The order of the household, the efficiency of the army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes. Thus a plated armour was brought before His Majesty, and set up as a target; but no bullet was so

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[1] *A History of the House of Tīmūr*, by Sharafu 'd-Dīn of Yazd (died 1446). *Vide* Morley's *Catalogue of Historical MSS.*, p. 94.

powerful as to make an impression on it. A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies. His Majesty also looks into the prices of such as are sold in the bāzārs.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords (*kh̲āṣa* swords), one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the harem, who keep it till its turn comes again. Forty other swords are kept in readiness; they are called *kotal* swords. When the number of *kh̲āṣa* swords (in consequence of presents, etc.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the *kotal* swords. There are also twelve *Yakbandī* (?),[1] the turn of every one of which recurs after one *week*. Of *Jāmdhars* and *Khapwas*, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty *kotals*, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and *barchhas*, are required monthly. Of eighty-six *Mash,hadī* bows, *Bhadāyan* bows, and twenty-four others, are returned monthly. . . .[2] In the same manner a rank is assigned to each.

Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bār-i ʿĀm*, or Levee, the sons of the Amīrs, and other *Manṣabdārs* and *Aḥadīs*, carry the *Qur* in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e. every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyāzī* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several *qaṭār* [3] of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels they use Bactrian camels, etc., for that purpose. At court receptions, the Amīrs and other people stand opposite the *Qur*, ready for any service; and on the march they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, *naqqāras*, flags, the *kawkabas*, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the *Qur*, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mīrbakh̲shīs. In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses.

In order to shorten the trouble of making references, I shall enumerate the weapons now in use in form of a table, and give pictures of some of them.

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[1] I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word *yakbandī* is not in the dictionaries.

[2] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[3] Five camels are called *qiṭār*, in Hind. *qaṭār*. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.

1.	Swords (slightly bent)	½ *R.* to 15 *Muhurs.*
2.	*Khāḍā* (straight swords)	1 to 10 *R.*
3.	*Guptī ʿaçā* (a sword in a walking stick)	2 to 20 *R.*
4.	*Jamdhar* (a broad dagger)	¼ *R.* to 2½ *M.*
5.	*Khanjar*	½ to 5 *R.*
6.	*Khapwa*	½ *R.* to 1½ *M.*
7.	*Jam khāk*	½ *R.* to 1½ *M.*
8.	*Bāk*	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
9.	*Jhanbwa*	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
10.	*Katāra*	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
11.	*Narsink moth*	½ *R.* to 2 *M.*
12.	*Kamān* (bows)	¼ *R.* to 3 *M.*
13.	*Takhsh kamān*	1 to 4 *R.*
14.	*Nāwak*	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
15.	Arrows, *per bundle*	½ to 30 *R.*
16.	Quivers	¼ *R.* to 2 *M.*
17.	*Ḍaḍī*	¼ to 5 *R.*
18.	*Tīrbardār* (arrow drawers)[1]	½ to 2½ *d.*
19.	*Paikānkash* (do.)	¼ to 3 *R.*
20.	*Neza* (a lance)	1¾ *R.* to 6 *M.*
21.	*Barchha*	¾ *R.* to 2 *M.*
22.	*Sāk*	¼ to 1½ *R.*
23.	*Sainthī*	¼ to 1 *R.*
24.	*Selara*	10 *d.* to ¾ *R.*
25.	*Gurz* (a war club)	¼ to 5 *R.*
26.	*Shashpar* (do.)	½ *R.* to 3 *M.*
27.	*Kestan* (?)[2]	1 to 3 *R.*
28.	*Tabar* (a war axe)	¼ *R.* to 2 *M.*
29.	*Piyāzī* (a club)	½ to 5 *R.*
30.	*Zāghnōl* (a pointed axe)	½ *R.* to 1 *M*
31.	*Chakar-basola*	1 to 6 *R.*
32.	*Tabar zāghnol*	1 to 4 *R.*
33.	*Tarangāla*	¼ to 2 *R.*
34.	*Kārd* (a knife)	2 *d.* to 1 *M.*
35.	*Guptī kārd*	3 *R.* to 1½ *M.*
36.	*Qamchī kārd*	1 to 3½ *R.*
37.	*Chāqū* (a clasp knife)	2 *d.* to ¼ *R.*

[1] If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be *tīr-i pardār*, an arrow with a *feather* at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.

[2] This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. *Vide* my text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The dictionaries give no information.

38.	*Kamān-i guroha* (bullet bow)	2 *d*. to 1 *R*.
39.	*Kamtha*	5 *d*. to 3 *R*.
40.	*Tufak-i dahān* [1] (a tube; *Germ*. Blaserohr)	10 *d*. to ½ *R*.
41.	*Pushtkhār* [2]	2 *d*. to 2 *R*.
42.	*Shaṣtāwez* [3]	2 *d*. to 1 *R*.
43.	*Girihkushā*	1 *d*. to ¼ *R*.
44.	*Khār-i māhī*	1 to 5 *R*.
45.	*Gobham* (a sling)	1½ *d*. to ¼ *R*.
46.	*Gajbāg*	1 to 5 *R*.
47.	*Sipar* (a shield)	1 to 50 *R*.
48.	*Dhāl*	½ *R*. to 4 *M*.
49.	*Khera*	1 *R*. to 4 *M*.
50.	*Pahrī*	1 *R*. to 1 *M*.
51.	*Uḍāna*	½ to 5 *R*.
52.	*Dubulgha*	½ *R*. to 3½ *M*.
53.	*Khōghī*	1 to 4 *R*.
54.	*Zirih kulāh*	1 to 5 *R*.
55.	*Ghūghuwa*	1 *R*. to 2 *M*..
56.	*Jaibāh* [4]	20 *R*. to 30 *M*.
57.	*Zirih*	1¾ *R*. to 100 *M*.
58.	*Bagtar* [5]	4 *R*. to 12 *M*.
59.	*Jōshan*	4 *R*. to 9 *M*.
60.	*Chār āʾina*	2 *R*. to 7 *M*.
61.	*Koṭhī*	5 *R*. to 8 *M*.
62.	*Ṣādiqī*	3 *R*. to 8 *M*.
63.	*Angirkha*	1½ *R*. to 5 *M*.
64.	*Bhanjū*	3 *R*. to 2 *M*.
65.	*Chihrahzirih-i āhanī*	1½ *R*. to 1 *M*.
66.	*Salhqabā*	5 *R*. to 8 *M*.
67.	*Chihilqad*	5 to 25 *R*.
68.	*Dastwāna*	1½ *R*. to 2 *M*.
69.	*Rāk* [6]	1 *R*. to 10 *M*.

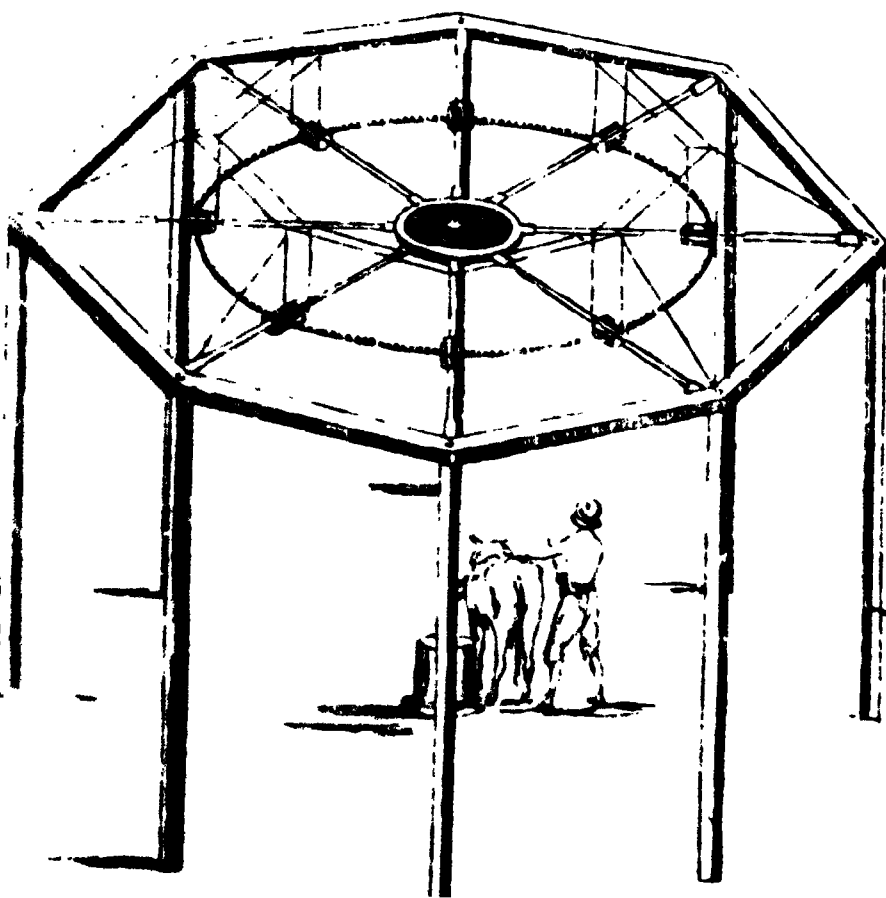
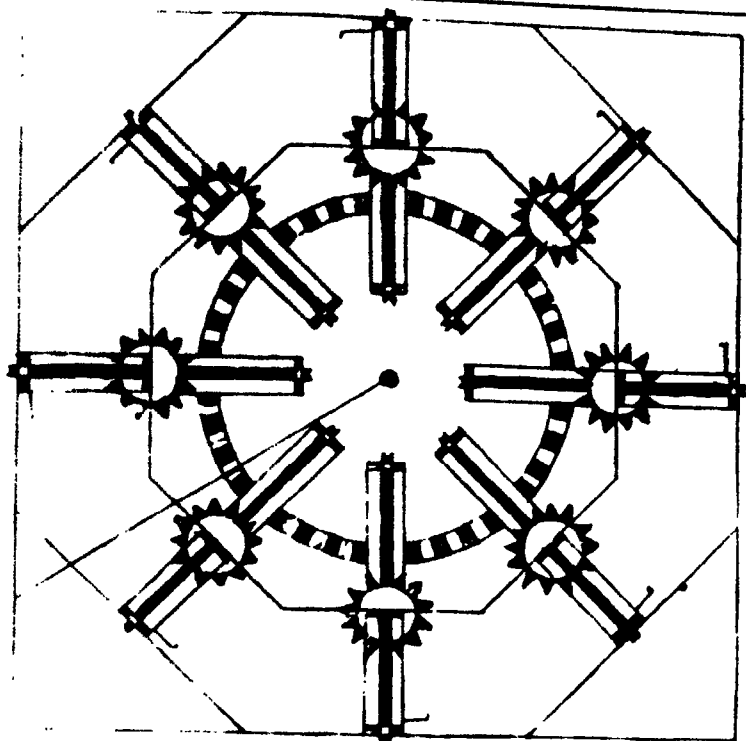
[[1] A blow-pipe.—P.]

[2] *Vide Journal As. Society Bengal*, for 1868, p. 61.

[3] A weapon resembling the following. The word *Shaṣtāwez*, or more correctly *shastāwez*, means *a thing by which you can hook anything*. In Vullers' Persian Dicty., ii, p. 426b, read *bīz* for *panīr* (!).

[4] This word is used in a general sense, *an armour*. It is either *Turkish*, or a corruption of the Arab. *jubbah*. The form *jaibā* is occasionally met with; but *jabah*, as given by Vullers, i, p. 508a, is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.

[[5] *Baktar*?—P.]

[6] According to some MSS. *rāg*.

70. *Kanṭha sobhā*[1]	1 to 10 *R.*
71. *Moza-yi āhanī*	½ to 10 *R.*
72. *Kajem*	50 to 300 *R.*
73. *Artak* (the quilt) *-i kajēm*	4 *R.* to 7 *M.*
74. *Qashqa*	1 *R.* to 2½ *M.*
75. *Gardanī*[2]	1 *R.* to 1 *M.*
76. Matchlocks	½ *R.* to 1 *M.*
77. *Bān* (rockets)	2½ to 4 *R.*

Āʾīn 36.

ON GUNS.

Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the state; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this. There are nowadays guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans*; several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a king, and therefore devotes to it much of his time. Dāroghas and clever clerks are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order.

His Majesty has made several inventions which have astonished the whole world. He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put together again when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match. Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name *Gajnāls*. Guns which a single man may carry are called *Narnāls*.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each Ṣūba has that kind which is fit for it. For the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches. It is impossible to count every gun; besides clever workmen make continually new ones, especially *Gajnāls* and *Narnāls*.

Amirs and Aḥadis are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d*.

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[1] The figure represents a long spear; but the etymology, as also its position in the list of weapons, shows that it must be a part of the armour, *a neck-piece*.

[2] A round shield like plate of iron attached to the neck of the horse and hanging down so as to protect the chest of the animal.

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 37.

ON MATCHLOCKS, ETC.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a marksman. Matchlocks are now made so strong that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one edge open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; they then join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun; or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long, and go by the name of *Damānak*. The gunstocks are differently made. From the practical knowledge of His Majesty, guns are now made in such a manner that they can be fired off, without a match, by a slight movement of the cock. Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword. Through the assistance of the inventive genius of His Majesty there are now many masters to be found among gunmakers, e.g., Ustād Kabīr and Ḥusayn.

Iron, when heated, loses about one-half of its volume.

When a barrel is completed lengthways, before the transverse bottom-piece is fixed to it, they engrave on it the quantity of its iron and the length, both being expressed in numerals. A barrel thus far finished, is called *Daul*. In this imperfect state they are sent to His Majesty, and delivered, in proper order, at the harem, to which place they are also brought for . . .[1] At the same time, the weight of the ball is fixed, and the order is given for the transverse section of the matchlock. For long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty-five *tānks*, and for smaller ones fifteen. But balls of the former weight no one but His Majesty[2] would dare to fire. When the barrels are polished, they are again

[1] The text has an unintelligible word; the *variantes lectiones* are marked on p. 125 of my text edition. Note (13). The Banāras MS. has برقان. The word appears to be a foreign term.

[2] Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. *Vide* Tusuk i Jahāngirī, p. 16.

sent to the harem, and preserved in proper order. They are afterwards taken out, and closed, by the order of His Majesty, with a transverse bottom-piece. Having been put to an old stock, they are filled to one-third of the barrel with powder, and fired off. If no *tarāwish* [1] takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouthpiece of the barrel. After this the gun is again placed on the stock, and subjected to a trial. If the ball issues in a crooked line, the barrel is heated, and straightened by means of a rod introduced into it, and, in the presence of His Majesty, handed over to a filer. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected and completed at His Majesty's command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom-piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the *pargaz*,[2] etc. As soon as all these things have been completed, a new trial is ordered; and when it succeeds, they send in the gun, and deliver it a third time at the harem. In this state the gun is called *sāda* (plain). Five bullets are sent along with it. His Majesty, after trying it in the manner above described, returns it with the fifth bullet. The order for the colour of the barrel and the stock is now given; one of the nine kinds of colour is selected for the stock. Guns also differ in the quality of inlaid gold and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called *rangīn* (coloured). It is now, as before, handed over together with five bullets; His Majesty makes four trials, and returns it with the last ball. When ten of such guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and the butt end with gold. They are then again sent for trial into the harem, and whenever ten are quite complete they are handed over to the slaves.

[1] *Tarāwish* means a *trickling*, the particular meaning which it here has, is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries.

[2] *Pargas*, or *Purgas*, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the dicts., and appears to be unknown at the present day.

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 38.

THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow. Plate XV will best show what sort of a machine it is.

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 39.

THE RANKS OF THE GUNS.

The Imperial arsenal contains *manufactured*, *purchased*, and *presented*, guns. Each of them is either *long*, or *short* ; and these are again subdivided into *sāda* (plain), *rangīn* (coloured), and *koftkār* (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as *kh̲āṣa*, i.e. for his special use. *First*, twelve in honour of the twelve months ; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. *Secondly*, thirty for every week ; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. *Thirdly*, thirty-two for the solar days ; one for every day. *Fourthly*, thirty-one *kotals*. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, *kotals* are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows : the guns for the month ; the week ; days ; *kotals* ; plain ; coloured ; *koftkār*, not handed over to the slaves ; *koftkār*, handed over to the slaves ; long ones, selected from *peshkash* presents, or from such as were bought ; *damānaks*, selected from *peshkash*, or from bought ones ; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five *kh̲āṣa* guns are divided into seven parts ; every fifteen form a *kishk*, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays two are taken from the first ; four from the second ; five from the third ; four from the fourth This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second ; four from the third ; five from the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first ; five from the second ; four from the third ; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such *kh̲āṣa guns* as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on : half kotals, fourteen ; quarter kotals, seven ; one-eighth kotals, four ; one-sixteenth kotals, two ; one-thirtysecond kotals, one. When *kotal* guns are given away, they bring half *kotals* ; similarly, the place of a gun,

when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the *kotals*, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the *koftkār* not in charge of the slaves, the *koftār* in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected *Damānaks*, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (i.e. ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the harem.

His Majesty practises often. When he has tried each gun, he commences from the beginning; and when each gun has been used four times it is sent away and replaced by a new one of each kind. If guns have been left unused at the beginning of a new month, they are placed last, and the guns for the current month are put first.

An order has also been given to the writers to write down the game killed by His Majesty with the particulars of the guns used. Thus it was found that with the gun which has the name of *Sangrām* one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the *Farwardīn* month of the present era.

Āʾīn 40.

ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.

The pay of a *Mīrdaha*[1] is of four grades, 300 *dāms*, 280 *d.*, 270 *d.*, 260 *d.* The pay of the others is of five grades. Each grade is again subdivided into three classes. *First grade*, 250 *d.*, 240 *d.*, 230 *d.* *Second grade*, 220 *d.*, 210 *d.*, 200 *d.* *Third grade* 190 *d.*, 180 *d.*, 170 *d.* *Fourth grade*, 160 *d.*, 150 *d.*, 140 *d.* *Fifth grade*, 130 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*

Āʾīn 41.

THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANT STABLES.

This wonderful animal is in bulk and strength like a mountain; and in courage and ferocity like a lion. It adds materially to the pomp of a king

[1] *A man placed over ten.* The rank of the *Mīrdaha* appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a *Dahbāshī*, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a *Dahbāshī* was the lowest *Manṣabdār* rank (vide the second book). *Mīrdaha* is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after ten horses.

and to the success of a conqueror; and is of the greatest use for the army. Experienced men of Hindustan put the value of a good elephant equal to five hundred horses; and they believe that, when guided by a few bold men armed with matchlocks, such an elephant alone is worth double that number. In vehemence on one side, and submissiveness to the reins on the other, the elephant is like an Arab, whilst in point of obedience and attentiveness to even the slightest signs, it resembles an intelligent human being. In restiveness when full-blooded, and in vindictiveness, it surpasses man. An elephant never hurts the female, though she be the cause of his captivity; he never will fight with young elephants, nor does he think it proper to punish them. From a sense of gratitude, he does his keepers no harm, nor will he throw dust over his body when he is mounted, though he often does so at other times. Once an elephant, during the rutting-season was fighting with another. When he was in the height of excitement a small elephant came in his way; he kindly lifted up the small one with his trunk, set him aside, and then renewed the combat. If a male elephant breaks loose during the rutting season in order to have his own way, few people have the courage to approach him; and some bold and experienced man will have to get on a female elephant, and try to get near him and tie a rope round his foot. Female-elephants, when mourning the loss of a young one, will often abstain from food and drink; they sometimes even die from grief.

The elephant can be taught various feats. He learns to remember such melodies as can only be remembered by people acquainted with music; he will move his limbs to keep time, and exhibit his skill in various ways. He will shoot off an arrow from a bow, discharge a matchlock, and will learn to pick up things that have been dropped and hand them over to the keeper. Sometimes they get grain to eat wrapped up in hay; this they hide in the side of their mouth, and give it back to the keeper, when they are alone with him.

The teats of a female elephant, and the womb, resemble those of a woman. The tongue is round like that of a parrot. The testicles are not visible. Elephants frequently with their trunks take water out of their stomachs, and sprinkle themselves with it. Such water has no offensive smell. They also take out of their stomach grass on the second day, without its having undergone any change.

The price of an elephant varies from a lak [1] to one hundred rupees;

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[1] During the reigns of Akbar's successor, the price of a well-trained war elephant rose much higher. *Vide* Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 198. At the time of Shāhjahān, the first white elephant was brought from Pégū, *Pādishāhnāma*, i, p. 267.

elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common.

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. *Bhaddar*. It is well proportioned, has an erect head, a broad chest, large ears, a long tail, and is bold, and can bear fatigue. They take out of his forehead an excrescence resembling a large pearl, which they call in Hindī *Gaj manik*.[1] Many properties are ascribed to it. 2. *Mand*. It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized belly, a long penis, and is wild and ungovernable. 3. *Mirg*. It has a whitish skin with black spots; the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, yellow, black, and white. 4. *Mir*. It has a small head, and obeys readily. It gets frightened when it thunders.

From a mixture of these four kinds are formed others of different names and properties. The colour of the skin of elephants is threefold; white, black, grey. Again, according to the threefold division of the dispositions assigned by the Hindus to the mind, namely, *sat* benevolence, *raj* love of sensual enjoyment, and *tam* irascibility, which shall be further explained below,[2] elephants are divided into three classes. *First*, such in which *sat* predominates. They are well proportioned, good looking, eat moderately, are very submissive, do not care for intercourse with the female, and live to a very old age. *Secondly*, such in whose disposition *raj* prevails. They are savage-looking, and proud, bold, ungovernable, and voracious. *Lastly*, such as are full of *tam*. They are self-willed, destructive, and given to sleep and voraciousness.

The time of gestation of the female is generally eighteen[3] lunar months. For three months the *fluida germinalia* intermix in the womb of the female; when agitated the mass looks like quicksilver. Towards the fifth month the *fluida* settle and get gelatinous. In the seventh month, they get more solid, and draw to perfection towards the ninth month. In the eleventh, the outline of a body is visible; and in the twelfth, the veins, bones, hoofs, and hairs, make their appearance. In the thirteenth month the *genitalia* become distinguishable, and in the fifteenth, the

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[1] This excrescence is also called *Gajmoti*, or *elephants'-pearl*. Forbes has also *Gajmanik*, and the *Dalīl-i Sāṭi'*, گجوتی gaj watī (?).

[2] In the *fourth* book of this work.

[3] The time is differently given. The emperor Jahāngīr says in his Memoirs (p. 130):—"During this month a female elephant in my stables gave birth before my own eyes. I had often expressed the wish to have the time of gestation of the female elephant correctly determined. It is now certain that a female birth takes place after sixteen, and a male birth after nineteen, months [the emperor means evidently *solar* months]; and the process is different from what it is with man, the foetus being born with the feet foremost. After giving birth, the female at once covers the young one with earth and dust, and continually caresses it, whilst the young one sinks down every moment trying to reach the teats of the mother." *Vide* Lt. Johnstone's remarks on the same subject, in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May, 1868.

process of quickening commences. If the female, during gestation, gets stronger, the fœtus is sure to be a male; but if she gets weak it is the sign of a female. During the sixteenth month the formation becomes still more perfect, and the life of the fœtus becomes quite distinct. In the seventeenth month there is every chance [1] of a premature birth on account of the efforts made by the fœtus to move, till, in the eighteenth month, the young one is born.

According to others the sperm gets solid in the first month; the eyes, ears, the nose, mouth, and tongue are formed in the second; in the third month, the limbs made their appearance: in the fourth month, the fœtus grows and gets strong; in the fifth, it commences to quicken; in the sixth, it gets sense, which appears more marked during the seventh month; in the eighth, there is some chance of a miscarriage; during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh months the fœtus grows, and is born during the twelfth. It will be a male young one if the greater part of the sperm came from the male; and it will be a female young one if the reverse is the case. If the sperm of both the male and female is equal in quantity the young one will be a hermaphrodite. The male fœtus lies towards the right side; the female towards the left; a hermaphrodite in the middle.

Female elephants have often for twelve days a red discharge, after which gestation commences. During that period they look startled, sprinkle themselves with water and earth, keep ears and tail upwards, and go rarely away from the male. They will rub themselves against the male, bend their heads below his tusks, smell at his urine and dung, and cannot bear to see another female near him. Sometimes, however, a female shows aversion to intercourse with the male; and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called *bāl*. When ten years old they are named *pūt*; when twenty years old, *bikka*; when thirty years old, *kalba*. In fact the animal changes appearance every year, and then gets a new name. When sixty years old, the elephant is full grown. The skull then looks like two

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[1] The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean: In the seventeenth month the effort of the fœtus to move causes the female to sink down.

halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing fans.[1] White eyes mixed with yellow, black, and red, are looked upon as a sign of excellence. The forehead must be flat without swellings or wrinkles. The trunk is the nose of the animal, and is so long as to touch the ground. With it, it takes up the food and puts it into the mouth; similarly, it sucks up water with it, and then throws it into the stomach. It has eighteen teeth; sixteen of them are inside the mouth, eight above and eight below, and two are the tusks outside. The latter are one and more yards long, round, shining, very strong, white, or sometimes reddish and straight, the end slightly bent upwards. Some elephants have four tusks. With a view to usefulness as also to ornament, they cut off the top of the tusks, which grow again. With some elephants they have to cut the tusks annually; with others after two or three years; but they do not like to cut them when an elephant is ten and eighty years old. An elephant is perfect when it is eight *dast* high, nine *dast* long, and ten *dast* round the belly, and along the back. Again, nine limbs, ought to touch the ground, namely, the fore feet; the hind feet, the trunk, the tusks, the penis, the tail. White spots on the forehead are considered lucky, whilst a thick neck is looked upon as a sign of beauty. Long hairs on and about the ears point to good origin.

Some elephants rut in winter, some in summer, some in the rains. They are then very fierce, they pull down houses, throw down stone walls, and will lift up with their trunks a horse and its rider. But elephants differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks grand; in this state he gets the name of *Taftī* or *Sarkarī*. When the above discharge exudes from a place a little higher than the soft parts between the ears and the temples, the elephant is called *Singāḍhāl*; and when the fluid trickles from all three places, *Tal-jor*. When in heat, elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

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[1] *Ghalla afshān.* This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse collect near the side which is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use sieves for such purposes.

The *Bhaddar* ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the *Mand* in spring; the *Mirg* in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the *Mir* in any season. Elephant drivers have a drug which causes an artificial heat; but it often endangers the life of the beast. The noise of battle makes some superior elephants just as fierce as at the rutting season; even a sudden start may have such an effect. Thus His Majesty's elephant *Gajmukta*: he gets brisk as soon as he hears the sound of the Imperial drum, and gets the above-mentioned discharge. This peculiar heat generally makes its first appearance when elephants have reached the age of thirty; sometimes, however, earlier, at an age of twenty-five. Sometimes the heat lasts for years, and some of the Imperial elephants have continued for five years in an uninterrupted alacrity. But it is mostly male elephants that get in heat. They then commence to throw up earth, and run after a female, or roll about in mud, and daub themselves all over with dirt. When in heat they are very irritable, and yawn a great deal, though they sleep but little. At last they even discontinue eating, and dislike the foot-chain: they try to get loose, and behave noisily.

The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years.

The Hindī language has several words for an elephant, as *hastī*, *gaj*, *pīl*, *hāthī*, etc. Under the hands of an experienced keeper it will much improve, so that its value in a short time may rise from one hundred to ten thousand rupees.

The Hindus believe that the eight points of the earth are each guarded by a heavenly being in the shape of an elephant; they have curious legends regarding them. Their names are as follows: 1. *Airāwata*, in the East; 2. *Pundarika*, south-east; 3. *Bāman*, south; 4. *Kumada*, south-west; 5. *Anjan*, west; 6. *Puhpadanta*, north-west; 7. *Sārbhabhūma*, north; 8. *Supratīka*, north-east. When occasions arise, people read incantations in their names, and address them in worship. They also think that every elephant in the world is the offspring of one of them. Thus, elephants of a white skin and white hairs are related to the first; elephants with a large head and long hairs, of a fierce and bold temper, and eyelids apart, belong to the second; such as are . . .[1] good-looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third; if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth; if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-feet, from the

[1] The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps *khushpanj*, graceful, is the correct reading.

fifth; if fearful, with prominent veins, with a short hump and ears and a long trunk, from the sixth; if thin-bellied, red-eyed, and with a long trunk, from the seventh; and if of a combination of the preceding seven qualities, from the eighth.

The Hindus also make the following division into *eight* classes: 1. Elephants whose skin is not wrinkled, who are never sick, who are grand looking, do not run away from the battle-field, dislike meat, and prefer clean food at proper times, are said to be *Dew mizāj* (of a divine temper). 2. Such as possess all the good qualities of elephants, and are quick in learning, moving about the head, ears, trunk, forelegs, hind legs, and the tail, and do no one harm except they be ordered to do so, are *Gandharba mizāj* (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are *Brahaman mizāj* (of a brahminical temper). 4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernable, are said to have the temper of a *Khattrī*, or warrior. 5. Those which are of a low stature, and forgetful, self-willed in their own work, and neglectful in that of their master, fond of unclean food, and spiteful towards other elephants, are *Sūdra mizāj*. 6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or are destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a serpent. 7. Such as squint, and are slow to learn, or feign to be hot, have the temper of a *Pishācha* (spectre). 8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a *Rāchhas* (demon).

The Hindus have written many books in explanation of these various tempers, as also many treatises on the diseases of the elephants, their causes and proper remedies.

Elephants are found in the Ṣūbah of Āgra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar,[1] as far as Barār; in the Ṣūba of Ilāhābād (Allahabad), in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, and Ratanpūr, Nandanpūr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Ṣūba of Mālwa, in Handiyah, Uchhod, Chanderī, Santwās, Bījāgaṛh, Rāisīn, Hoshangābād, Gaṛha, Haryāgaṛh; in the Ṣūba of Bihār, in the neighbourhood of Rahtās

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[1] Narwar, where Abū 'l-Faẓl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), Long. 77° 58′, Lat. 25° 39′; *Ghoṛāghāt*, near Dinagepore, Long. 89° 17′, Lat. 25° 12′; *Ratanpūr* (Abū 'l-Faẓl evidently means the one south-east of Sargachh), Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 14′; *Sargachh*, Long. 83° 8′, Lat. 23° 8′; *Bastar*, Long. 81° 58′, Lat. 19° 12′. The towns from Handiya to Haryāgaḍh lie all between Long. 75° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Gwāliār). For *Uchhod* (اچهود) the third book has *Ūnchhod* (اونچهود). The Fort of Rahtās, the scene of Sher Shāh's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38′. The name *Pattah* (پته) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have nowadays disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl.

and Jhārkhand; and in the Ṣūba of *Bengal*, in *Oṛīsā*, *and Sātgāw*. *The elephants* from Pannah are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindī *sahn*. They vary in number; sometimes a herd amounts to a thousand elephants. Wild elephants are very cautious. In winter and summer, they select a proper place, and break down a whole forest near their sleeping place. For the sake of pleasure, or for food and drink, they often travel over great distances. On the journey one runs far in front of the others, like a sentinel; a young female is generally selected for this purpose. When they go to sleep they send out to the four sides of the sleeping place pickets of four female elephants, which relieve each other.

Elephants will lift up their young ones, for three or four days after their birth, with their trunks, and put them on their backs, or lay them over their tusks. They also prepare medicines for the females when they are sick or in labour pains and crowd round about them. When some of them get caught, the female elephants break through the nets, and pull down the elephant-drivers. And when a young elephant falls into a snare they hide themselves in an ambush, go at night to the place where the young one is, set it at liberty, and trample the hunters to death. Sometimes its mother slowly approaches alone, and frees it in some clever way. I have heard the following story from His Majesty: "Once a wild young one had fallen into a pit. As night had approached, we did not care to pull it out immediately, and left it; but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken logs and grass, and thus pulled out the young one." Again, "Once a female elephant played us a trick. She feigned to be dead. We passed her, and went onwards; but when at night we returned, we saw no trace left of her."

There was once an elephant in the Imperial stables named *Ayāz*. For some reason it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watching for an opportunity. Once at night, it found him asleep. It got hold of a long piece of wood, managed to pull off with it the man's turban, seized him by the hair, and tore him asunder.

Many examples are on record of the extraordinary cleverness of elephants; in some cases it is difficult to believe them.

Kings have always shown a great predilection for this animal, and done everything in their power to collect a large number. Elephant-keepers are much esteemed, and a proper rank is assigned to such as have a special knowledge of the animal. Wicked, low men see in an elephant a means of lawlessness; and unprincipled evildoers, with the help of this animal,

carry on their nefarious trade. Hence kings of former times never succeeded in suppressing the rebellious, and were thus disappointed in their best intentions. But His Majesty, though overwhelmed with other important matters, has been able, through God's assistance and his numerous elephants, to check those low but haughty men; he teaches them to desire submission, and bestows upon them, by wise laws, the blessings of peace.

His Majesty divided the Imperial elephants into sections, which he put in charge of honest Dāroghas. Certain elephants were also declared *khāṣa*, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

Āʾīn 42.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience: 1. *Mast* (full blood); 2. *Shergīr* (tiger-seizing); 3. *Sāda* (plain); 4. *Manjhola* (middlemost); 5. *Karha*; 6. *Phandurkiya*; 7. *Mokal*. The first class comprises young elephants, possessed of the peculiar heat which renders the animal so strong. The second class contains likewise young ones which once or twice have given signs of perfection and exhibit an uninterrupted alacrity. The third class comprehends useful elephants, which are nearly as good as the preceding. The fourth class contains elephants of a somewhat inferior value. Those of the fifth class are younger than those of the fourth. The elephants of the sixth class are smaller than those of the fifth. The last class contains all young ones still unfit for use.

Each class is divided into three subdivisions, viz., *large sized*, *middle*, *young* ones; the last class contains ten kinds. A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class.

Āʾīn 43.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO THE ELEPHANTS.

Formerly the classification of the elephants was never attended to; hence in feeding them a large quantity of the stores was wasted. But when His Majesty, soon after lifting the veil,[1] commenced to care for the

[1] The same phrase as on p. 13, line 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bayrám fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.

happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired into, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Mast elephants*. Large ones get daily 2 *mans* 24 *sers*; middle-sized, 2 *m*. 19 *s*.; small ones, 2 *m*. 14 *s*. 2. *Shergīrs*. Large ones, 2 *m*. 9 *s*.; middle-sized ones, 2 *m*. 4 *s*.; small ones, 1 *m*. 39 *s*. 3. *Sādas*. Large ones, 1 *m*. 34 *s*.; middle-sized ones, 1 *m*. 29 *s*.; small ones, 1 *m*. 24 *s*. 4. *Manjholas*. Large ones, 1 *m*. 22 *s*.; middle-sized ones, 1 *m*. 20 *s*.; small ones, 1 *m*. 18 *s*. 5. *Karhas*. Large ones, 1 *m*. 14 *s*.; middle-sized ones, 1 *m*. 9 *s*.; small ones, 1 *m*. 4 *s*. 6. *Phandurkiyas*. Large ones, 1 *m*.; middle-sized ones, 36 *s*.; small ones, 32 *s*. 7. *Mokals*. Large ones, 26 *s*.; middle-sized ones, 24 *s*.; third class, 22 *s*.; fourth class, 20 *s*.; fifth class, 18 *s*.; sixth class, 16 *s*.; seventh class, 14 *s*.; eighth class, 12 *s*.; ninth class, 10 *s*.; tenth class, 8 *s*.

Female elephants have been divided into four classes, viz., large ones, middle-sized ones, small ones, *mokals*. The first two classes are divided into three; the third, into four; the fourth, into nine subdivisions. 1. *Large ones*: Big, 1 *m*. 22 *s*.; middling, 1 *m*. 18 *s*.; small ones, 1 *m*. 14*s*. 2. *Middle-sized ones*. Big, 1 *m*. 10 *s*.; middling, 1 *m*. 6 *s*.; small, 1 *m*. 2 *s*. 3. *Small ones*. Big, 37 *s*.; middling, 32 *s*.; small, 27 *s*.; still smaller, 22 *s*. 4. *Mokals*. First class, 22 *s*.; second, 20 *s*.; third, 18 *s*.; fourth, 16 *s*.; fifth, 14 *s*.; sixth, 12 s.; seventh, 10 *s*.; eighth, 8 *s*.; ninth, 6 *s*.

Āʾīn 44.

THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.

1. *Mast* elephants. There are five and a half[1] servants for each, viz., a *Mahāwat*, who sits on the neck of the animal and directs its movements. He must be acquainted with its good and bad properties, and thus contribute to its usefulness. He gets 200 *dāms* per month; but if the elephant be *khuṭahar*, i.e., wicked and addicted to pulling down the driver, he gets 220 *d*. *Secondly*, a *Bhoī*, who sits behind, upon the rump of the elephant, and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the *Mahāwat*. His monthly pay is 110 *d*. *Thirdly*, the *Meths*, of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A *meth* fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. *Meths* of all classes get on the march four *dāms* daily, and at other times three and a half.

2. For every *Shergīr*, there are five servants, viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 180 *d*.; a *Bhoī*, at 103 *d*.; and three *Meths* as before.

[1] i.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.

3. For every *Sāda*, there are four and a half servants, viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 160 *d.*, a *Bhoī* at 90 *d.*; and two and a half *Meths*.

4. For every *Manjhola*, there are four servants; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 140 *d.*; a *Bhoī*, at 80 *d*; and two *Meths*.

5. For every *Karha*, there are three and a half servants; viz., a *Mahāwat* at 120 *d.*; a *Bhoī*, at 70 *d.*; and one and a half *Meths*.

6. For every *Phandurkiya*, there are two servants; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 100 *d*; and a *Meth*.

7. For every *Mokal*, there are likewise two servants; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 50 *d.*; and a *Meth*.

Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 100 *d.*; a *Bhoī*, at 60 *d.*; two *Meths*. 2. Middle-sized ones have three and a half servants; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 80 *d.*; a *Bhoī*, at 50 *d.*; and one and a half *Meths*. 3. Small ones have two; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 60 *d.*; and a *Meth*. 4. *Mokals* have likewise two; viz., a *Mahāwat*, at 60 *d.*, and a *Meth*.

The Fawjdār.

His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants. Such a troop is called a *ḥalqa*; the superintendent is called *Fawjdār*. His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants; he teaches them to be bold, and to stand firm at the sight of fire and at the noise of artillery; and he is responsible for their behaviour in these respects. When a *Fawjdār* is raised to the dignity of a *Ṣadī* (a commander of one hundred) or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other *Fawjdārs*, as *Bistīs* (commanders of twenty) and *Dahbāshīs* (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the *Dahbāshīs* up to the *Hazārīs* (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the *Ṣadī* is different. Some *Fawjdārs* have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A *Ṣadī* marks two horses. A *Bistī* of the first grade has 30 *rupees per mensem*; second grade, 25 *R.*, third grade, 20 *R.* A *Dahbāshī* of the first grade has twenty *R.*; second grade, 16 *R.*; third grade, 12 *R.* *Bistīs* and *Dahbāshīs* mark one horse, and belong to the *Aḥadīs*. Such *Fawjdārs* as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves have to pay the wages of the *Mahāwat* and of one *Bhoī* of that elephant, which they select for their own use; but such as have twenty or ten only pay for a *Mahāwat*.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several *ḥalqas* in charge of every grandee, and required him

to look after them. The fodder also is now supplied by the government. A trustworthy clerk has, besides, been appointed, who is in charge of the correspondence of this branch ; he looks after the receipts and expenditure and sees that the orders of His Majesty are carried out. He also parades the elephants in the order described below (*Áʿīn* 78).

Áʿīn 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The *Dharna* is a large chain, made of iron, gold, or silver. It is made of sixty oval links, each weighing three *sers* ; but the chain differs in length and thickness according to the strength of the elephant. One end of the chain is fixed in the ground, or fastened to a pillar ; the other end is tied to the left hind leg of the elephant. Formerly, they fastened this chain to the forefoot ; but as this is injurious for the chest of the elephant His Majesty ordered to discontinue the usage.

2. The *Āndū* is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The *Beṛī* is a chain for fastening both hind feet.

4. The *Baland* is a fetter for the hind feet, an invention of His Majesty. It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The *Gaddh beṛī* resembles the *Āndū*, and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants.

6. The *Loh langar* is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The *Charkhī* is a piece of hollowed bamboo half a yard and two ṭassūjes long, and has a hole in the middle. It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves. A fuzee wrapt in paper is put into each end. Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick, which serves as a handle. Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round and makes a frightful noise. When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals, when they will get quiet. Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting, they used to light a fire ; but people had

much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect. His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all.

8. *Andhiyārī*, i.e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into *Ujyālī*, i.e., light, is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, etc., and tied with two ends to the *Kilāwa* (*vide* next). When the elephant is unruly, it is let fall, so that he cannot see. This has been the saving of many. As it often gives way, especially when the elephant is very wild, His Majesty had three heavy bells attached to the ends of the canvas, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The *Kilāwa* [1] consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without, however, being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is ; the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the *kalāwa*, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The *Dulṭhī* is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a staff. This they tie over the *kalāwa* to strengthen it.

11. The *Kanār* is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the *kalāwa*, and prick the elephant's ears with it in order to make the animal wild or to urge it on.

12. The *Ḍor* is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

13. The *Gadela* is a cushion put on the back of the elephant below the *dulṭhī*. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

14. The *Gudauṛī* is a chain of brass. They attach it near the tail, which it prevents from getting injured by the *dulṭhī*. It is also ornamental.

15. The *Pichwa* is a belt made of ropes and is fastened over the buttocks of the elephant. It is a support for the *Bhoī*, and of much use to him in firing.

16. The *Chaurāsī* consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

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[1] This should be *Kalāwa*. Abū 'l-Faẓl spells the word wrong ; *vide* my text edition, p. 136, l. 16. It looks as if Abū 'l-Faẓl had mistaken this *Persian* word for a *Hindī* term ; else, why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers' Persian Dictionary, ii, p. 863b, read *khait* for *khat*, and *ba tanīd* for his emendation (?) *tabyīn*.

broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. *Piṭkachh* is the name of two chains fastened over the elephant's sides. Attached to them, a bell hangs below the belly. It is of great beauty and grandeur.

18. Large chains. They attach six on both sides, and three to the *kalāwa*, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. *Quṭās* (the tail of the Thibetan Yak). There are about sixty, more or less, attached to the tusk, the forehead, the throat, and the neck. They are either white, or black, or pied, and look very ornamental.

20. The *Ṭayyā* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the *Ṭayyā* there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the *kalāwa*, to which both are attached. Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the *kalāwa*; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The *Quṭās* are attached here. At their lower end there are three other chains similarly arranged. Besides, four other chains are attached to the knob; two of them, like the first, end in a knob, whilst the remaining two are tied to the tusks. To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down. *Quṭās* and daggers are attached to the former knobs, but the latter lies over the forehead. All this is partly for ornament, partly to frighten other animals.

21. The *Pākhar* is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

22. The *Gaj-jhamp* is a covering put as an ornament above the *pākhar*. It looks grand. It is made of three folds of canvas, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside.

23. The *Megh dambar* is an awning to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty. It also looks ornamental.

24. The *Ranpiyal* is a fillet for the forehead made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and *quṭās* hang down.

25. The *Gateh* consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter. It is attached to the feet of the elephant. Its sound is very effective.

26. The *Pāy ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The *Ánkus* is a small crook. His Majesty calls it *Gajbāga*.[1] It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

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[1] i.e., an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ánkus*, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." *Rashídí.* Hence the Persians pronounce it *angush*.

28. The *Gaḍ* is a spear which has two prongs instead of an iron point. The *Bhoī* makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The *Bangrī* is a collection of rings made of iron or brass. The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them.

30. The *Jagāwaṭ* resembles the *Gaḍ* (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The *Bhoī* uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The *Jhanḍā*, or flag, is hung round with *Quṭās*, like a *togh*.[1] It is fixed to the side of the elephant.

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants.

For each *Mast* and *Shergīr* and *Sāda*, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ *dāms*. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindī *kambal*, at 10 *d*. each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 *d*. For *Manjhola* and *Karha* elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For *Phandurkiyas* and *Mokals*, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddlecloth is made of cloth, lining, and stuff for edging it round about; for sewing, half a *ser* of cotton thread is allowed. For every *man* of grain, the *ḥalqa-dār* is allowed ten *sers* of iron for chains, etc., at 2 *d*. per *ser*; and for every hide, one *ser* of sesame oil, at 60 *d*. per *man*. Also 5 *s*. coarse cotton thread for the *kalāwa* of the elephant on which the *Fawjdār* rides, at 8 *d*. per *ser*; but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, etc., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve *dāms* is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

Āʾīn 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (*KHĀṢA*).

There are one hundred and one elephants selected for the use of His Majesty. Their allowance of food is the same in quantity as that of the other elephants, but differs in quality. Most of them also get 5 *s*. of sugar, 4 *s*. of *ghī*, and half a *man* of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc.; and some have one and a half *man*[2] of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the *Mahāwat*.

Each elephant requires three *bhoīs* in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 *d*., and are fixed by His

[1] *Togh* is the same as *ṭūq*. *Vide* Āʾīn 19, p. 52.
[2] Liquids are sold in India by the weight.

Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four *Meths*. In the *Ḥalqas*, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones ; but for each *k͟hāṣa* elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half *meths* ; second class do., two ; third class do., one and one-half ; for the other classes as in the *Ḥalqas*.

As each *Ḥalqa* is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every *k͟hāṣa* elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten *k͟hāṣa* elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called *Dahā,īdār*. They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees *per mensem*. Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called *Naqīb* (watcher) and has to submit a daily report, when elephants eat little, or get a shortened allowance, or in cases of sickness, or when anything unusual happens. He marks a horse, and holds the rank of an *Aḥadī*. His Majesty also weekly dispatches some of the servants near him, in the proportion of one for every ten elephants, who inspect them and send in a report.

Āʾīn 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING *K͟HĀṢA*-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephant, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.[1]

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the *bhoīs*. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, *viz.*, the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present ; the former, 100 *R.* ; the *Dahā,ī*, 31 *R.* ; the *Naqīb*, 15 *R.* ; the *Mushrif* (writer), 7½ *R.* Besides, the regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech.

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting ; some are always

[1] Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect ; *vide* Tuzuk, p. 16.

ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over, if the combatants were *khāṣa* elephants, the *bhoīs* receive 250 *dāms* as a present; but if other elephants, the *bhoīs* get 200 *d.*

The *Dahā,īdār* of *khāṣa* elephants receives one *dām* for every rupee paid as wages to the *bhoīs* and *meths*; the *Mushrif* is entitled to ½ *d.*, and the *Naqīb* to ½ *d.* In the case of *ḥalqa* elephants, the *Ṣadīwāl*, the *Dahbāshī*, and the *Bīstī*, are entitled to 1 *d.* for every rupee; and the *Mushrif* and the *Naqīb* receive the allowance given for *khāṣa* elephants.

Ā'īn 48.

ON FINES.

In order to prevent laziness and to ensure attentiveness, His Majesty, as for all other departments, has fixed a list of fines. On the death of a male or a female *khāṣa* elephant the *Bhoīs* are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the *Bhoīs* and *Meths* are fined two-thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddlecloth, the full price. When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the *Bhoīs* have to pay the cost price of the animal.

If a driver mixes drugs with the food of an elephant to make the animal hot, and it dies in consequence thereof, he is liable to capital punishment, or to have a hand cut off, or to be sold as a slave. If it was a *khāṣa* elephant, the *Bhoīs* lose three months' pay and are further suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched to inquire into the fatness or leanness of the *khāṣa* elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the *Pāgosht* Regulation (*vide* Ā'īn 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the *bhoīs* are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of *ḥalqa* elephants, Aḥadīs are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the *Mahāwat* and the *Bhoī* are fined three months' wages. If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the *kalī*—this is a place at the root of the tusks, which on being injured is apt to fester, when the tusks get hollow and become useless—a fine amounting to one-eighth of the price of the elephant is exacted, the *dārogha* paying two-thirds, and the *Faujdār* one-third. Should the injury not reach as far as the *kalī*, the fine is only one-half of the former, but the proportions are the same. But, at present, a fine of one per cent has become usual; in the case of *khāṣa* elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.

Āʾīn 49.

THE IMPERIAL HORSE STABLES.

His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience.

Merchants bring to court good horses from ʿIrāq-i ʿArab and ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmīr, and other countries. Droves after droves arrive from Tūrān and Īrān, and there are nowadays twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty. And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes.

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man; and after a short time Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia, whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from the *ʿIrāqī* breed. There are fine horses bred in every part of the country; but those of Cachh excel, being equal to Arabs. It is said that a long time ago an Arab ship was wrecked and driven to the shore of Cachh; and that it had seven choice horses, from which, according to the general belief, the breed of that country originated. In the Panjāb, horses are bred resembling ʿIrāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of *Sanūjī*;[1] so also in the district of Patī Haybatpūr,[2] Bajwāral, Tihāra, in the Ṣūbaof Āgra, Mewāt, and in the Ṣūba of Ājmīr, where the horses have the name of *pachwariya*. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horse is bred, which are called *gūṭ*; and in the confine of Bengal, near Kūch [-Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the *gūṭ* and Turkish horses, and are called *tānghan*,[3] they are strong and powerful.

His Majesty, from the light of his insight and wisdom, makes himself acquainted with the minutest details, and with the classification and the condition of every kind of article; he looks to the requirements of the times, and designs proper regulations. Hence he also pays much attention to everything that is connected with this animal, which is of so great an importance for the government and an almost supernatural means for the attainment of personal greatness.

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[1] Several good MSS. read *Satūjī*.

[2] Haibatpūr, Lat. 29° 51′, Long. 76° 2′; Tihāra, Lat. 30° 57′, Long. 75° 25′.

[[3] *Tāghan*.—P.]

First, he has set apart a place for horse-dealers, where they may, without delay, find convenient quarters, and be secure from the hardships of the seasons. By this arrangement, the animals will not suffer[1] from that hardness and avariciousness so often observed in dealers of the present time; nor will they pass from the hands of well-intentioned merchants into those of others. But dealers who are known for their uprightness and humanity may keep their horses where they please, and bring them at an appointed time. *Secondly*, he appointed a circumspect man to the office of an *Amīn-i Kārwānsarā*, who from his superior knowledge and experience keeps the dealers from the path of disobedience and ties the mischievous tongues of such as are wicked and evasive. *Thirdly*, he has appointed a clever writer, who keeps a roll of horses that arrive and have been mustered, and who sees that the orders of His Majesty do not fall into abeyance. *Fourthly*, he has appointed trustworthy men acquainted with the prices of horses to examine the animals, and to fix their prices, in the order in which they are imported. His Majesty, from his goodness, generally gives half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.[2]

Āʾīn 50.

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. *Khāṣa*; 2. Those that are not *khāṣa*. The *khāṣa* horses are the following—six stables, each containing forty choice horses of Arabia and Persia; the stables of the princes; the stables of Turkish courier horses; the stables of horses bred in the Imperial studs. They have each a name, but do not exceed the number thirty. His Majesty rides upon horses of the six stables.

The *second class* horses are of three kinds, viz., *sī-aspī*, *bīst-aspī*, *dah-aspī*, i.e., belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse

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[1] Akbar abhorred cruelty towards domestic animals. Towards the end of his life, as shall be mentioned below, he even gave up hunting and animal fights.

[2] Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions this very often in the Āʾīn. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a *consideration*, to Mahājans (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks, whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazīr Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, brother of the great Persian historian *Sikandar Beg*) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mīrzā Raḥīm, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ out of his wretched plight, they ruined him, in a short time, to such an extent that they had to provide in lieu a daily subsistence allowance. He died of a broken heart." *Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī's Tazkira.*

whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a *Dah-muhrī* stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a *Bīst-muhrī* stable, and so on.

Grandees and other *Manṣabdārs*, and *Senior Aḥadīs* are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except the horse which the *Yatāqdār* (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain[1] and grass at his own expense.

Āʾīn 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A *khāṣa* horse was formerly allowed eight *sers* fodder *per diem*, when the *ser* weighed twenty-eight *dāms*. Now that the *ser* is fixed at thirty *dāms* a *khāṣa* horse gets seven and a half *sers*. In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch; in summer, grain.[1] The daily allowance includes two *sers* of flour and one and a half *sers* of sugar. In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a *ser* of *ghī*. Two *dāms* are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass[2] is available. About three *bīghās* of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses,[3] they stop the *ghī*; and when the season of fresh grass[2] comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow afterwards six *sers* of grain and two *sers* of molasses *per diem*.[3] In other *ʿIrāqī* and *Turkī* stables, they give seven and a half *sers* of grain.[1] During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain[1] boiled, an allowance of one *dām* being given for boiling one *man* of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter *ser* of salt. When *ghī* and fresh grass[2] are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one *ser* of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a *ser*. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass[2] is given, horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one *man* and ten *sers* of *ghī*; such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs thirty *sers*; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither *ghī*, brown sugar, nor green oats.[2] Salt is given at the *daily* rate one-fiftieth of a *dām*, though it is mostly given in a lump. *ʿIrāqī* and *Turkī* horses which belong to the court are daily allowed two *d.* for grass; but such of them as are in the country only one and a half. In winter, each horse gets a *bīghā* of

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[[1] *Moṭh*, a small, hard, blue grain used, when well boiled, for fattening horses. *Dāna* "grain" colloquially amongst horse-dealers, etc., means "gram."—P.]

[[2] *Khasīd* is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.]

[[3] *Qand-i siyāh* is probably *guṛ*.—P.]

fresh oats,[1] the price of which, at court, is 240 *d.*, and in the country 200 *d.* At the time of fresh oats,[1] each horse gets two *mans* of molasses,[2] the same quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain.[3]

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid. When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the horse doctor.

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a *khāṣa* horse. The *gūṭ* horses get five and a half *sers* of grain,[3] the usual quantity of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half *d.* per diem, if at court, and at the rate of $1\frac{3}{16}$ *d.*, when in the country; but they do not get *ghī*, molasses, or green oats.[1] *Qisrāqs* [i.e., female horses] get, at court, four and a half *sers* of grain,[3] the usual allowance of salt, and one *d.* for grass; and in the country, the same, with the exception of the grass, for which only three fourths of a *dām* are allowed. Stud mares get two and three-fourths *sers* of grain,[3] but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-fourths *sers* of grain [3] *per diem*; after which period, the allowance is every six months increased by a *ser*, till it completes the third year, when its food is determined by the above regulations.

Āʾīn 52.

ON HARNESS, ETC.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the *khāṣa* horses on which His Majesty rides.

For the whole outfit of a *khāṣa* horse, the allowance is 277¼ *d. per annum*; viz., an *artak*, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 *d.*; a *yālposh* (a covering for the mane), 32 *d.*; a woollen towel, 2 *d.*—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old *artak*, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old *yālposh*; a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 *d.*; halters for the

[1 *Khawīd* is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.]

[2 *Qand-i siyāh* is probably *gur*.—P.]

[3 *Dāna* colloquially means, as here, gram.—P.]

nukhta[1] (headstall) and the hind feet,[2] 40 *d.*; a *pusht-tang* (girth), 8 *d.*; a *magas-rān* (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 *d.*; a *nukhta* and *qayza*[3] (the bit), 14 *d.*; a curry-comb, 1½ *d.*; a grain bag, 6 *d.*; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1[4] *d.* These articles are given *annually*, and fifteen *dāms*, ten *jetals*, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one muhurs, is 196½ *d.* *per annum*, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty-five and a half *dāms* are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven muhurs, the annual allowance is 155½ *d.*; viz., for the *artak*, 39¾ *d.*; the *yālposh*, 27½ *d.*; a coarse saddle-cloth, 30 *d.*; the girth, 6 *d.*; the *nukhta* and *qayza*, 10 *d.*; and the *nukhta* ropes and feet-ropes, 32 *d.*; the *magas-rān*, 2 *d.*; a towel, 1½ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1¼ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4½ *d.* Twenty *dāms* are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and *qisrāqs*, and *gūt*, the allowance is 117½ *d.*;[5] viz., an *artak*, 37 *d.*: a *yālposh*, 24½ *d.*; a *jul*, 24 *d.*; a *nukhta band* and a *pāy-band*, 8 *d.*; a *nukhta* and *qayza*, 8 *d.*; a *pusht-tang*, 5 *d.*; a *magas-rān* and a towel, each 1½ *d.*; a curry-comb, 1¼ *d.*; a basket, 1 *d.*; a grain bag, 4½ *d.* The amount subtracted is the same as before.

1. The *Karāh*[6] is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a *karāh* is at the rate of one hundred and forty *dāms* per *man* of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The *Missīn Satl*, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten *khāṣa* horses. The price of making one is 140 *d.* For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, etc., there is only one. 3. The *Kamand*, attached to iron pegs, is for fastening the horses. In stables of forty, there are three; in stables of thirty, two; in others, one. The weight of a halter is half a *man*; its cost price is 140 *d.*, and 16 *d.* the

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[[1] *Nukhta* for *nukhtā*.—P.]

[2] In consequence of the climate, horses are kept, in the East, much more outside than in the stables. When being cleaned or fed, each of the hindlegs is fastened by means of a rope to a peg in the ground. In the case of wicked horses, a rope is attached to each side of the head-stall, and fastened, like tent ropes, to pegs in the ground. Native grooms, in feeding horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word *nakhtah*, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced *nuqta*. Similarly, *qaizah* is pronounced *qāizah*: *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, I, p. 36 b.c.

[[3] In modern Urdu *qaza,i* is a snaffle.—P.]

[4] The items added only give 116½ *d.*

[5] Altogether 196½ *d.*, and 81 *d.* on account of the first three articles renewed after *six months*. The deduction in lieu of old articles refers, of course, to the wages of the grooms.

[[6] *Karaā* or *karā,ā*, H. ?—P.]

wages of the rope maker. 4. The *Āhanīn mekh*, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five *sers*, and costs 15 *d.* 5. The *Tabartukhmāq*, or hammer, weighs five *sers*, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the *khāṣa* stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dāroghas ; and when they are past mending, their present value is deducted, and the difference paid in cash. In other stables, a deduction of one-half of their value is made every third year.

6. *Naʿl*, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight *dāms* were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. *Kūndlān*. One is allowed for ten horses.[1] The price of it is 80¾ *R.*

Āʾīn 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The *Ātbegī* is in charge of all horses belonging to the government. He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the State, and is only held by grandees of high rank : at present it is filled by the *Khān Khānān*[2] (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The *Dārogha*. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior Aḥadīs. 3. The *Mushrif*, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty's orders are carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees 4. The *Dīda-war*, or inspector. His duty is occasionally to inspect the horses before they are mustered by His Majesty ; he also determines the rank and the condition of the horses. His reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by the Manṣabdārs or Aḥadīs. 5. The *Akhtachīs* look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Aḥadīs. 6. The *Chābuksuwār* rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Aḥadī. 7. The *Hāḍā*. This name is given to a class of Rājpūts, who teach horses the elementary

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[1] This appears to be the same as the *Hind.* [illegible], which our meagre dictionaries describe as a " kind of tent ".

[2] Or *Mīrzā Khān Khānān*, i.e., ʿAbdu-r-Raḥīm, son of Bayrām Khān ; vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 29.

steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the Aḥadīs. 8. The *Mīrdaha* is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Aḥadī ; but in other *k͟hāṣa* stables, he only gets 170 *d.* ; in the country-bred stables, 160 *d.* ; in the other *si-aspī* stables, 140 *d.* ; in the *bīst-aspī* stables, 100 *d.* ; and in the *dah-aspī* stables, 30 *d.* Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The *Bayṭar*, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Aḥadī. 10. The *Naqīb*, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. • They report the condition of each stable to the *Dārog͟has* and the *Mushrif*, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head *Naqībs* are *Aḥadīs*, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 *d.* 11. The *Sā,is*, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the *chihil-aspī* stables, each groom gets 170 *d.* ; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 *d.* ; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 *d.* ; in the country bred stables, 126 *d.* ; in the other *si-aspī* stables, 106 *d.* ; in the *bīst-aspī* stables, 103 *d.* ; and in the *dah-aspī* stables, 100 *d.* 12. The *Jilawdār* (*vide* Āʾīn 60) and the *Payk* (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1,200 to 120 *d.*, according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred *kroh* (*kos*) a day. 13. The *Naʿlband*, or farrier. Some of them are *Aḥadīs*, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 *d.* 14. The *Zīndār*, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the *k͟hāṣa* stable of forty horses, one saddle is allowed for every two horses, in the following manner : for the first and twenty-first ; for the second and twenty-second, and so on. If the first horse is sent out of the stable, the saddle remains at its place, and what was the second horse becomes first, and the second saddle falls to the third horse, and so on to the end. If a horse out of the middle leaves, its saddle is given to the preceding horse. 15. The *Ābkash*, or water-carrier. Three are allowed in the stables of forty ; two in stables of thirty, and only one in other stables. The monthly pay is 100 *d.* 16. The *Farrāsh* (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every *k͟hāṣa* stable. His pay is 130 *d.* 17. A *Sipandsoz* [1] is only allowed in the stables of forty horses ;

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[1] The seeds of *sipand* (in Hind. *sarsõ*, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (*nazar-i bad*, *chashm rasīdan*), which is even dangerous for Akbar's choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a crackling sound. The man who burns them is called *Sipandsoz*. *Vide* the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under *Shikebī*. Instead of *Sipand*, grooms sometimes keep a monkey over the entrance of the stable. The influence of the evil eye passes from the horses to the ugly monkey.

Another remedy consists in nailing old horseshoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.

[*Sipand* P., or *harmal* A., is wild rue not mustard.—P.]

his pay is 100 *d.* 18. The *Khākrūb*, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halālkhur*;[1] His Majesty brought this name *en vogue.* In stables of forty, there are two; in those of thirty and twenty, one. Their monthly pay is 65 *d.*

During a march, if the *dāroghas* are in receipt of a fixed allowance for coolies, they entertain some people to lead the horses. In the stables of thirty horses, fifteen are allowed. And in the same proportion does the government appoint coolies, when a *dārogha* has not received the extra allowance. Each cooly gets two *dāms per diem.*

Āʾīn 54.

THE BĀRGĪR.

His Majesty, from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service, though he would not trust them with the keeping of a horse. For these he has told off separate stables, with particular *Dāroghas* and *Mushrifs.* When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Bitikchī* (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a *Bārgīrsuwār.*

Āʾīn 55.

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word نظر (*nazr*, sight), sometimes with the word داغ (*dāgh*, mark), and sometimes with the numeral ٧ (seven).[2] Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek, and those that were returned, on the left side. Sometimes, in the case of ʿ*Irāqī* and *Mujannas*[3]

[1] Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; *vide* p. 46, l. 28; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 90, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under *rangtarā*. *Halālkhur*, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for *harāmkhur*, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, etc. The word *halālkhur* is still in use among educated Muhammadans; but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is *mihtar*, a prince, which like the proud title of *khalīfa*, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc., is an example of the irony of fate.

[2] *Vide* Āʾīns 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A. H. 981, A. D. 1573, when Shāhbāz had been appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*. He followed the regulations of ʿAlāʾ-ud-Dīn Khiljī and Sher Shāh; *vide Badāonī*, pp. 173, 190.

[3] *Mujannas*, i.e., put nearly equal (to an *Irāqī* horse); *vide* 2nd book, Āʾīn 2. [I think *mujannas* means half-bred.—P.]

horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turkī and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten muhurs is marked with the numeral ten; those of twenty muhurs have a twenty, and so on. When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed.

Ā'īn 56.

REGULATIONS FOR KEEPING UP THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF HORSES.

Formerly, whenever there had been taken away either ten horses from the stables of forty, or from the stud-bred horses, or five from the courier horses, they were replaced in the following manner. The deficiency in the stables of forty was made up from horses chosen from the stables of the princes; the stud-bred horses were replaced by other stud-bred ones, and the courier horses from other stables. Again, if there were wanting fifteen horses in the stables of the eldest prince (Salīm), they were replaced by good horses of his brothers; and if twenty were wanting in the stables of the second prince (Murād), the deficiency was made up by horses taken from the stables of the youngest prince and from other stables; and if twenty-five were wanting in the stables of the youngest prince (Dānyāl), the deficiency was made up from other good stables.

But in the thirty-seventh year of the Divine Era (A.D. 1593), the order was given that, in future, one horse should annually be added to each stable. Thus, when, in the present year, the deficiency in the *khāṣa* stables had come up to eleven, they commenced to make up the complement, the deficiency of the other stables being made up at the time of the muster parades.

Ā'īn 57.

ON FINES.

When a *khāṣa* horse dies, the Dārogha has to pay one rupee, and the Mīrdaha ten *d.*, upon every muhur of the cost price; and the grooms lose one-fourth of their monthly wages. When a horse is stolen, or injured, His Majesty determines the fine, as it cannot be uniform in each case.

In the other stables they exacted from the Dārogha for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees

upon every muhur; and from the Mīrdaha and the grooms the above proportions. But now they take one rupee upon every muhur for one to three horses that die; and two upon every muhur for four horses; and three upon every muhur for five.

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mīrdaha is fined ten *dāms* upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

Āʾīn 58.

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two *khāṣa* horses; but of courier-horses,[1] three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to the ten muhur stables and the *gūṭs*. They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a *misl*.

First *misl*: one from the *chihilaspī* stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of *khāṣa* courier horses. Second *misl*: one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the stud-bred; one from the *chihilaspī* stables; one courier horse. Third *misl*, one horse from the stables of the three princes; one stud-bred. Fourth *misl*, one horse from each of the stables of horses of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten muhurs.

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth *misl*. But when prince Shāh Murād joined his appointment,[2] His Majesty also rode the best horses of the stables of forty muhurs. The arrangement was then as follows. First *misl*, one horse from the stables of forty; one horse from the stables of the eldest and the youngest prince, and a courier horse. Second *misl*, stud-bred horses from the stables of horses above seventy muhurs, *khāṣa* horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses. Third *misl*, one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud-bred, and the seventy-muhur horses. Fourth *misl*, horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty muhurs.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten muhurs and the *gūṭs*.

[1 *Rāhwār*, ambling, a roadster.—P.]

2 "Prince Murād in the beginning of the fortieth year (1596) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gujrāt, and ordered to take Ahmadnagar. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that Murād's army was in a wretched condition, chiefly through the carelessness and drunken habits of the prince, the emperor resolved to go himself (43rd year), and dispatched Abū 'l-Faẓl to bring the prince back to court. Abū 'l-Faẓl came just in time to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (*ṣarʿ*, delirium tremens?) brought on by habitual drunkenness." *Mirʾāt*.

Ā'īn 59.

ON DONATIONS.

Whenever his Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six *khāṣa* stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with a view of increasing the zeal and desire for improvement among the servants. For some time it was a rule that, whenever he rode out on a *khāṣa* horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one *dām* to the Ātbegī, two to the Jilawdār; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqīb, the Akhtachī, and the Zīndār. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty *dāms* were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a *dām* less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty *dāms* were given, the donations decreasing by the same fraction; and for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses,[1] and stud-breds, ten *dāms*, according to the same manner of distribution.

Now, the following donations are given:—For a horse of a stable of forty, one rupee as before; for a horse belonging to a stable of the eldest prince, twenty *dāms*; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten *dāms*; for courier horses, five; for stud-breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

Ā'īn 60.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWĀNA.[2]

Whenever a horse is given away as a present, the price of the horse is calculated fifty *per cent.* higher, and the recipient has to pay ten *dāms* upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten *dāms per muhur* are divided as follows:—The Ātbegī gets five *dāms*; the Jilawbegī, two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqībs, nine *jetals*; the grooms, a quarter *dām*; the Taḥṣīldār, fifteen *jetals*; the remainder is equally divided among the Zīndār and Akhtachī.

In this country horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 rupees.

[[1] *Rāhwār*, ambling; a roadster.—P.]

[2] *Jilaw* is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called *janība*. The adjective *jilawāna*, which is not in the dictionaries, means *referring to a led horse*. We have to write *jilawānah*, not *jilaunāna*, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives; as *na-īn*, *jawīn*, from *nai*, *jau*, not *nai-īn*, or *jau-īn*. The *jilaudār*, or *janībadar*, is the servant who leads the horse. The *jilaubegī* is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The *taḥṣīldār* collects the fee.

Āʾīn 61.

THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown a great liking for this curiously shaped animal; and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty. The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Īrān and Tūrān.

From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel-fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness. The best of these *khāṣa* camels, which is named *Shāhpasand* (approved of by the Shāh), is a country-bred twelve years old; it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up every finesse of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ājmīr, Jodhpūr, Nāgor, Bīkānīr, Jaisalmīr, Batinḍā, and Bhaṭnīr; the best are bred in the Ṣūba of Gujrāt, near Cachh. But in Sind is the greatest abundance, many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards. The swiftest camels are those of Ājmīr; the best for burden are bred in Ṭhaṭha.

The success [1] of this department depends on the *Arwānas*, i.e., female camels. In every country they get hot in winter and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of *Bughur*. The young ones of camels are called *nar* (male) and *māya* (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the *nar* the name of *bughdī*,[2] and to the female that of *jammāza*. The *bughdī* is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the *jammāza* excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called *lok*, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a *bughur* and a *jammāza* goes by the name of *ghurd*; the female is called *māya ghurd*. If a *bughdī*, or a *lok*, couples with a *jammāza*, the young one is called *bughdī* or *lok* respectively. But if a *bughdī* or a *lok* couples with an *arwāna*, the young male is named after its sire and the young female after its dam. The *lok* is considered superior to the *ghurd* and the *māya ghurd*.

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[1] In the text *māya*, which also means *a female camel*—a very harmless pun. *Vide* Dr. Sprenger's Gulistān, preface, p. 6. Regarding the word *bughur*, *vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 59.

[[2] Corruption of *bukhtī*.—P.]

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into *qaṭārs* (strings), each *qaṭār* consisting of five camels The first camel of each *qaṭār* is called *peshang*[1]; the second, *peshdara*; the third, *miyāna qaṭār*; the fourth, *dumdast*; the last camel, *dumdār*.

Āʾīn 62.

THE FOOD OF CAMELS..

The following is the allowance of such *bughdīs* as are to carry burdens. At the age of two and a half, or three years, when they are taken from the herd of the stud dams, a *bughdī* gets 2 *s.* of grain; when three and a half to four years old, 5 *s.*; up to seven years, 9 *s.*; at eight years, 10 *s.* The same rule applies to *bughurs*. Similarly in the case of *jammāzas*, *ghurds*, *māyah ghurds*, and *loks*, up to four years of age; but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 *s.*; and at the age of eight years, 7½ *s.*, at the rate of 28 *dāms* per *ser*. As the *ser* has now 30 *dāms*, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance. When *bughdīs* are in heat, they eat less. Hence also concession is made, if they get lean, to the extent of 10 *s.*, according to the provisions of the *Pāgosht* rule (Āʾīn 83); and when the rutting season is over, the Dāroghas give out a corresponding extra allowance of grain to make up for the former deficiency. If they have made a definite entry into their day-book, and give out more food, they are held indemnified according to the *Pāgosht* rule; and similarly in all other cases, note is taken of the deductions according to that rule.

At Court, camels are found in grass by the government for eight months. Camels on duty inside the town are daily allowed grass at the rate of 2 *d.* per head: and those outside the town, 1½ *d.* During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels to meadows[2] to graze.

Āʾīn 63.

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for *khāṣa* camels: an *Afsār* (head stall); a *Dum-afsār* (crupper); a *Mahār kāṭhī* (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer—an invention of His Majesty); a *kūchī*

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[1] So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of *pesh-āhang*, the leader of a troop. *Peshdara* means "in front of the belly, or middle, of the *qaṭār*".

[[2] *Charā-gāh*, grazing-places.—P.]

(which serves as a saddle-cloth); a *Qaṭārchī*; a *Sarbchī*;[1] a *Tang* (a girth); a *Sartang* (a head-strap); a *Shebband* (a loin-strap); a *Jalājil* (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a *Gardanband* (a neck-strap); three *Chādars* (or coverings) made of broadcloth, or variegated canvas, or waxcloth. The value of the jewels, inlaid work, trimmings, and silk, used for adorning the above articles, goes beyond description.

Five *qaṭārs* of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a *Miḥaffa*, which is a sort of wooden turret, very comfortable, with two poles, by which it is suspended, at the time of travelling, between two camels.

A camel's furniture is either coloured or plain. For every ten *qaṭārs* they allow three *qaṭārs* coloured articles.

For *Bughdīs*, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225¾ *d.*, viz., a head-stall studded with shells, 20½ *d.*; a brass ring, 1½ *d.*; an iron chain, 4½ *d.*; a *kallaqī* (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 *d.*; a *pushtpozī* (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 *d.*; a *dum-afsār* (a crupper), 1½ *d.*; for a *takaltū* (saddle-quilt) and a *sarbchī*, both of which require 5 *sers* of cotton, 20 *d.*; a *jul* (saddle-cloth),[2] 68 *d.*; a *jahāz-i qajkārī*,[3] which serves as a *mahārkāṭhī* (*vide* above), 40 *d.*; a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband* (throat-strap), 24 *d.*; a *ṭanāb* (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope *ṭāqa ṭanāb*, or *kharwār*—38 *d.*; a *bālāposh*, or covering, 15 *d.*[4]

For *Jammāzas*, two additional articles are allowed, viz., a *gardanband*, 2 *d.*; and a *sīna-band* (chest-strap), 16 *d.*

The cost of a set of plain furniture for *Bughdīs* and *Jammāzas* amounts to 168½ *d.*, viz., an *afsār*, studded with shells, 10 *d.*, a *dum-afsār*, ½ *d.*; a *jahāz*, 16½ *d.*; a *jul*, 52½ *d.*; a *tang*, a *shebband*, and *gulūband*, 24 *d.*; a *ṭāqa ṭanāb*, 37½ *d.*; a *bālāposh*, 28 *d.*[5]

For *Loks*, the allowance for furniture is 143 *d.*, viz., an *afsār*, *jahāz*,

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[1] The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. *sarb*, like *qiṭār*, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that *sarbchī* is a sort of quilt.

[[2] A *jul* (= *jhūl* H.) is a heavy horse-covering of blanket and felt.—P.]

[3] *Gajkārī* appears to be the correct reading. The Arab. *jahāz* means *whatever is upon a camel*, especially *the saddle and its appurtenances*, generally made of coarse canvas steeped in lime (*gaj*). Hence *gajkārī*, white-washed.

[4] These items added up give 246 *d.*, not 225¾, as stated by Abū 'l-Fazl. When discrepancies are slight, they will be found to result from a rejection of the fractional parts of the cost of articles. The difference of 20¼ *d.* in this case can only have resulted from an omission on the part of the author, because all MSS. agree in the several items. Perhaps some of the articles were not exchanged *triennially*, but had to last a longer time.

[5] These items added up give 169 *d.*, instead of Abū 'l-Fazl's 168½ *d.*

kharwār, according to the former rates ; a *jul*, 37½ *d.* ; a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband*, 14½ *d.* ; a *bālāposh*, 28 *d.*[1]

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the woodwork. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every *qaṭār*, sixteen *dāms*, and of plain furniture, fourteen *dāms*, are deducted by the Government. At the end of every three years they draw out an estimate, from which one-fourth is deducted ; then, after taking away one-tenth of the remainder, an assignment is given for the rest.[2]

ʿ*Alafī* camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ *d.* for country-bred camels, and *loks*, viz. [for country bred camels] an *afsār*, 5 *d.* ; a *jul*, 36½ *d.* ; a *sardoz*, ½ *d.* ; a *tang* and a *shebband*, 10¾ *d.* ;[3] and [for *loks*], an *afsār*, a *tang*, and a *shebband*, as before ; a *jul*, 45¾ *d.* ; a *sardoz*, ¾ *d.*

From the annual estimate one-fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder.

Shalīta ṭāṭs, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every *qaṭār*, at a price of 30¾ *d.* for *bughdīs* and *jammāzas*, and 24½ *d.* for *loks*.

Hitherto the cost of these articles had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel drivers. But when, in the forty-second year of the divine era [1598 A.D.], it was brought to the notice of His Majesty that these people were, to a certain extent, losers, this regulation was abolished, and the current market price allowed for all articles. The price is therefore no longer fixed.

On every New Year's day, the head camel-drivers receive permission for shearing the camels, anointing them with oil, injecting oil into the noses of the animals, and indenting for the furniture allowed to ʿ*alafī* camels.

Āʾīn 64.

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS.

The scientific terms for these operations are *taṯliya* and *tajrīʿ*, though we might expect *taṯliya* and *tanshīq*, because *tanshīq* means *injecting into the nose.*

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[1] The items added up give 144 *d.*, instead of Abū 'l-Faẓl's 143 *d.*

[2] Hence the Government paid, as a rule, $\frac{9}{10} \times \frac{3}{4} = \frac{27}{40}$ of the estimates presented.

[3] The addition gives 52¾ *d.*, instead of 52½. The following items, for *loks*, give added up 62¼.

For each *Bughdī* and *Jammāza* 3¾ *sers* of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz., three *sers* for anointing, and ¾ *ser* for injection into the nose. So also ¾ *s.* of brimstone, and 6½ *s.* of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is ⅝ *s.* of brimstone, 6½ *s.* of butter-milk, and ¾ *s.* of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once, a year.

Āʾīn 65.

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into *qaṭārs*, and given each *qaṭār* in charge of a *sārbān*, or driver. Their wages are four-fold. The first class get 400 *d.*; the second, 340 *d.*; the third, 280 *d.*; the fourth, 220 *d.*, *per mensem*.

The *qaṭārs* are of three kinds—1. Every five *qaṭārs* are in charge of an experienced man, called *Bīstopanjī*, or commander of twenty-five. His salary is 720 *d.* He marks a *Yābū* horse, and has four drivers under him. 2. Double the preceding, or ten *qaṭārs*, are committed to the care of a *Panjāhī*, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 960 *d.*, and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred *qaṭārs* are in charge of a *Panjṣadī*, or commander of five hundred. Ten *qaṭārs* are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one *qaṭār*, Government finds drivers for the others. The *Panjāhīs* and *Bīstopanjīs* are under his orders. Their salary varies; nowadays many *Yūzbāshīs*[1] are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the *farrāshes*. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each *Panṣadī* under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected to inquire from time to time into the condition of the camels, so that there may be no neglect. Besides, twice a year some people adorned with the jewel of insight inspect the camels as to their leanness or fatness at the beginning of the rains and at the time of the annual muster.

Should a camel get lost, the *Sārbān* is fined the full value; so also the *Panjāhī* and the *Panṣadī*. If a camel get lame or blind, he is fined the fourth part of the price.

Raibārī

Raibārī is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel. They teach the country-bred *lok* camel so to step

[1] Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.

as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital to the frontiers of the empire, in every direction, relay horses are stationed, and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five *kos*, a few of these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness. Each *Raibārī* is also put in charge of fifty stud *arwānas*, to which for the purpose of breeding, one *bughur* and two *loks* are attached. The latter (the males) get the usual allowance of grain, but nothing for grass. The fifty *arwānas* get no allowance for grain or grass. For every *bughur*, *bughdī*, and *jammāza* in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 *s.* of sesame oil, ¾ *s.* of brimstone, 6½ *s.* of butter-milk.[1] The first includes ⅜ *s.* of oil for injection. *Loks*, *arwānas*, *ghurds*, and *māya ghurds*, get only 3⅝ *s.* of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6½ *s.* of butter-milk,[1] and ⅜ *s.* of brimstone.

Botas and *Dumbālas*—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens; they are allowed 2½ *s.* of oil, inclusive of ½ *s.* for injection into the nostrils, ½ *s.* of brimstone, and 4½ *s.* of butter-milk.[1]

Full-grown stud-camels get weekly ½ *s.* of saltpetre and common salt; *botas* get ¼ *s.*

The wages of a herdsman is 200 *d. per mensem.* For grazing every fifty stud-camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 *d. per diem.* A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present to His Majesty three *arwānas* every year; on failure, their price is deducted from his salary.

Formerly the state used to exact a fourth part of the wool sheared from every *bughdī* and *jammāza*, each camel being assessed to yield four *sers* of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with *dum-afsārs*, wooden pegs, etc.

The following are the prices of camels:—a *bughdī*, from 5 to 12 muhurs; a *jammāza*, from 3 to 10 *M.*; a *bughur*, from 3[2] to 7 *M.*;[3] a mongrel *lok*, from 8 to 9 *M.*; a country-bred, or a Balūchī *lok*, from 3 to 8 *M.*; an *arwāna*, from 2 to 4 *M.*

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first class *bughdī*, not more than 10 *mans*; a second class do., 8 *m.*; superior *jammāzas*, *loks*, etc., 8 *m.*; a second class do., 6 *m.*

In this country, camels do not live above twenty-four years.

[[1] *Māst*, curds.—P.]

[[2] In text "from 4 to 7".—P.]

[[3] The text has also here "a *māya bughur* from 3 to 5; a *ghurd* from 3 to 8; a *māya ghurd* and a *lok* from 3 to 7".—P.]

Āʾīn 66.

THE GĀW-KHĀNA OR COW[1]-STABLES.

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow[1] is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration; for by means of this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life is rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitant is filled with milk, butter-milk,[2] and butter. It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government.

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrāt are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakhin. They kneel down at the time of being loaded. The cows give upwards of half a *man* of milk. In the province of Dihlī again, cows are not worth more than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of *dāms* [5,000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmīr, the *Quṭās*, or Thibetan Yak, occurs, an animal of extraordinary appearance.

A cow will live to the age of twenty-five.

From his knowledge of the wonderful properties of the cow, His Majesty, who notices everything which is of value, pays much attention to the improvement of cattle. He divided them into classes, and committed each to the charge of a merciful keeper. One hundred choice cattle were selected as *khāṣa* and called *kotal*. They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen[1] on hunting expeditions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Āʾīn 27). Fifty-one others nearly as good are called half-*kotal*. and fifty one more, quarter-*kotal*. Any deficiency in the first class is made up from the second, and that of the middle from the third. But these three form the cow[1]-stables for His Majesty's use.

Besides, sections of cattle have been formed, each varying in number from 50 to 100, and committed to the charge of honest keepers. The rank of each animal is fixed at the time of the public muster, when each gets its proper place among sections of equal rank. A similar proceeding is adopted for each section, when selected for drawing waggons and travelling carriages, or for fetching water (*vide* Āʾīn 22).

[[1] *Gāv*, ox. The bullock only is used for work.—P.] [[2] *Māst*, curds.—P.]

There is also a species of oxen, called *gainī*, small like *gūṭ* horses, but very beautiful.

Milch-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and handed over to intelligent servants.

Āʾīn 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first *khāṣa* class is allowed daily 6¼ *s.* of grain,[1] and 1½ *d.* of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 *man* 19 *s.* of molasses,[2] which is distributed by the Dārogha, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office. Cattle of the remaining *khāṣa* classes get daily 6 *s.* of grain,[1] and grass as before, but no molasses [2] are given.

In other cow-stables the daily allowance is as follows. First kind, 6 *s.* of grain,[1] 1½ *d.* of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 *d.* The second kind get 5 *s.* of grain,[1] and grass as usual. The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 *s.* of grain,[1] and grass as usual. First class *gainīs* get 3 *s.* of grain, and 1 *d.* of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ *d.* Second class do., 2½ *s.* of grain,[1] and ¾ *d.* of grass at court, otherwise only ½ *d.*

A male buffalo (called *arna*) gets 8 *s.* of wheat flour boiled, 2 *s.* of *ghī*, ½ *s.* of molasses,[2] 1½ *s.* of grain,[1] and 2 *d.* of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion [3] to pieces. When this peculiar strength is gone, it reaches the second stage, and is used for carrying water. It then gets 8 *s.* of grain, and 2 *d.* for grass. Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 *s.* of grain, and 2 *d.* for grass. First class oxen for leopard-waggons [4] get 6½ *s.* of grain; and other classes, 5 *s.* of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 *s.* of grain, and 1½ *d.* for grass; but now they get a quarter *ser* less, and grass as before.

The milch-cows, and buffaloes, when at court, have grain given them in proportion to the quantity of milk they give. A herd of cows and buffaloes is called *thāṭ* A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 *s.* of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 *s* The buffaloes of the Panjāb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two *dāms* weight of *ghī* for every *ser* of milk.

[[1] *Dāna*=gram, see p. 142, note 1.—P.]
[[2] *Qand-i siyāh*, see p. 142, footnote 3.—P.]
[[3] *Sher* in India is the tiger, but *shīr* in Persia is the lion.—P.]
[4] Carriages for the transport of trained hunting leopards. *Vide* Book II, Āʾīn 27.

Āʼīn 68.

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW[1]-STABLES.

In the *khāṣa* stables, one man is appointed to look after four head of cattle. Eighteen such keepers in the first stable get 5 *d. per diem*, and the remaining keepers, 4 *d*. In other stables, the salary of the keepers is the same, but each has to look after six cows.[1] Of the carriage drivers, some get their salaries on the list of the Aḥadīs; others get 360 *d*., others 256 *d*. down to 112 *d*. *Bahals*, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. *Chatrīdār* or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the *chatr*, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called *ghur-bahal*.[2] For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed. The head driver, or *Mīrdaha*, and the carpenter, get each 5 *d. per diem*; the others 4 *d*. For some time 15 drivers had been appointed, and the carpenter was disallowed; the drivers themselves undertook the repairs, and received on this account an annual allowance of 2,200 *dāms* [55 Rupees].

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the Dārogha was fined one-fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury.

Formerly the Dāroghas paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a *dām* as *ūng* money—*ūng* is hemp smeared with ghī, and twisted round about the axle-tree which, like a pivot, fits into the central hole of the wheel, and thus prevents it from wearing away or getting broken. When afterwards the Dāroghaship was transferred to the drivers, they had to provide for this expense. At first, it was only customary for the carts to carry on marches a part of the baggage belonging to the different workshops; but when the drivers performed the duties of the Dāroghas they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court and for the transport of building materials. But subsequently 200 waggons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50,000 *mans* of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the *Pāgosht* regulation (*vide* Āʼīn 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

[[1] *Gāv*, ox; *vide* p. 157, note 1.—P.] [[2] *Ghur-bahal*.—P.]

But when it came to the ears of His Majesty that the above mode of contract was productive of much cruelty towards these serviceable, but mute animals, he abolished this system, and gave them again in charge of faithful servants. The allowance of grain for every cart-bullock was fixed at 4 *s*., and 1½ *d.* were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance is one-half of the preceding. But during the four rainy months no money is allowed for grass. There were also appointed for every eighteen carts twelve drivers, one of whom must understand carpenter's work. Now, if a bullock dies, government supplies another in his stead, and likewise pays for the *ūng*, and is at the expense of repairs.

The cattle that are worked are mustered once a year by experienced men who estimate their fatness or leanness ; cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months. Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, etc., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.

Āʼīn 69.

THE MULE STABLES.

The mule possesses the strength of a horse and the patience of an ass, and though it has not the intelligence of the former it has not the stupidity of the latter. It never forgets the road which it has once travelled. Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to everything, and its breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground, and it has a very soft step. People generally believe that the male ass couples with a mare, but the opposite connexion also is known to take place, as mentioned in the books of antiquity. The mule resembles its dam. His Majesty had a young ass coupled with a mare, and they produced a very fine mule.

In many countries just princes prefer travelling about on a mule ; and people can therefore easily lay their grievances before them,[1] without inconveniencing the traveller.

Mules are only bred in Hindustan in Pakhalī,[2] and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of the country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them ; but in consequence of the

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[1] Which the subjects could not so easily do, if the princes, on their tours of administration of justice, were to ride on elephants, because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king.

[2] The Sarkār of Pakhalī lies between Aṭak (Attock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindee. *Vide* towards the end of Book III.

interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found.

Mules are chiefly imported from ʿIrāq-i ʿArab and ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into *qaṭārs* of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each *qaṭār*, which is called *bardast*, [instead of *peshdara*, *vide* Āʾīn 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

Āʾīn 70.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD FOR MULES.

Such mules as are not country-bred, get at court, 6 *s*. of grain, and 2 *d*. for grass; otherwise, only 1½ *d*. Country-bred mules get 4 *s*. of grain, and 1⅝ *d*. of grass, when at court; otherwise, 1 *d*. for grass. Each mule is allowed every week 3½ *jetals* for salt; but they give the salt in one lot.

Āʾīn 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ *d*.; an iron chain weighing 2 *s*., 10 *d*.; a *ranakī* (crupper) of leather, 4 *d*.; a *pālān* (pack-saddle), 102 *d*.; a *shāltang* (shawl strap), and a *palās-tang* (blanket strap), 36½ *d*.; a *ṭāqa ṭanāb* (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 *d*.; a *qāṭir shalāq* (a short whip), 6 *d*.; a bell, one for every *qaṭār*, 10 *d*.; a horse-hair saddle, 40 *d*.; a *kalāwa* (*vide* Āʾīn 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 *d*.; a set of ropes, 9 *d*.; a saddle cloth, 4½ *d*.; a *sardoz* (a common head stall), 4 *d*.; a *khurjīn* (wallet), 15 *d*.; a fodder-bag, 4 *d*.; a *magas-rān* (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 *d*.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove (for washing), 4 *d*. Total 345⅞ *d*.

For country-bred mules the allowance is 151¼ *d*., viz., a head stall of leather, 4 *d*.; pack-saddle, 51 *d*. 18¾ *j*.; the two straps, 16½ *d*.; a *ṭāqa ṭanāb* and *sardoz*, 40 *d*.; a bell, 5 *d*.; a fodder-bag, 3 *d*.; a crupper, 3 *d*.; a saddle, 24 *d*.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove, 4 *d*.

The furniture is renewed every third year; but for all iron and wood work, half the price is deducted. The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 *d*.; but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear. Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 *d*. per head.

Each *qaṭār* is in charge of a keeper. Tūrānīs, Īrānīs, and Indians, are appointed to this office; the first two get from 400 to 1,920 *d*.; and the

third class, from 240 to 256 *d. per mensem*. Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R. [400 *d.*] and upwards, have to find the *peshang* [1] (first mule of their *qaṭār*) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; ond one-half, if it is lost.

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water. They get 3 *s.* of grain, and 1 *d.* for grass. The furniture for asses is the same as that for country-bred mules, but no saddle is given. The annual allowance for repairs is 23 *d.* The keepers do not get above 120 *d. per mensem*.

*Á*ʾ*īn* 72.

THE MANNER IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY SPENDS HIS TIME.

The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time. The care with which His Majesty guards over his motives, and watches over his emotions, bears on its face the sign of the Infinite, and the stamp of immortality; and though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same time, his attention, they do not stir up the rubbish of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the dust of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers, or the habitual earnestness with which His Majesty contemplates the charms of God's world. His anxiety to do the will of the Creator is ever increasing; and thus his insight and wisdom are ever deepening. From his practical knowledge, and capacity for everything excellent, he can sound men of experience, though rarely casting a glance on his own ever extending excellence. He listens to great and small, expecting that a good thought, or the relation of a noble deed, may kindle in his mind a new lamp of wisdom, though ages have passed without his having found a really great man. Impartial statesmen, on seeing the sagacity of His Majesty, blotted out the book of their own wisdom, and commenced a new leaf. But with the magnanimity which distinguishes him, and with his wonted zeal, he continues his search for superior men, and finds a reward in the care with which he selects such as are fit for his society.

[[1] The *peshang* is selected for being a quick-stepper and for intelligence.—P.]

Although surrounded by every external pomp and display, and by every inducement to lead a life of luxury and ease, he does not allow his desires, or his wrath, to renounce allegiance to Wisdom, his sovereign—how much less would he permit them to lead him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as a means of lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening when that fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honour of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light.[1] And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or

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[1] *Vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's Preface, pp. iii and 49.

the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduction of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile.

The compassionate heart of His Majesty finds no pleasure in cruelties, or in causing sorrow to others; he is ever sparing of the lives of his subjects, wishing to bestow happiness upon all.

His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is nothing thought of by the sage. His august nature cares but little for the pleasures of the world. In the course of twenty-four hours he never makes more than one meal. He takes a delight in spending his time in performing whatever is necessary and proper. He takes a little repose in the evening, and again for a short time in the morning; but his sleep looks more like waking.

His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably; to the private audience hall are then admitted eloquent philosophers and virtuous Ṣūfīs, who are seated according to their rank and entertain His Majesty with wise discourses. On such occasions His Majesty fathoms them, and tries them on the touch-stone of knowledge. Or the object of an ancient institution is disclosed, or new thoughts are hailed with delight. Here young men of talent learn to revere and adore His Majesty, and experience the happiness of having their wishes fulfilled, whilst old men of impartial judgment see themselves on the expanse of sorrow, finding that they have to pass through a new course of instruction.

There are also present in these assemblies, unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts, and relate the impressive events of ancient times. His Majesty often makes remarks wonderfully shrewd, or starts a fitting subject for conversation. On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue are brought up, when His Majesty gives orders for whatever is to be done in each case.

About a watch before daybreak, musicians of all nations are introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four *gharis* are left till morning His Majesty retires to his private apartments, brings his external appearance in harmony with the simplicity of his heart, and launches forth into the ocean of contemplation. In the meantime, at the close of night, soldiers, merchants, peasants, tradespeople, and other professions gather round the palace, patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty. Soon after daybreak, they are allowed to make the *kornish* (*vide* Āʾīn 74). After

this, His Majesty allows the attendants of the Harem to pay their compliments. During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of His Majesty. As soon as they are settled, he returns to his private apartments and reposes a little.

The good habits of His Majesty are so numerous that I cannot adequately describe them. If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject they would not be exhaustive.

Á'īn 73.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COURT.

Admittance to Court is a distinction conferred on the nation at large; it is a pledge that the three branches of the government are properly looked after, and enables subjects personally to apply for redress of their grievances. Admittance to the ruler of the land is for the success of his government what irrigation is for a flower-bed; it is the field, on which the hopes of the nation ripen into fruit.

His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. *First*, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible from outside the awning, to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace-bearers. This mode of showing himself is called, in the language of the country, *darsan* (view); and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The *second* time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window, which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections or anything impure and contrary to the will of God. Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants, and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed. From his knowledge of the character of the times, though in opposition to the practice of kings of past ages, His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline; he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers his equanimity to be disturbed.

Whenever His Majesty holds court they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise. In this manner, people of all classes receive notice. His Majesty's sons and grandchildren, the grandees of the Court, and all other men who have admittance, attend to make the *kornish*, and remain standing in their proper places. Learned men of renown and skilful mechanics pay their respects; the Dāroghas and Bitikchīs (writers) set forth their several wants; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiasedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest: the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure!

Āʾīn 74.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE *KORNISH* AND THE *TASLĪM*.

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit and build up the arch of true humility.[1]

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to show their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead and the head to be bent downwards. This

[1] Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. *Vide* Āʾīn 77 and the Note after it.

mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called *kornish*, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him.

The salutation, called *taslīm*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering.

His Majesty relates as follows: "One day my royal father bestowed upon me one of his own caps, which I put on. Because the cap of the king was rather large, I had to hold it with my [right] hand, whilst bending my head downwards, and thus performed the manner of salutation (*kornish*) above described. The king was pleased with this new method, and from his feeling of propriety ordered this to be the mode of the *kornish* and *taslīm*.

Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *manṣab*, a *jāgīr*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslīms*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made.

Such a degree of obedience is also shown by servants to their masters, and looked upon by them as a source of blessings. Hence for the disciples of His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz., prostration [1] (*sijda*); and they look upon a prostration before His Majesty as a prostration performed before God; for royalty is an emblem of the power of God, and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute.

Viewed in this light, the prostration has become acceptable to many, and proved to them a source of blessings upon blessings.

But as some perverse and dark-minded men look upon prostration as blasphemous man-worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has

[1] The prostration, or *sijda*, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all Muhammadans as the exclusive right of God. When Akbar, as the head of his new faith, was treated by his flattering friends, perhaps against his calmer judgment, as the representative of God on earth, he had to allow prostration in the assemblies of the Elect. The people at large would never have submitted. The practice evidently pleased the emperor, because he looked with fondness upon every custom of the ancient Persian kings, at whose courts the *προσκυνεῖν* had been the usual salutation. It was *Niẓām* of Badakhshān who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fatḥpūr (before 1586). The success of the innovation made Mullā ʿĀlam of Kābul exclaim, "O that I had been the inventor of this little business!" *Bad.* III, p. 153. Regarding Niẓām, or Ghāzī Khān, *vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of Grandees, 2nd Book, No. 144. The *sijda* as an article of Akbar's Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to Āʾīn 77.

ordered *it* to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the *Darbār-i ʿĀm* (general court-days). However, in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune.

In this manner, by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfils the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom.

Āʾīn 75.

ON ETIQUETTE.

Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend on an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality. If a king possess a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office; and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God. Should anyone search for an example, I would point to the practice of His Majesty, which will be found to exhibit that happy harmony of motives, the contemplation of which rewards the searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king.[1]

When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the *kornish*, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed,[2] partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

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[1] The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, *and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.*

[2] The finger tips of the left hand touch the right elbow, and those of the right hand the left elbow; or, the fingers of each hand rest against the inner upper arm of the opposite side. The lower arms rest on the *kamarband*. When in this position, a servant is called *āmāda-yi khidmat*, or ready for service. Sometimes the right foot also is put over the left, the toes of the former merely touching the ground. The shoes are, of course, left outside at the *ṣaff-i niʿāl*. The emperor sits on the throne (*vide* Plate VII) with crossed legs, or *chahār-zānū*, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called *firʿawnī nishast*, or Pharaoh's mode of sitting, if assumed by persons of no rank in the presence of strangers. Pharaoh—Orientals mean the Pharaoh of the time of Moses—is proverbial in the East for vainglory. The position suitable for society is the *duzānū* mode of sitting, i.e., the person first kneels down with his body straight; he then lets the body gently sink till he sits on his heels, the arms being kept extended and the hands resting on the knees.

The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer.

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne.

All others stand in the *Yasal*.[1] One or two attendants [2] stand nearer than all.

Āʾīn 76.

THE MUSTER OF MEN.

The business which His Majesty daily transacts is most multifarious; hence I shall only describe such affairs as continually recur.

A large number of men are introduced on such days, for which an *Anjuman-i Dād o Dihish*, or assembly of expenditure, has been announced. Their merits are inquired into, and the coin of knowledge passes current. Some take a burden from their hearts by expressing a wish to be enrolled among the members of the Divine Faith; others want medicines for their diseases.[3] Some pray His Majesty to remove a religious doubt; others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter.[4] There is no end to such requests, and I must confine myself to the most necessary cases.

The salaries of a large number of men [5] from Tūrān and Īrān, Turkey and Europe, Hindustān and Kashmir, are fixed by the proper officers in

[1] *Yasal* signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the *Qur* (*vide* p. 116), the Mullās, and the ʿUlamā, etc.

[2] The servants who hold the *sayc-bān*, Āʾīn 19, or the fans.

[3] This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. *Vide* next Āʾīn.

[4] As settling a family-feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, etc.

[5] Abū 'l-Fazl means men who were willing to serve in the several grades of the standing army. The standing army consisted of cavalry, artillery, and rifles. There was no regular infantry. Men who joined the standing army, in the beginning of Akbar's reign, brought their own horse and accoutrements with them; but as this was found to be the cause of much inefficiency (*vide* Second Book, Āʾīn 1) a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.

a manner described below, and the men themselves are taken before His Majesty by the paymasters. Formerly it had been the custom for the men to come with a horse and accoutrements; but nowadays only men appointed to the post of an Aḥadī[1] bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them is then increased or decreased, though it is generally increased; for the market of His Majesty's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before His Majesty depends on the number of men available. Every Monday all such horsemen are mustered as were left from the preceding week. With the view of increasing the army and the zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two *dāms* for each horseman.

Special *Bitikchīs*[2] [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Aḥadīs. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Aḥadī to buy[3] his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Aḥadīs who may have lately died, which he hands over to the newly appointed Aḥadīs either as presents or charging the price to their monthly salaries.

On such occasions, Senior Grandees and other Amīrs introduce also any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. His Majesty then fixes the salaries of such candidates according to circumstances; but appointments under fifty rupees *per mensem* are rarely ever solicited in this manner.

Appointments to the Imperial workshops also are made in such assemblies, and the salaries are fixed.

Āʾīn 77.

HIS MAJESTY[4] AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE.

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies

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[1] As Aḥadīs drew a higher salary (II, Āʾīn 4) they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.

[2] Āʾīn 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Aḥadīs.

[3] So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 158, l. 10, has *As it is* not *customary for Aḥadīs to buy a horse, etc.* Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to Āʾīn 4 of the second book, an Aḥadī was supplied with a horse when his first horse had died. To such cases the negative phrase would refer. But it was customary for Aḥadīs to bring their own horse on joining; and this is the case which Abū 'l-Faẓl evidently means; for in the whole Āʾīn he speaks of newcomers.

[4] A note will be found at the end of this Āʾīn.

among men, one class of whom turn to religious (*dīn*) and the other class to worldly thoughts (*dunyā*). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders,[1] and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty[2] which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet[3] which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

> The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one;[4]
> Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol.
> There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,
> Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of thousands of others consists in clinging to an idea; they are happy in their sloth and unfitness of judging for themselves. But when the time of reflection comes, and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness[5] break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness.

But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge. Again, although some are enlightened, many would observe silence from fear of fanatics, who lust for blood, but look like men. And should anyone muster sufficient courage, and

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[1] As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.

[2] God. He may be worshipped by the meditative and by the active man. The former speculates on the essence of God, the latter rejoices in the beauty of the world, and does his duty as man. Both represent tendencies apparently antagonistic; but as both strive after God, there is a ground common to both. Hence mankind ought to learn that there is no real antagonism between *dīn* and *dunyā*. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Ṣūfic depth to practical wisdom. By his example, he teaches men how to adore God in doing one's duties; his superhuman knowledge proves that the light of God dwells in him. The surest way of pleasing God is to obey the king. The reader will do well to compare Abū 'l-Faẓl's preface with this Āʼīn

[3] The world.

[4] These Ṣūfic lines illustrate the idea that "the same enrapturing beauty" is everywhere. God is everywhere, in everything; hence everything is God. Thus God the Beloved, dwells in man, the lover, and both are one, Brahmin = man, the idol = God lamp = thought of God, house = man's heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere "the bright assembly of God's works".

[5] The text has *taqlīd*, which means *to put a collar on one's own neck*, to follow another blindly, especially in religious matters. "All things which refer to prophetship and revealed religion they [Abū 'l-Faẓl, Ḥakim, Abū 'l-Fatḥ, etc.] called *taqlīdiyāt*, i.e., things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575] a great number of Portuguese, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning." *Badā,onī* II, p. 281.

openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts, pious simpletons would call him a mad man, and throw him aside as of no account, whilst ill-starred wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him.

Whenever, from lucky circumstances, the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their king, on account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of Divine wisdom,[1] which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it.

Men versed in foretelling the future knew this when His Majesty was born,[2] and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they have since been waiting in joyful expectation. His Majesty, however, wisely surrounded himself for a time with a veil, as if he were an outsider, or a stranger to their hopes. But can man counteract the will of God? His Majesty, at first, took all such by surprise as were wedded to the prejudices of the age; but he could not help revealing his intentions; they grew to maturity in spite of him, and are now fully known. He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

But whether he checks men in their desire of becoming disciples, or admits them at other times, he guides them in each case to the realm of bliss. Many sincere inquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors

[1] *Vide* Abū 'l-Faẓl's preface, p. iii, l. 19.

[2] This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor. Akbar spoke, "From Mirzá Shāh Muḥammad, called Ghaznin Khān, son of Shāh Begkhān, who had the title of Dawrān Khān, and was an Arghūn by birth." The author heard him say at Lāhor, in A.H. 1053, "I asked Nawāb ʿAzīz Kokah, who has the title of Khān-i Aʿẓam [*vide* List of Grandees, second Book, Āʾīn 30], whether the late emperor, like the Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother. He replied, "His mother told me it was true." *Dabistān ul Maẕāhib*, Calcutta edition, p. 390. Bombay edition, p. 260. The words which Christ spoke in the cradle, are given in the Qurʾān, Sūr. 19, and in the spurious gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*, pp. 5, 111.

could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as *Sannāsīs*, *Jogīs*, *Sewrās*, *Qalandars*, *Ḥakīms*, and *Ṣūfīs*, and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits as soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandmen, have daily their eyes opened to insight, or have the light of their knowledge increased. Men of all nations, young and old, friends and strangers, the far and near, look upon offering a vow to His Majesty as the means of solving all their difficulties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire. Others again, from the distance of their homes, or to avoid the crowds gathering at Court, offer their vows in secret, and pass their lives in grateful praises. But when His Majesty leaves Court, in order to settle the affairs of a province, to conquer a kingdom, or to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, there is not a hamlet, a town, or a city that does not send forth crowds of men and women with vow-offerings in their hands, and prayers on their lips, touching the ground with their foreheads, praising the efficacy of their vows, or proclaiming the accounts of the spiritual assistance received. Other multitudes ask for lasting bliss, for an upright heart, for advice how best to act, for strength of the body, for enlighten ment, for the birth of a son, the reunion of friends, a long life, increase of wealth, elevation in rank, and many other things. His Majesty, who knows what is really good, gives satisfactory answers to every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching him to breathe upon it. He who reads the letters of the divine orders in the book of fate, on seeing the tidings of hope, takes the water with his blessed hands, places it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfils the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people [1] of broken hopes, whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

A more remarkable case is the following. A simple-minded recluse had cut off his tongue, and throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said, "If that certain blissful thought,[2] which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well; for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue." The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.

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[1] "He [Akbar] showed himself every morning at a window, in front of which multitudes came and prostrated themselves; while women brought their sick infants for his benediction and offered presents on their recovery." From the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1595, in *Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, p. 96.

[2] His thought was this. If Akbar is a prophet, he must, from his supernatural wisdom, find out in what condition I am lying here.

Those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and the piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs,[1] remarkable as they may appear at first; and those who know His Majesty's charity and love of justice, do not even see anything remarkable in them. In the magnanimity of his heart he never thinks of his perfection, though he is the ornament of the world. Hence he even keeps back many who declare themselves willing to become his disciples. He often says, "Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided?" But when a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily enquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical,[2] and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside[3] conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shaṣt*,[4] upon which is engraved "The Great Name",[5] and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "*Allāh*u *Akbar.*" This teaches the novice the truth that

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[1] "He [Akbar] showed, besides, no partiality to the Muhammadans; and when in straits for money, would even plunder the mosques to equip his cavalry. Yet there remained in the breast of the monarch a stronghold of idolatry, on which they [the Portuguese missionaries] could never make any impression. Not only did he adore the sun, and make long prayers to it four times a day, he also held himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." *Murray's Discoveries*, II, p. 95.

[2] The text has *zabān-i ḥāl*, and a little lower down, *zabān-i bezufānī*. *Zabān-i ḥāl*, or *symbolical* language is opposed to *zabān-i maqāl*, spoken words.

[3] Or rather, *from his head*, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfishness is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction.

[4] *Shaṣt* means *aim*; secondly, *anything round*, either a ring, or a thread, as the Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor which, according to Badāonī, the members wore on their turbans.

[5] The *Great Name* is a name of God. "Some say it is the word *Allah*; others say it is *Aṣ-Ṣamad*, the eternal; others *Al-Ḥayy*, the living; others *Al-Qayyūm*, the everlasting;

"The pure Shaṣt and the pure sight never err."

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible, while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

Ordinances of the Divine Faith.

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "*Allāh*^u *Akbar,*" and the other responds, "*Jall*^u *Jallāluh*^u." [1] The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday,

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others, *Ar-Raḥmān, ar-raḥīm*, the clement and merciful; others *Al-Muhaymin*, the protector." *Ghiyās*. "Qāẓī Ḥamid^u 'd-Dīn of Nāgor says, the Great Name is the word *Hū*, or He (God), because it has a reference to God's nature, as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again, the word *hū* is a root, not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it." *Kashf^u 'l-Lughāt*.

[1] These formulæ remind us of Akbar's name, *Jallāl^u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar*. The words *Allāh^u Akbar* are *ambiguous*; they may mean, *God is great*, or *Akbar is God*. There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the Imperial seals, and the heading of books, farmans, etc. His era was called the *Divine era*; his faith, the *Divine faith*; and the note at the end of this Ā^īn shows how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the *Mujtahid* of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's Vice-regent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. "It was during these days [A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575–6] that His Majesty once asked how people would like it if he ordered the words *Allāh^u Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said, people would like it very much. But Ḥājī Ibrāhīm objected, and said, the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and the emperor might substitute the Qur^ān verse *La-ẕikr^u 'llāh^i akbar^u* (To think of God is the greatest thing), because it involved no ambiguity. But His Majesty got displeased, and said it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." *Badāonī*, p. 210.

and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdcatchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

Note by the Translator on the Religious Views of the Emperor Akbar.

In connexion with the preceding Āʾīn, it may be of interest for the general reader, and of some value for the future historian of Akbar's reign, to collect, in form of a note, the information which we possess regarding the religious views of the Emperor Akbar. The sources from which this information is derived, are, besides Abū 'l-Faẓl's Āʾīn, the *Muntakhab*ᵘ *'t-Tawārīkh* by ʿAbdᵘ l-Qādir ibn-i Mulūk Shāh of Badāon—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 110, and to a longer article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1869—and the *Dabistān*ᵘ *'l-Maẕāhib*,[1] a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pārsī tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrato, Francisco Enriques, etc., of whom the first is mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl under the name of *Pādrī Radalf*.[2] There exist also two articles on Akbar's religious views, one by Captain Vans Kennedy, published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, which had originally appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, vol. i, 1824, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Badāonī, bearing on this subject, will be found in Sir H. Elliott's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, p. 243 ff. The proceedings of the Portuguese missionaries at Akbar's Court are described in Murray's

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[1] Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay A.H. 1272 [A.D. 1856]. This work has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

[2] Not *Padre Radif*, پادری ردیف, as in Elphinstone's history, but ردلف, the letter (*lām*) having been mistaken for a ی (*yā*).

Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, vol. ii.

I shall commence with extracts from Badāonī.[1] The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badāonī.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's second introduction to Akbar. His pride.

[Badāonī, edited by Mawlawī Āghā Aḥmad ʿAlī, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, vol. ii, p. 198.]

It was during these days [end of 982 A.H.] that Abū 'l-Faẓl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor, came the second time to court. He is now styled *ʿAllāmī*. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Ṣabāḥīs*, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight, and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying, "He who forms an opposition, gains power." He laid before the Emperor a commentary on the *Āyatᵘ 'l-kursī*,[2] which contained all subtleties of the Qurʾān; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abū 'l-Faẓl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafsīr-i Akbarī* (Akbar's commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abū 'l-Faẓl a man capable of teaching the Mullás a lesson, whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh, though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which His Majesty had placed in me.

The reason of Abū 'l-Faẓl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters (as had been the case with Mīr Ḥabshī and others) Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī and Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously

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[1] As in the following extracts the years of the Hijrah are given, the reader may convert them according to this table :—

The year 980 A.H. commenced 14th May, 1572 [Old Style].

981—3rd May, 1573	993—24th December, 1584
982—23rd April, 1574	994—13th December, 1585
983—12th April, 1575	995—2nd December, 1586
984—31st March, 1576	996—22nd November, 1587
985—21st March, 1577	997—10th November, 1588
986—10th March, 1578	998—31st October, 1589
987—28th February, 1579	999—20th October, 1590
988—17th February, 1580	1000—9th October, 1591
989—5th February, 1581	1001—28th September, 1592
990—26th January, 1582	1002—17th September, 1593
991—15th January, 1583	1003—6th September, 1594
992—4th January, 1584	1004—27th August, 1595

[2] Qur., Sūr. II, 256.

represented to the emperor that Shaykh Mubārak also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdī*,[1] belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they dispatched police officers to bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaykh, with his two sons, had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaykh, at first, took refuge with Salīm-i Chishtī at Fatḥpūr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaykh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrāt. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubārak applied to Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka [Akbar's foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaykh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubārak was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he [ʿAzīz] could really not see why the Shaykh was so much persecuted. The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaykh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn; and Abū 'l-Fazl when once in favour with the emperor (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying His Majesty's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds) took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated,[2] and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all servants of God, especially of Shaykhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

He used to say, openly and implicitly:—

> O Lord, send down a proof[3] for the people of the world!
> Send these Nimrods[4] a gnat as big as an elephant!
> These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up their heads;
> Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!

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[1] *Vide* p. 113, note 2.

[2] Badāoni belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawī rumours for his own purposes; *vide* below. The extract shows that there existed before 982, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.

[3] That is, a man capable of teaching the ʿUlamās a lesson. Abū 'l-Fazl means himself.

[4] Nimrod, or Namrūd, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of his head; but at last he died from the effects of his own blows.

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the ʿUlamās (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following *Rubāʿī* to them:—

> I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
> As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
> No one is my enemy but myself,
> Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands.

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict of any *Mujtahid*,[1] he used to say, "Oh don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller and that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaykhs and ʿUlamās.

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badāonī II, p. 200.]

"During the year 983 A.H., many places of worship were built at the command of His Majesty. The cause was this. For many years previous to 983 the emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of the Muʿiniyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qurʾān), and the word of the prophet (the *Ḥadīs*, or Tradition). Questions of Ṣūfism, scientific discussions, inquiries into philosophy and law, were the order of the day. His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yā Hū* and *Yā Hādī*, which had been mentioned to him,[2] and his heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours."

In his religious habits the emperor was confirmed by a story which he had heard of Sulaymān,[3] ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150

[1] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muhammadan law. There are few Mujtahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding *Rubāʿī* is translated by Sir H. Elliot in the *Muhammadan Historians of India*, p. 244.

[2] By some ascetic. *Yā Hū* means O He (God), and *Ya Hādī*, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some faqirs repeat them several thousand times during a night.

[3] The edition of Badāonī calls him کررانی *Karardnī*. He is sometimes called *Kardnī*, sometimes *Karzanī*. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.

Shaykhs and ˁUlamās, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mīrzā Sulaymān, a prince of Ṣūfī tendencies, and a *Ṣāḥib-i ḥāl*[1] was coming to him from Badakhshān.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called *Anūptalāo*, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the ˁUlamās and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the ˁUlamās, and the heretical (Shīˁitic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullā Sherī, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddād (*vide* Qur., Sūr. 89). The result to which the discussions led will be seen from the following extract.

[Bad. II, p. 202.]

"For these discussions, which were held every Thursday[2] night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaykhs, ˁUlamās, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side; the Sayyids on the west side; the ˁUlamās to the south; and the Shaykhs to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other and make his inquiries . . . when all at once, one night, 'the vein of the neck of the ˁUlamās of the age swelled up,' and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me [Badāonī], 'In future report any of the ˁUlamās that cannot behave and that talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall.' I gently said to Āsaf Khān, 'If I were to carry out this order, most of the ˁUlamās would have to leave,' when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him."

Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.

[Bad. II, p. 210.]

"Some people mentioned that Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes,[3] quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick in order to strike him, when the Ḥājī by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."

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[1] *Ḥāl* is the state of ecstasy and close union with God into which Ṣūfīs bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.

[2] The text has *shab-i Jumˁa*, the night of Friday; but as Muhammadans commence the day at sunset, it is our *Thursday* night.

[3] As women may use.

Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the ʿUlamās and lawyers; he never pardoned pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him. From now he resolved to vex the principal ʿUlamās; and no sooner had his courtiers discovered this, than they brought all sorts of charges against them.

[Bad. II, p. 203.]

"His Majesty therefore ordered Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh of Sulṭānpūr, who had received the title of *Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk*, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl (who had lately come to court, and is at present the infallible authority in all religious matters, and also for the New Religion of His Majesty, and the guide of men to truth, and their leader in general), and several other newcomers, to oppose him. During the discussion, His Majesty took every occasion to interrupt the Mawlānā when he explained anything. When the quibbling and wrangling had reached the highest point, some courtiers, according to an order previously given by His Majesty, commenced to tell rather queer stories of the Mawlānā, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qurʿān (Sūr. XVI, 72), 'And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, etc.' Among other stories, Khān Jahān said that he had heard that Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk [1] had given a *fatwa*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwa*, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrāt, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia) had to suffer injuries at the hand of the *Qizilbāshes* (i.e., the Shīʿah inhabitants of Persia), and in going by sea, they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose ship-tickets had pictures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed up.

"Khān Jahān also related that the Mawlānā had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal alms upon the wealth which he amassed every year. Towards the end of each year, he used to make over all his stores to his wife, but he took them back before the year had actually run out.[2].

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[1] This extract as given by Sir H. Elliott on p. 244, conveys a wrong impression. Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before A.H. 990.

[2] Alms are due on every surplus of stock or stores which a Sunni possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. If the wife, therefore, had the surplus for a part of the year, and the husband took it afterwards back, he escaped the paying of alms.

"Other tricks also, in comparison with which the tricks of the children of Moses are nothing, and rumours of his meanness and shabbiness, his open cheating and worldliness, and his cruelties said to have been practised on the Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimadārs and other deserving people of the Panjāb—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur. LXXXVI, 9), were disclosed; all sorts of stories, calculated to ruin his character and to vilify him, were got up, till it was resolved to force him to go to Makkah.

"But when people asked him whether pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances, he said *No*;[1] for Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlānā was fast sinking."

But a heavier blow was to fall on the ʿUlamās. [Bad. II, p. 207.]

"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many *freeborn* women a man was legally allowed to marry (by *nikāḥ*). The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age, he had not restricted himself to that number, and in justice to his wives, of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, when the emperor remarked that Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the ʿUlamās present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abī Layā; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qurʿān verse (Qur., Sūr. IV, 3), 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two,[2] and three and three, and four and four,' but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, who replied that he had merely wished to point out to Akbar that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwa* in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. 'The Shaykh,' he said, 'told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me.' He never forgot this.

"After much discussion on this point the ʿUlamās, having collected

[1] I.e., he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.

[2] Thus they got 2+2, 3+3, 4+4=18. But the passage is usually translated, "Marry whatever women ye like, two, or three, or four." The Mujtahid, who took nine unto himself, translated "two+three+four"=9. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the *ḥarāmzādagī* of Akbar's *freeborn* princesses was acknowledged.

every tradition on the subject, decreed, *first*, that by *mutʿah* [not by *nikāḥ*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, *secondly*, that *mutʿah* marriages were allowed by Imām Mālik. The Shīʿahs, as was well known, loved children born in *mutʿah* wedlock more than those born by *nikāḥ* wives, contrary to the Sunnīs and the Ahl-i Jamāʿat.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled *Najātᵘ 'r-rashīd* [*vide* note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the *Muwaṭṭa* of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of *mutʿah* marriages.

"Another night, Qāẓī Yaʿqūb, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the *Anūptalā,o* tank. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding *mutʿah* marriages, which his father (Shaykh Mubārak) had collected, and the discussion commenced. His Majesty then asked me, what my opinion was on this subject. I said, 'The conclusion which must be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarians customs, is this:—Imām Mālik and the Shīʿahs are unanimous in looking upon *mutʿah* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfiʿī and the Great Imām (Ḥanīfah) look upon *mutʿah* marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāẓī of the Mālikī sect decide that *mutʿah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfiʿī's and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk.' This pleased His Majesty very much."

The unfortunate Shaykh Yaʿqub, however went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qāẓī. He tried to shift the ground; but when he saw that he was discomfited, he said, "Very well, I have nothing else to say—just as His Majesty pleases."

"The Emperor then said, 'I herewith appoint the Mālikī Qāẓī Ḥasan ʿArab as the Qāẓi before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaʿqūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāẓī Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made *mutʿah* marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk, Qāẓī Yaʿqūb, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

"This was the commencement of 'their sere and yellow leaf'.

"The result was that, a few days later, Mawlānā Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,

was ordered from Āgra (to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī) and appointed Qāẓī of the realm. Qāẓī Yaʿqūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāẓī.

"From this day henceforth, 'the road of opposition and difference in opinion' lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mujtahid of the empire." [Here follows the extract regarding the formula *Allāh*ᵘ *Akbar*, given on p. 175, note 1.]

[Badāonī II, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ, Hakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Ḥakīm Humām), and Nūrᵘ 'd-Dīn, who as poet is known under the name of *Qarārī*. They were brothers, and came from Gīlān, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendency over the Emperor; he flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of Akbar.

"Soon after there came from Persia, Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazīdī, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the *Ṣaḥābah* (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imāms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shīʿah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Baṛ—that bastard!—and by Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

"At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qāẓī Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn and several ʿUlamās to write a commentary on the Qurʾān; but this led to great rows among them.

"Deb Chand Rāja Manjhola—that fool—once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter (*Sūrat*ᵘ *'l-baqarah*) of the Qurʾān.

"His Majesty had also the early history of the Islām read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the *Ṣaḥābah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as *taqlīdī*, or religious blindness, and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty inquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."

[Badāonī II, p. 245.]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dīpālpūr in Mālwah, Sharīf of Āmul arrived. This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic. For some time he had studied Ṣūfic nonsense in the school of Mawlānā Muḥammad Zāhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, and had lived with derwishes. But as he had little of a derwish in himself, he talked slander, and was so full of conceit that they hunted him away. The Mawlānā also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs :—

"There was a heretic, Sharīf by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

"In his wanderings he had come to the Dakhin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dakhin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey, and shown about in the city. Hindustān, however, is a nice large place, where anything is allowed, and no one cares for another, and people go on as they may. He therefore made for Mālwah, and settled at a place five *kos* distant from the Imperial camp. Every frivolous and absurd word he spoke was full of venom, and became the general talk. Many fools, especially Persian heretics (whom the Islām casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called *Nuqṭawīs*, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millennium. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him, he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer room, which had been made of cloth, and in which the emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and stood still with his arms crossed, and you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour[1] is a sign of hostility to our prophet) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself in worship, and sat down *duzānū* (*vide* p. 168, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty ; no one dared to draw near them, but I sometimes heard from a distance the word *ʿilm* (knowledge), because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views ' the truth of truths ', or ' the groundwork of things '.

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[1] *Chashm-i azraq.* Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Ḥarīrī and the Crusades.

"A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk.
He is immersed in heresies infernal,
And prattles—God forbid!—of truth eternal.

"The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān (a village in Gīlān), who lived at the time of Tīmūr. Maḥmūd who had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but *tūtāl*, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language'. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Baḥr o Kūza* (the Ocean and the Jug), and contains such loathsome nonsense, that on listening to it one's ear vomits. How the devil would have laughed in his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharīf—the dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled *Tarashshuḥ-i Ẓuhūr*, in which he blindly follows Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Awwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words *mīfarmūdand* (the master said), a queer thing to look at, and a mass of ridiculous, silly nonsense. But notwithstanding his ignorance, according to the proverb, 'Worthies will meet,' he has exerted such an influence on the spirit of the age, and on the people, that he is now [in 1004], a commander of One Thousand and His Majesty's apostle for Bengal, possessing the four degrees of faith, and calling, as the Lieutenant of the emperor, the faithful to these degrees."

The discussions on Thursday evenings were continued for the next year. In 986, they became violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islām were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The ʿUlamās, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other *Kāfirs*, or *accursed*.

[Bad. II, p. 255.]

"Makhdūm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, in which he accused him of the murder of Khizr Khān of Shīrwān, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mīr Ḥabshī, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī called Makhdūm a fool, and cursed him. The ʿUlamās now broke up into two parties, like the Sibṭīs and Qibṭīs, gathering either round the Shaykh, or round Makhdūmᵘ l-Mulk; and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor

by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

"*His Majesty till now* [986] *had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islām. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different.*"

[Bad. II, p. 239.]

"In 984 the news arrived that Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia had died, and Shāh IsmāʿIl II had succeeded him. The Tārīkh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words دولت, فتح, and ظفر [ظ + ف + د = 984]. Shāh Ismāʿil gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer. Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose."

[Bad. II, p 241.]

"In 985, the news arrived that Shāh Ismāʿil, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister *Parī Jān Khānum*. Mīr Ḥaydar, the riddle writer, found the Tārīkh of his accession in the words *Shahinshāh i rūi zamīn* [984] 'a king of the face of the earth', and the Tārīkh of his death in *Shahinshāh-i zer-i zamīn* [985] 'a king below the face of the earth'.[1] At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India (p. 240), and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabrīz, Shirwān, and Māzandarān. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the *Ṣaḥābah*.

"*But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindūstān from Persia.*"

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[1] As Ṭahmāsp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word ظل *zil* [930] as the Tārīkh of his accession, we have:—

Ṭahmāsp from 930 to 984; Ismāʿīl II, 984 to 985.

Prinsep's Tables (IInd edition, p. 308) give:—Ṭahmāsp, 982 to 983; Ismāʿīl II, from 983 to 985.

Badā,onī's Summary of the Reasons which led Akbar to Renounce the Islām.

[Bad. II, p. 256.]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path. I shall not give all, but only some, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides that which is great, and a sign of fear in a man points him out as the culprit."

The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every [Islāmitic] principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, they grew, gradually as the outline of a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islām, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself.

Moreover, Sumanīs[1] and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs based on reason and testimony,

[1] Explained in Arab. dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*). Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.

for the truth of their own and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islāmitic revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,

"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr." [1]

When it was too late to profit by the lesson,

She could but frown, and hang down the head.

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Purukhotam, author of a commentary on the . . .,[2] whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debī was pulled up the wall of the castle,[3] sitting on a *chārpāe*, till he arrived near a balcony where the emperor used to sleep. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahādev, Bishn, Kishn, Rām, and Mahāmāī, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though some, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels. His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a deep root in his heart, and he approved of the saying—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

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[1] Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of inquiry into other religious systems. But zephyrs are also destructive; they scatter the petals of the rose.

[2] The text has a few unintelligible words.

[3] Perhaps in order not to get polluted, or because the balcony belonged to the Harem.

revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the *Ahl-i Kitāb*, Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence.

Sometimes again, it was *Shaykh Tāj*ᵘ *'d-Dīn* of Dihlī, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaykh is the son of Shaykh Zakariyā of Ajodhan. The principal ʕUlamās of the age call him *Tāj*ᵘ *'l-ʕĀrifīn*, or crown of the Ṣūfīs. He had learned under Shaykh Zamān of Pānīpat, author of a commentary on the Liwāʕiḥ, and of other very excellent works, was in Ṣūfism and pantheism second only to Shaykh Ibn ʕArabī, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Nuzhat*ᵘ *'l-Arwāḥ*. Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Ṣūfic trifles. As the Shaykh was not over strict [1] in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Ṣūfīs will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh – God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the *Fuṣūṣ*ᵘ *'l-Ḥikam*,[2] or the excellence of hope over fear,[3] and many other things to which men incline from weakness of disposition, unmindful of cogent reasons, or distinct religious commands, to the contrary. The Shaykh is therefore one of the principal culprits who weakened His Majesty's faith in the orders of our religion. He also said that infidels would, of course, be kept for ever in hell, but it was not likely, nor could it be proved, that the punishment in hell was eternal. His explanations of some verses of the Qurʾān or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase *Insān-i Kāmil* (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the *sijdah* (prostration), which people mildly call *zamīnbos* (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the Insān-i Kāmil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king *Kaʕba-yi Murādāt*, the sanctum of desires,

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[1] As long as a Ṣūfī conforms to the Qurʾān he is *sharʕī*; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the *profanum vulgus*, he is *āzād*, free, and becomes a heretic.

[2] Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore *malʕūn*, accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the *Fuṣūṣ*, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses to be a true prophet.

[3] The Islām says, *Al-īmān bayn*ᵃ *'l-khawf*ⁱ *wa 'r-rijāʕ*, "Faith stands *between* fear and hope." Hence it is sin to fear God's wrath more than to hope for God's mercy; and so reversely.

and *Qibla-yi ḥājāt,* the cynosure of necessities. Such blasphemies [1] other people supported by quoting stories of no credit, and by referring to the practice followed by disciples of some heads of Indian sects. And after this, when . . .[2]

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaykh Yaʕqūb of Kashmīr, a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʕAynᵘ 'l-Quẓāt of Hamadān, that our prophet Muḥammad was a personification of the divine name of *Al-hādī* (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of *Al-muẓill* (the tempter),[3] that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalīfahs, called the whole Ṣaḥābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnīs and the *Ahl-i Jamāʕat,*[4] and represented every sect, except the Shīʕah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ʕUlamās, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the ʕUlamās of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imām-i Ghazzālī and Imām-i Rāẓī,[5] and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ʕUlamās, he judged those great men of the past by his contemporaries, and threw them aside.

Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of *Pādre.*[6] They have an infallible head, called *Pāpā*. He can change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the gospel, and mentioned to the emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of

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[1] As the *zamīnbos*, or the use of holy names as *Kaʕbah* (the temple of Makkah) or *Qiblah* (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).

[2] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[3] According to the Islām, God leads (*hādī*) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.

[4] *Ahl-i jamāʕat* is a term which is often joined with the word *Sunnis*. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾān, or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (*qiyās*) of famous *Ṣaḥābīs*; or lastly, upon *ijmāʕ* agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the *Hijrah*. Hence *Ahl-i jamāʕat* comprises all such as believe *ijmāʕ* binding.

[5] Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of *Imām Ghazzālī* are the *Iḥyāʾᵘ 'l-ʕulūm* and the *Kīmiyā-yi saʕādat* which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Akbar liked.

[6] The text has پادری.

Jesus, ordered Prince Murād [1] to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū 'l-Faẕl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bism*ᶦ *'llāh*ᶦ *'r-raḥmān*ᶦ *'r-raḥīm*ᶦ, [2] the following lines were used—

Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū

(O thou those names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, "O thou whose name is gracious and blessed"; and Shaykh Fayẕī added another half, in order to complete the verse

*Subḥāna-k*ᵃ *lā siwā-k*ᵃ *Yā hū.*

(We praise Thee, there is no one besides Thee, O God!)

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.

Bīr Bar also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain in the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary; and people in praying should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets. For similar reasons, said Bīr Bar, should men pay regard to fire and water, stones, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their dung, to the mark on the forehead and the Brahminical thread.

Philosophers and learned men who had been at Court, but were in disgrace, made themselves busy in bringing proofs. They said the sun was "the greatest light", the source of benefit for the whole world, the nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power.

This was also the cause why the Nawrūz-i Jalālī [3] was observed, on which day, since His Majesty's accession, a great feast was given. His Majesty also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours,

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[1] Prince Murād was then about eight years old. Jahāngīr (Salīm) was born on Wednesday, the 17 *Rabīʿᵘ 'l-awwal* 977. Three months after him, his sister *Shāhzāda Khānum* was born; and after her in the year 978 on 3rd Muḥarram (Bad. II, 132) *Shāh Murād*, who got the nickname of *Pahārī*, as he was born in the hills of Fathpūr Sīkrī. Dānyāl was born in Ajmīr during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th, the Jumādā 'l-awwal 979.

[2] The formula "*Bismᶦ 'llāhᶦ*, etc." is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book.

The words *Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristo* are taken from the Dabistān; the edition of Badā,onī has *Ay nāmī wai zhazho Kiristo*, which, though correct in metre (*vide* my "Prosody of the Persians", p. 33, No. 32), is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabistān has a common Maṡnawī metre (*vide* my "Prosody", p. 33, No. 31), and spells *Jesus* جزو *desuz*. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

[3] *Vide* the *Tārīkh-i Mulkī*, in the beginning of Book III.

each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the seven colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus, formulæ to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them mornings and evenings as a religious exercise. He also believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship; he looked upon cow-dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?) instead of cows. The doctors confirmed the emperor in his opinion, and told him it was written in their books that beef was productive of all sorts of diseases and was very indigestible.

Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausārī in Gujrāt, and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroāster's doctrines. They called fire-worship "the great worship", and impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Pārsīs, and ordered Abū 'l-Faẓl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God, and "a ray of His rays".

His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem.

From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign [988], His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. On the festival of the eighth day of Virgo, he put on the mark on the forehead, like a Hindu, and appeared in the Audience Hall, when several Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents. The custom of Rākhī (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets) became quite common.

When orders in opposition to the Islām were quoted by people of other religions, they were looked upon by His Majesty as convincing, whilst Hinduism is in reality a religion in which every order is nonsense. The originator of our belief, the Arabian Saints, all were said to be adulterers and highway robbers, and all the Muhammadans were declared worthy of reproof, till at length His Majesty belonged to those of whom the Qur'ān says (Sūr 61, 8): "They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths: But God will perfect his light though the infidels be averse

thereto." In fact, matters went so far that proofs were no longer required when anything connected with the Islām was to be abolished.

Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.

[Bad. II. p. 268.]

"In this year [987], His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amīr Tīmūr Ṣāḥib-qirān, and Mīrzā Ulugh Beg-i Gurgān, and several others, had themselves read the *Khuṭba* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumāda 'l-awwal* 987, in the Jāmiʿ Masjid of Fatḥpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khuṭba. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaykh Fayẓī had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imām (leader of the prayer) to Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn, the Court *Khaṭīb*. These are the verses :—

The Lord has given me the empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar!"

[p. 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qurʾān, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the preface to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead.[1] It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abū 'l-Faẓl, Fayẓī, etc.) did not like it. This wicked innovation gave general offence, and sowed the seed of evil throughout the [illegible][2] notwithstanding this a lot of low and mean fellows

[1] As [illegible] Faẓl has done in the Āʾīn. "But Fayẓī added the usual praise of the [illegible], to his *Nal Daman*, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of [illegible]." *Badāʾonī.*

[2] because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula "*Bismi'llāh*, etc.", had been changed to *Allāhu Akbar*, we also find *Allāhu Akbar* in the heading of books, as in the Āʾīn.

put piously on their necks the collar of the Divine Faith, and called themselves disciples, either from fear or hope of promotion, though they thought it impossible to say our creed."

[pp. 270 to 272.]

" In the same year [987] a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk, of Shaykh ʕAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, ṣadrᵘ ṣ-ṣudūr, of Qāẓī Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn of Multān, Qāẓiyᵘ 'l-quẓāt of Ṣadr Jahān, the mufti of the empire, of Shaykh Mubārak, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghāzī Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. The objects of the document was to settle the superiority of the *Imām-iʕādil* (just leader) over the *Mujtahid*, which was proved by a reference to an ill-supported authority. The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion; but the document was to do away with the possibility of disagreeing about laws, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves. But before the instrument was signed, a long discussion took place as to the meaning of *ijtihād*, and as to whom the term *Mujtahid* was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just *Imām* who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid*, to decide, according to the requirements of the times, and the wants of the age, all such legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion. At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly, others against their convictions.

I shall copy the document *verbatim*.

The Document.

" ' Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home Now we, the principal ʕUlamās, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qurʾān (Sūr. IV, 62), " *Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you*," and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition, " *Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imām-i ʕĀdil: whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Me; and Whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me*," and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sulṭān-i ʕādil* (a just ruler) is higher

in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujthahid*. Further we declare that the king of Islām, Amīr of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, ʿ*Abū* *'l-Fatḥ Jalālu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh-i ghāzī*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

" 'Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qurʾān, but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

" 'This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Islām, and is signed by us, the principal ʿUlamās and lawyers in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah.'

" The draft of this document when presented to the emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaykh Mubārak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaykh had added at the bottom that he had most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter which, for several years, he had been anxiously looking forward to.

" No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of intellect of the Imām was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imām became law.

" But the state of Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl resembled that of the poet *Ḥayratī* of Samarqand,[1] who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Mā-wara 'n-nahr (Turkistān), joined the old foxes of Shīʿitic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road'. You might apply the proverb to him— 'He prefers hell to shame on earth.'

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[1] The birthplace of the poet *Ḥayratī* is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistān. It is said that he was a great wine-bibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kāshān, and became a Shīʿa. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.

"On the 16th Rajab of this year, His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmīr. It is now fourteen years that His Majesty has not returned to that place. On the 5th Shaʿbān, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Muʿīnᵘ 'd-Dīn). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwāja of Ajmīr, whilst he rejected the foundation of everything, our prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree had sprung."

[p. 273.]

"After Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk and Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qurʾān, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the prophet and the imāms. He distinctly denied the existence of *Jinns*, of angels, and of all other beings of the invisible world, as well as the miracles of the prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our faith, the proofs for the truths of the Qurʾān as far as they agree with man's reason, the existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and future rewards and punishments in as far as they differed from metempsychosis.

Some copies of the Qurʾān, and a few old graves
Are left as witnesses for these blind men.
The graves, unfortunately, are all silent,
And no one searches for truth in the Qurʾān.
An ʿ*Īd* has come again, and bright days will come—like the face of the bride.
And the cupbearer will again put wine into the jar—red like blood.
The reins of prayer and the muzzle of fasting—once more
Will fall from these asses—alas, alas! [1]

"His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God, but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed the date of this event by the words *fitnahā-yi ummat*, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* List of grandees, 2nd book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn said, 'What would the kings of the West, as the Sulṭān of Constantinople, say, if he

1. Badāʾonī bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abū 'l-Faẓl, etc., who threw away the means of grace of the Islām (prayers, fasts).

heard all this. Our faith is the same, whether a man hold high or broad views.' His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he once go away from India, and be a respectable man there; he might go at once. Shāhbāz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bīr Baṛ—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shāhbāz abused him roundly, and said, 'You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you.' It got quite uncomfortable when His Majesty said to Shāhbāz in particular, and to the others in general, 'Would that a shoeful of excrements were thrown into your faces.'"

[p. 276.]

"'In this year the *Tamg͟hā* (inland tolls) and the *Jazya* (tax on infidels), which brought in several krors of *dāms*, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.'

"In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpūr, headed by Muḥammad Maʿṣūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Maʿṣūm K͟hān, Muʿizzᵘ 'l-Mulk, ʿArab Bahādur, and other grandees. They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd (*vide* above, pp. 184, 191), who was Qāẓiyᵘ 'l-quẓāt at Jaunpūr; and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army. The course which this rebellion took is known from general histories; *vide* Elphinstone, p. 511. Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd and Muʿizzᵘ 'l-Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Āgra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnā.

"In the same year the principal ʿUlamās, as Mak͟hdūᵘ 'l-Mulk, Shayk͟h Munawwar, Mullā ʿAbdᵘ 'sh-Shukūr, etc., were sent as exiles to distant provinces."

[p. 278.]

"Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind (*vide* above, p. 111) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shayk͟h Ibn ʿArabī. In this book, it was said that the *Ṣāḥib-i Zamān*[1] was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him

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[1] *Ṣāḥib-i Zamān*, or "Man of the Period", is a title frequently given to Imām Mahdī.

were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought a fabricated tradition that the son of a *Ṣaḥābī* (one who knew Muḥammad) had once come before the prophet with his beard cut off, when the prophet had said that the inhabitants of Paradise looked like that young man. But as the Ḥājī during discussions, behaved imprudently towards Abū 'l-Faẓl, Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ and Shāh Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, he was sent to Rantanbhūr, where he died in 994.

"Farmāns were also sent to the leading Shaykhs and ʿUlamās of the various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to inquire into their grants (*vide* 2nd book, *Āʾīn* 19) and their manner of living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving them private interviews, and assigned to them some lands, as he thought fit. But when he got hold of those who had disciples, or held spirtual soirées, or practised similar tricks, he confined them in forts, or exiled them to Bengal or Bhakkar. This practice become quite common . . . . The poor Shaykhs, who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes."

[p. 288.]

"In this year [988] low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the *Ṣāḥib-i Zamān*, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of the Islām. Sharīf of Āmul brought proofs from the writings of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān (*vide* above, p. 186), who had said that, in 990, a man would rise up who would do away with all that was wrong . . .[1] And Khwāja Mawlānā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Jafrdān, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharīfs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over, the promised appearance of Imām Mahdī would immediately take place. The Mawlānā also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shiʿahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with ʿAlī, and some quoted the following *Rubāʿī*, which is said to have been composed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw,[2] or, according to some, by another poet :—

> In 989, according to the decree of fate,
> The stars from all sides shall meet together.
> In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and on the day of Leo,
> The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.

[1] The text here does not give a clear meaning.

[2] A Persian poet of the fifth century of the *Hijrah*. As he was a free-thinker and Shiʿah, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* is full of verses from the works of this ancient poet.

"All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else." [1]

[p. 291.]

"At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of a man who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception. Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence. Thus Ḥakīm Humām (*vide* above, p. 184) mentioned himself, and Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl his own father.

"During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree.

"All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne."

[p. 299.]

"At this time (end of 989), His Majesty sent Shaykh Jamāl Bakhtyār to bring Shaykh Quṭbu 'd-Dīn of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God'. When Quṭbu 'd-Dīn came, the emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaykh exclaimed, 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion.' The fire was made. the Shaykh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, 'Come on, in the name of God!' But none of the priests had the courage to go.

"Soon after the Shaykh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqīrs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

"A large number of Shaykhs and Faqīrs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahār, where they were exchanged for horses. About the same time, the emperor captured a sect consisting of Shaykhs and disciples, and known under the name of *Ilāhīs*. They professed all sorts of nonsense, and practised deceits. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, 'Repentance is our Maid.' And so they had invented similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islām, and for the fast. At the command of His Majesty,

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[1] God.

they were sent to Bhakkar and Qandahār, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts."

[p. 301.]

"His Majesty was now [990] convinced that the Millenium of the Islāmitic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaykhs and ʿUlamās who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of the Islām, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations. The first order which was passed was that the coinage should show the era of the Millenium,[1] and that a history of the one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet. Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *sijda*, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of *sijda*, the word *zamīnbos* was used. Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings and uproars. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. Of course, people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly inquire into such a matter? It was in fact nothing else but licensing a shop for drunkards. Some people even said that pork formed a component part of this wine! Notwithstanding all restrictions, much mischief was done, and though a large number of people were daily punished, there was no sufficient check.

"Similarly, according to the proverb,[2] 'Upset, but don't spill,' the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaiṭānpūra*, or Devilsville.

[[1] The coin showed the word الف.—B.]

[2] *Kaj dār o marīz*, which is impossible. Akbar's order was well meant; but according to Badāonī, his Act of Segregation was unpractical. The passage is remarkable, as it shows the open profligacy among the Grandees, which annoyed Akbar very much. For another instance, *vide* Bad. II, p. 20.

A Dārogha and a clerk also were appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it. But without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing girls to his house. If any well-known courtiers wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed. Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked.

"His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were punished or censured. or confined for a long time in fortresses. Among them His Majesty came across one whose name was Rāja Bīr Bar, a member of the Divine Faith, who had gone beyond the four degrees and acquired the four cardinal virtues.[1] At that time he happened to live in his jāgīr in the Pargana of Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogī; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

"Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard,[2] which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from everything which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him. Hence this custom has become very general. Pandering pimps also expressed the opinion that the beard takes its nourishment from the testicles; for no eunuch had a beard; and one could not exactly see of what merit or

[1] *Fazā'il-i arbaʿa*, or the four virtues, viz., *ḥikmat* wisdom; *shujāʿat* courage; *ʿiffat* chastity; *ʿadālat* justice. Books on *Akhlāq* divide each into several kinds. Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

[2] "The last three things are inconvenient in kissing."

importance it was to cultivate a beard. Moreover, former ascetics had looked upon carelessness in letting the beard grow as one way of mortifying one's flesh, because such carelessness exposed them to the reproach of the world; and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islām looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftīs also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qāẓīs' of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words *ka-mā yafʿalū baʿẓu 'l-quẓāt* (as *some Qāẓīs* have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be *ka-mā yafʿalū baʿẓu 'l-ʿuṣāt* (as some *wicked men* have done) . . .

"The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and [1] . . . and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words *Kufr shāyiʿ shud*, or 'heresy became common', express the *Tārīkh* (985). Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mīrzā Jānī, chief of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confessions on paper as follows:—'I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islām in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Shāh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion.' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahids (Abū 'l-Faẓl) of the new Creed, and were considered a source of confidence or promotion. The Heavens might have parted asunder, and earth might have opened her abyss, and the mountains have crumbled to dust!

"In opposition to the Islām, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed.

"'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say.'

"The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possesses one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their

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[1] The text has *o balbalān* (?) [کنابلان *cunabula* B.] *bih khushgāh-i ʿishānat*, which I do not understand.

excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets,[1] used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustānīs, followed this example, even taking the tongues of dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it.

"Tell the Mīr that thou hast, within thy skin, a dog and a carcass.[2]

"A dog runs about in front of the house; don't make him a messmate.

"The ceremonial ablution after emission of *semen*[3] was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the *sperma genitale*, which was the origin of good and bad men. It was absurd that voiding urine and excrements should not require ceremonial ablutions, whilst the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate ablution; it would be far better, if people would first bathe, and then have connexion.

"Further, it was absurd to prepare a feast in honour of a dead person; for the corpse was mere matter, and could derive no pleasure from the feast. People should therefore make a grand feast on their birthdays.[4] Such feasts were called *Āsh-i ḥayāt*, food of life.[5]

"The flesh of a wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the courage which these two animals possess would be transferred to any one who fed on such meat.

"It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages was weakly. The wearing of ornaments and silk dresses at the time of prayer was made obligatory.[6] . . .

"The prayers of the Islām, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, as the son of Mullā Mubārak, a worthy disciple of Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

"The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963). The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Niṣābᵘ 'ṣ-ṣibiyān*.[7] Fourteen festivals also were

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[1] Fayẓī.

[2] I.e., that you are a dog.

[3] According to the law, bathing is required after *jimāʿ* and *iḥtilām*.

[4] For the poor.

[5] Provisions for the life to come.

[6] The Muhammadan law enjoins Muslims to go to the Mosques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammadans disapprove of our "Sunday dresses" and pewage.

[7] *Vide* p. 42, note 1.

introduced, corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Musalmāns, and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people [1] used to go to it. The new era was called *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī*, or 'Divine Era'. On copper coins and gold muhrs, the era of the Millennium [2] was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muḥammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime; and Muhammadan law, the exegesis of the Qurʾān, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, as the ث, ح, ع, ص, ض, and ظ, were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *ʿAbdu 'llah*, people wrote ابدالله *Abdullah*; and for احدی Aḥadī, اهدی *Ahadī*, etc. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shāhnāma, which Firdawsī gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at court—

From eating the flesh of camels and lizards
The Arabs have made such progress,
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!

"Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the . . .,[3] in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

"In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islām, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islām with reason, the doctrines of *Ruʾyat*, *Taklīf*, and *Takwīn*,[4] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment—all were doubted and ridiculed.

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[1] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[2] That is, the word *alf* (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with *alf* on it (*vide* Marsden, p. 599) were struck about 991.

[3] The word in the text is *Sajarāk* (?). In an engagement Muḥammad lost two of his teeth.

[4] *Rūyat*, or *dīdār-i Ilāhī dar jannat*, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnis. The Shīʿahs say there will be no actual seeing.

Taklīf. A man is called *mukallaf bi-sh-sharʿ*, bound by the law, *first*, if he belong to the *Islām*; *secondly*, if he have ʿaql or a sound mind; *thirdly*, if he have reached *bulūgh*, i.e., if he be of age.

Takwīn means existence between two non-existences (ʿadamayn). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islām says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.

nd if anyone did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not cepted. But it is well known how little chance a man has who cites oofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has power of life and death in his hands; for equality in condition is *ine qua non* in arguing.

A man who will not listen if you bring the Qurʾan and the Tradition,
Can only be replied to by not replying to him.

"Many a family was ruined by these discussions. But perhaps iscussions' is not the correct name; we should call them meetings arrogance and defamation. People who sold their religion were busy collect all kinds of exploded errors and brought them to His Majesty, it they were so many presents. Thus Laṭif Khwāja, who came from a ole family in Turkistān, made a frivolous remark on a passage in mizi's *Shamāʾil*,[1] and asked how in all the world the neck of the Prophet uld be compared to the neck of an *idol*. Other remarks were passed on straying camel[2] Some again expressed their astonishment, that the ophet, in the beginning of his career, plundered the carvans of Quraysh; t he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to ong to her husband if the Prophet thought her agreeable, etc. . . . night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty rtiers to sit down as 'The Forty',[3] and every one might say or ask at he liked. If then any one brought up a question connected with or religion, they said, 'You had better ask the Mullās about that, we only settle things which appeal to man's reason.' But it is oossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made out the *Ṣaḥābah*, when historical books happened to be read out, ecially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs, and quarrel about Fadak, the war of Ṣiffin,[4] etc.—would that I were

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[1] The book of the famous *Muḥaddis* (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizī, which contains Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the prophet. The word *idol* is expressive great beauty; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unsuited to Muḥammad, o had abolished idols.

[2] This refers to the charge of adultery brought against ʿĀyisha Muhammad's favourite . The whole story will be found in Sale's Qurʾān, Sur. 24, p. 288.

[3] The *Chihil tanān*, or 40 *Abdāls*. After the death of Muḥammad, the last of the g series of prophets, the earth complained to God, that henceforth she would no longer honoured by prophets walking on her surface. God promised her that there should ays be on earth *forty* (according to some, *seventy-two*) holy men, Abdāls, for whose e He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called *Ghaws*.

[4] *Fadak* is a village not far from Makkah, which Fatimah claimed as her own; but Bakr would not let her have it. *Ṣiffīn* is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle place between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah.

Both affairs form, even now-a-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnis and Shīʿahs. nce the author of the Dabistān has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Dabistān.

deaf! The Shīˁahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnīs were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself.' . . . The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but '*Allāhᵘ Akbar*', and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mulla Sherī, at this time, composed a *qitˁa* of ten verses, in which the following occur:

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
Will ever vanish from the earth.
I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:

'This year the emperor has claimed prophetship,
Next year, if God will, he will be god.'

"At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the ˁUlamās and the pious, nay even the Qāẓīs and the Muftī of the realm, to drink wine. . . . And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Fayẓī, called out, 'Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!' On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharafᵘ 'sh-sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jāgīrs, or horses, or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought."

"In this year Gulbadan Begum (Akbar's aunt) and Salima Sulṭān Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Shāh Abū Turāb also, and Iˁtimād Khān of Gujrāt, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant. The stone contained, according to Abū Turāb, an impression of the foot of the Prophet. Akbar (though it is difficult to guess the motive) went four kos to meet it, and the grandees were ordered to carry the stone themselves by turns, and thus it was brought to town."

[p. 312.]

"In this year, Shayk͟h Mubārak of Nāgor said in the presence of the emperor to Bīr Bar, 'Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are many in ours (Qurᵃān); hence it is impossible to trust either.'

"Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why

at the approaching close of the Millenium, he did not make use of the sword, 'the most convincing proof,' as Shāh Ismāʿīl of Persia had done. But His Majesty, at last, was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would have easily got most of the courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets.

"The following Rubāʿī of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdī and that of Antichrist:
Either politics must change or religion.
I clearly see the hidden secret.

"At a council meeting for renovating the religion of the empire, Rāja Bhagawān said, 'I would willingly believe that Hindūs and Musalmāns have each a bad religion; but only tell us where the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe.' His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Rāja. But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued. The *Tārīkh* was found in the words *Iḥdās-i bidʿat*, the innovation of heresy (990).

"During those days also the public prayers and the *azān*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like *Aḥmad*, *Muḥammad*, *Muṣṭafa*, etc., became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till, after some time, those courtiers who had such names, changed them; and names as *Yār Muḥammad*, *Muḥammad Khān*, were altered to *Raḥmat*. To call such ill-starred wretches by the name of our blessed prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to change them, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.'

"And this destructive fire all broke out in Āgra, burnt down great and small families, and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!"

[p. 315.]

"In *Rabīʿu 's-sānī* 990, Mīr Fatḥu 'llāh came from the Dakhin (*vide* above, p. 34). . . . As he had been an immediate pupil of Mīr Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn Manṣūr of Shīrāz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fatḥu 'llāh would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fatḥu 'llāh was such a staunch Shīʿah, and at

the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shīʿsm. Even in the state hall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shīʿah prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots; but he connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor in Fatḥᵘ 'llāh's presence,[1] said to Bīr Bar, 'I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could, in the space of a moment, leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm?' So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. 'Why,' said His Majesty, lifting up one foot, 'it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe.' And that wretch (Bīr Bar) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, 'Yea. we believe! Yea, we trust!' This great foot-experiment was repeated over and over again. But Fatḥᵘ 'llāh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something, for he was a new-comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear."

Here Badā,onī mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p. 110. It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit or from Hindī translations, or from both. Badā,onī clearly states that for some translations, as at the Atharban, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahābhārat, there may have been Hindī translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (*vide* p. 111, note 2) translated passages to Naqīb Khān. Abū 'l-Fazl also states that he was assisted by Paṇḍits when writing the fourth book of the *Āʾīn*. Compare Sir H. Elliott's *Index to the Historians of India*, p. 259.

[p. 321.]

"In these days (991) new orders were given. The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun; during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardīn; the whole month of Ābān (the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindus. This order was extended over the whole realm, and capital punishment was inflicted on every one

[1] As Fatḥᵘ 'llāh was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Fatḥᵘ 'llāh to make a remark on the Prophet's ascension (*miʿrāj*).

who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

"A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukidārs. For the word *jamāˁat* (public prayer), His Majesty used the term *jimāˁ* (copulation), and for *hayya*[1] *ala*, he said *yalalā talalā*.

"The cemetery within the town was ordered to be sequestered."

[p. 324.]

"In the same year (991) His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindus and Muhammadans, one of them being called *Khayr-pūra* and the other *Dharmpūra*. Some of Abū'l-Faẓl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of *Jogīs* also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of *Jogīpūra*. His Majesty also called some of the Jogīs, and gave them at night private interviews, inquiring into abstruse truths; their articles of faith; their occupations; the influence of pensiveness: their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul. His Majesty even learned alchemy, and showed in public some of the gold made by him. Once a year also during a night called *Sīvrāt*, a great meeting was held of all Jogīs of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogīs, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, he got quite convinced of it. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs

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[1] *Hayya ˁala*, for "*hayya ˁala 'ṣ-ṣalāh*" [the *waqf* form of *ṣalāt*], "Come quick to the prayer," is a phrase which occurs in the *Azān*. *Yalalā talalā* is a phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth.

for the longevity of the emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn [1] was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet there were even now a class of *Lāmās*, or Mongolian devotees, and recluses, and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason, His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lāmās, limited the time he spent in the harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening [2] of the human body) under a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul, by metempsychosis, will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king.

"His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tawḥīd-i Ilāhī*, or 'Divine Monotheism'.

"He also called, according to the manner of the Jogīs, a number of special disciples *Chelās* (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the emperor; and every evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindus and Muhammadans, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering, and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the 1,001 names of the 'Greater Luminary', and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1,001

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[1] *Zuḥal*, in Persian *Kaywān*, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Niẓāmī says *sawād-i safīna ba-kaywān sipurd*, "He (Muḥammad) gave Saturn the power of writing." *Anwār Suhaylī*, in praise of some physician, *Zuḥal shāgird-i ū dar nuqta-dānī*, "Saturn in wisdom is his pupil." Hence the famous astronomer Abū'l-Qāsim has the *laqab* (title) of *Ghulām-i Zuḥal*. Besides, there are several cycles of years, over which each of the seven planets reigns. The first cycle was that of Saturn, during which the ages of men were long. The last cycle is that of the moon, during which people do not attain a very old age. It existed already at the time of Ḥāfiẓ, who says, *In chi shorist ki dar dawr-i qamar mībīnim.* "What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon?"

[2] *Vide* my text edition, fourth book, p. 8, l. 9.

names of 'His Majesty the Sun', and told the emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rām Kishn and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the emperor, who believed every word of it.

"In this year also, in the state hall of Fatḥpur, the ten cubit square of the Ḥanafīs and the *Qullatayn*[1] of the Shāfiʿīs and Shīʿahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Ḥanafīs was greater than that of the others.

"His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnīs should stand separately from the Shīʿahs, when the Hindustānīs, without exception, went to the Sunnī side, and the Persians to the Shīʿah side."

[p. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullā Ilāhdād of Amrohah and Mullā Sherī attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to *ṣadrships* in the Duāb of the Panjāb. Mullā Sherī presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled *Hazār Shuāʿ* or 'The Thousand Rays', which contained 1,000 *qiṭaʿs* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased." .

At the feast of the emperor's accession in 992, numerous conversions took place. [Bad. II, p. 338.]

"They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles, and to follow the new religion. Instead of the usual tree,[2] His Majesty gave his likeness, upon which the disciples looked as a symbol of faith and the advancement of virtue and prosperity. They used to wrap it up in cloth studded with jewels, and wore it on the top of their turbans. The phrase '*Allāh*ᵘ *Akbar*' was ordered to be used as the heading in all writings. Playing with dice, and taking interest, were allowed, and so in fact was everything else admitted which is forbidden in the Islām. A play-house was even

[1] *Qullatayn*, two large jars containing 1,200 *raṭl-i ʿirāqi* (ʿirāqī pounds) of water. According to the Shīʿahs and the Shāfiʿī sect, water does not become *najis*, or soiled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 *raṭl*, or the cube of 3½ spans. Ḥanifah fixed (10 ذراع),[2] just deep enough that the hand, in passing over it, do not touch the bottom. The experiment which Akbar made had for its object to throw blame on the Ḥanafī Sunnīs.

[2] Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of discipleship as, Aḥmad, disciple of ʿAlī, disciple of Muʿīn, disciple of Bayazīd, etc., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (*shajara*) is given.

built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (*vide* Second book, *Āʾīn* 15). Interest and *shatal* (money given at the end of the play to the bystanders) were looked upon as very satisfactory things.

'" Girls before the age of fourteen, and boys before sixteen, were not to marry, and the story of the marriage night of the Prophet with *Ṣiddīqa* [1] was totally disapproved of. But why should I mention other blasphemies?—May the attention which any one pays to them run away like quicksilver—really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

" The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason why people should not believe the words of the prophets. So especially in the case of David [2] and the story of Uriah. And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastingly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor. But according to the proverb, 'What people sow, that they shall reap,' they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and 'the infallible' authority got the nickname of *Abū-jahl*.[3] Yes, 'If the king is bad, the Vizier is worse.' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns; but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and everything else was accessory.

" In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bâzârs, which are held on New Year's day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem people, marriage-contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.

" The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office;

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[1] *Ṣiddīqa* is the title of ʿĀyisha, the daughter of Abū Bakr. " She was six years old, when she was engaged to Muḥammad, who was then fifty years old. The actual marriage took place when she was nine years old. 'I sat,' she relates, 'with other girls in a swing, when my mother called me. I went to her, not knowing what she wanted. She took my hand and led me to the door of the house. I now guessed what she wished to do with me; my heart throbbed, but I soon got again composed. I washed my face and my head, and was taken inside, where several women were assembled, who congratulated me, and dressed me up. When they had done, they handed me over to the Prophet.' As she was so young, she took her toys to the house of the Prophet. The Prophet loved her so much, that even in the mosque, at the time of the service, he put his head under her veil and caressed her, and played with her hair (Thaʿlabī Tafsīr 2, 180); and he told the faithful that she would be his wife in Paradise." From Sprenger's Life of Muhammad, III, p. 62.

[2] David counts as a prophet. The book revealed to him is the *zabūr*, or the Psalms.

[3] Properly *father of ignorance*. Badā,onī means Abū 'l-Faẓl, which name signifies *father of wisdom*. Besides, Abū 'l-Faẓl had the title (*takhallus*) ʿ*Allāmī*, the most learned.

and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could not get enough; for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindūstānīs nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them. For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not."

[p. 340.]

"In this year Sulṭān Khwāja died. He also belonged to the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him, they laid down a new rule. They put a grate over his grave in such a manner that the light of the rising sun, which cleanses from all sins, could shine on the face of the corpse. People said, they had seen fiery tongues resting over his mouth, but God knows best."

During the month of *Ṣafar* (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yūsuf-zā,īs. Badā,onī says (p. 350):

"Nearly 8,000 men, perhaps even more, were killed. Bīr Baṛ also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime. During the last night attack, many grandees and persons of renown were killed, as Ḥasan Khān,[1] and Khwāja ʿArab, paymaster (colonel) of Khān Jahān and Mullā Sherī, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words *az Khwāja ʿArab ḥayf*[2] express the Tārīkh of the defeat, by one less. Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Faẓl and Zayn Khān on the 5th Rabīʿu l-awwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Āṭak. . . . But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bīr Baṛ. He said, 'Alas! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned'; but at last, he consoled himself with the thought that Bīr Baṛ was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire."

New orders were given in the beginning of 995. [Page 356.]

"No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, and one wife.' Women,

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[1] *Vide* List of grandees, Text edition of the Āʾīn, p. 227, No. 220, where for *Ḥusayn* read *Ḥasan*. In the MSS. of the Āʾīn he is called بتنی or بطنی. My MS. of the Ṭabaqāt reads بطنی افغانی *Paṭanī Afghān*, and calls him a *Hazārī*. The edition of Badā,onī has wrong بطی. His biography is not given in the *Maʾāsiru 'l-umarā*.

[2] The letters give 993; hence one more=994.

on reaching the limit of their period of fertility, when their courses stop, should no longer wish for the husband. If widows liked to re-marry, they might do so, though this was [1] against the ideas of the Hindus. A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt. If, however, the Hindus thought this a hardship, they should not be prevented (from burning the girl); but then a Hindu widow should take the girl . . . [2]

"Again, if disciples meet each other, one should say '*Allāh*[u] *Akbar*', and the other should respond '*Jall*[a] *Jallālu-h*[u]'. These formulas were to take the place of our *salām*, and the answer to the *salām*. The beginning of counting Hindu months should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramājīt. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmāns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujrāt and Bengal.

"Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmins, and not by Musalmān Qāẓis. If it were necessary to have recourse to oaths they should put heated irons into the hands of the accused, who was guilty if his hands were burnt, but innocent if not; or they should put the hands of the accused into hot, liquid butter; or the accused should jump into water, and if he came to the surface before an arrow had returned to the ground, which had been shot off when the man jumped into the water, he was guilty.

"People should be buried with their heads towards the east and their feet towards the west.[3] His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position."

[p. 363.]

"In the same year the prohibition of the study of Arabic was extended to all. People should learn astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy. The *Tārīkh* of this order is *Fasād-i faẓl* (995) . . .

"On the 10th day of Muḥarram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahār, Ḥājīpūr and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Mān Singh. He said without reserve, 'If Your Majesty mean by the

[1] The text has *was not against the ideas of the Hindus* (?).

[2] The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Mawlawī Āghā Aḥmad ʿAlī had in editing Badā,onī, give no sense.

[3] This was an insult, because the Muhammadans in India face the west during prayer. *Vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 56.

term of membership, willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have given pretty clear proofs, and Your Majesty might dispense with examining me; but if the term has another meaning, and refers to religion, surely I am a Hindu. And if I am to become a Muhammadan, Your Majesty ought to say so—but besides Hinduism and Islām, I know of no other religion.' The emperor then gave up urging him.

"During the month of *Ṣafar* 996, Mīrzā Fūlād Beg Barlās managed to get one night Mullā Aḥmad of Thathah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed at him, because the Mullā openly reviled [as Shīʕahs do] the companions of the prophet. The *Tārīkh* of this event is expressed by the words *Zihe khanjar-i Fūlād*, 'Hail, steel of Fūlād,' or by *Khūk-i saqarī*, 'hellish hog!' And really, when this dog of the age was in his agony, I saw that his face looked just like the head of a pig,[1] and others too witnessed it—O God! we take refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mīrzā Fūlād tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lāhor; for when Ḥakīm Abū-Fatḥ, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mīrzā, whether he had stabbed at the Mullā from religious hatred, he had said, 'If religious hatred had been my motive, it would have been better to kill a greater one[2] than the Mullā.' The Ḥakīm reported these words to His Majesty, who said, 'This fellow is a scoundrel; he must not be allowed to remain alive,' and ordered his execution, though the people of the harem asked the emperor to spare him for his general bravery and courage. The Mullā outlived the Mīrzā three or four days. The Shīʕahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the *anus*, and plunged him several times into the river.[3] After his burial, Shaykh Fayẓī and Shaykh Abū'l-Faẓl put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmir, the people of Lāhor one night took the hideous corpse of the Mullā from the grave, and burned it."

[pp. 375, 376, 380.]

"In 999, the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats, horses, and camels, was forbidden. If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced. Circumcision was

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[1] Sunnis assert that this transfiguration into an animal (*maskh*) happens very often to Shīʕahs, because they revile the *Ṣaḥābah*. Fayẓī, according to Badā,onī, looked and barked like a dog, when dying. Another thing which the Sunnis all over India quote as a great proof of the correctness of their *maẕhab*, is that no Shīʕah can ever become a *ḥāfiẓ*, i.e., no Shīʕah can commit the Qorān to memory.

[2] Either Akbar or Abū 'l-Faẓl.

[3] This was done to clean the intestines of *faeces*, which were thrown into the river from which the Sunnis got their water.

forbidden before the age of twelve, and was then to be left to the will of the boys. If any one was seen eating together with a butcher, he was to lose his hand, or if he belonged to the butcher's relations, the fingers which he used in eating.

"In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced."

"In 1002, special orders were given to the *kotwāls* to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the *Āʿīn*, *Āʿīn* 5. The following are new :—

"If any of the *darsaniyya* [1] disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was. But this order is based upon a fundamental rule, which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

"If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her, and if a young girl was found running about town, whether veiled or not, or if a woman was bad, or quarrelled with her husband, she should be sent to the quarter of the prostitutes, to do there what she liked."

[p. 391.]

"At the time of famines and distress, parents were allowed to sell their children, but they might again buy them, if they acquired means to pay their price. Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmāns, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked. If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. People should not be molested if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples."

[p. 398.]

"In this year Aʿẓam Khān returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharīfs,[2] and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijda* and following all other rules of discipleship ; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith

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[1] From *darsan*, for which *vide* p. 165.
[2] This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.

from the Reverend Master Abū 'l-Faẓl, and got Ghāzīpūr and Ḥājīpūr as *jāgīr*."

[p. 404.]

"During the Muḥarram of 1004, Ṣadr Jahān, muftī of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the *Shaṣt*[1] of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his *Hazārīship*. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day, Mullā Taqī of Shushtar[2] joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Shāhnāma into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase *jalla ʿaẓmatu-hu wa ʿazza shānu-hu*,[3] wherever the word *Sun* occurs. Among others that joined were Shaykhzāda Gosāla Khān of Banāras; Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād[4]; and Ṣūfī Aḥmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muḥammad Ghawṣ. They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words *mū-tarāsh-i chand*, or 'several shavers', express the *tārīkh* of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan,[5] or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them 'My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islām will still remain on your neck'. This Aḥmad, 'the little Ṣūfī,' is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaykh Aḥmad of Egypt. He said that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age, he had come to India and the Shaykh had frequently told him to assist the Sulṭān of India, should he commit an error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case."

So far, Badā,onī. We have, therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith. With the exception of Bīr Baṛ, they are all Muḥammadans; but to judge from Badā,onī's remarks, the number of those that took the *Shaṣt* must have been much larger.

1. Abū 'l-Faẓl
2. Fayẓī, his brother, Akbar's court-poet.

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[1] *Shaṣt*, which has been explained on p. 174, also means *a fish hook*.
[2] *Vide* List of Grandees, Second Book, No. 352.
[3] Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
[4] *Vide* p. 112, note 3.
[5] That is, over-zealous.

3. Shaykh Mubārak, of Nāgor, their father.
4. Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān, of Qazwīn, a historian and poet.
5. Qāsim-i Kāhī, a poet.
6. 'Abdu 's-Ṣamad, Akbar's court-painter; also a poet.
7. A'ẓam Khān Koka, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, a historian.
9. Ṣūfī Aḥmad.
10 to 12. Ṣadr Jahān, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
13. Mīr Sharīf of Āmul, Akbar's apostle for Bengal.
14. Sulṭān Khwāja, a ṣadr.
15. Mīrzā Jānī, chief of Thathah.
16. Taqī of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaykhzāda Gosāla of Banāras.
18. Bīr Baṛ.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the *Ā'īn*; the others are mentioned in the above extracts from Badāonī. The literary element is well represented in the list.

The above extracts from Badāonī possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islām to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pārsīs. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the *Ā'īn*, nor to the longer article in the Dabistān.

As the author of the latter work has used Badāonī, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new.

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar's birth.

[*Dabistān*, p. 390.[1]]

" Khwāja Mas'ūd, son of Khwāja Maḥmūd, son of Khwāja *Murshid*u *'l-Ḥaqq*, who was a gifted *Ṣāḥib-i ḥāl*,[2] said to the writer of this book, " My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world ' reveals himself '. I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared, or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed [3] Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jalālu 'd-Dīn Akbar, the august son of Humāyūn Pādishāh and Ḥamīda Bānū Begum."

The second miracle has been related above, on p. 172, note 2. These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author

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[1] *Vide* also *Shea and Troyer's* English translation of the Dabistān, III, p. 49.
[2] *Vide* p. 171, note 2.

of the Dabistān has divided his article on the "Divine Faith". The second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badā,onī, which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shea's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tātārs.[1] The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the *Āʾīn*.

p. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Īrān, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher."[2]

p. 412. Abū 'l-Faẓl wrote, *as a counterpart to his commentary on the Āyatᵘ 'l-kursī* (p. 177), a preface to the translation of the Mahābhārat (*vide* p. 111) of two *juz*.

p. 413. "When Sulṭān Khwāja,[3] who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, *he said that he hoped His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man*. He was therefore buried in a grave *with a peculiar lamp*, and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him. . . .

"Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islām, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; *but so should also a Musalmān woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism*."[4]

p. 414. "I heard from Mullā Tarson of Badakhshān, who was a Ḥanafī by sect, that once during the year 1058 he had gone on a pilgrimage to Sikandrah, the burial place of Akbar. 'One of my companions,' he said, 'declined to enter the pure mausoleum, and even abused the Representative of God [Akbar]. My other companions said, 'If Akbar possesses hidden knowledge, that man will certainly come to grief.' Soon after a piece of a broken stone fell down, and crushed his toe."

p. 431. "In Multān, I saw *Shāh Salāmᵘ 'llah*, who has renounced the world, and is a *muwaḥḥid* (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, 'Had I

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[1] The author of the Dabistān gives much prominence to the idea that the power and success of the Tātārs was in some way mysteriously connected with their sun and star worship, and that their conversion to the Islām was looked upon as the beginning of their decline. It looks as if the writer wished to connect this idea with Akbar's successes and sun worship.

[2] Regarding this Ardsher, *vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 14. Akbar's fire temple was in the Harem.

[3] *Vide* above, p. 214.

[4] The words in italics are not in Badā,onī. The object of the order was evidently to prevent a woman from doing what she liked; for, according to the Muhammadans, women are looked upon as *nāqiṣᵘ 'l-ʿaql*.

formerly possessed the knowledge which I now have, I would never have chosen a wife for myself; for upon old women I look as mothers, on women of my age as sisters, and on girls as daughters.' A friend of mine said, he had heard Nawāb ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Ḥasan called Lashkar Khān of Mash,had, report the same as having been said by Akbar.

"Salāmᵘ 'llāh also said that God's Representative (Akbar) had often wept and said, 'O that my body were larger than all bodies together, so that the people of the world could feed on it without hurting other living animals.'

"A sign of the sagacity of this king is this, that he employed in his service people of all classes,[1] Jews, Persians, Tūrānīs, etc., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbāshes (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Shāh ʿAbbās, son of Sulṭān Khudābanda-yi Ṣafawī, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjīs (Georgians). Akbar paid likewise no regard to hereditary power, or genealogy and fame, but favoured those whom he thought to excel in knowledge and manners."

The passages in the Āʾīn which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 50; 51; 56; 59; 60; 61, ll. 20 to 24; Āʾīn 26, p. 64; p. 96, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Badā,onī, *vide* above p. 189, l. 19; p. 103, note 3; p. 110, note 1; 111–113; p. 115, l. 4, because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islām as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Āʾīn 72, p. 162; 168; Āʾīn 77, p. 162; Āʾīn 81, p. 226. In the Second Book, Āʾīns 18, 19, 22–5; in the Third Book, end of Āʾīn 1 (Tārīkh Ilāhī); Āʾīns 2, 5, 9, 10; and lastly, the greater part of the Fifth Book.

It will be observed that the remarks on Akbar's religious views do not extend beyond the year 1596, when the greater part of the Āʾīn had been completed. Badā,onī's history ends with A.H. 1004, or A.D. 1595; but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahāngīr "Memoirs". are almost entirely silent on the religious ideas of the emperor, we have no means of following them up after 1596. Akbar, in all probability, continued worshipping the sun, and retained all other peculiarities of his monotheistic Pārsī-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahāngīr's Memoirs, which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musalmān, and

[1] *Vide* the notes of Āʾīn 30 of the Second Book.

"repented" on his death-bed, is most untrustworthy, as every other particular of that narrative.[1]

With Akbar's death,[2] the Divine Faith died out. Akbar, solely relying on his influence and example, had established no priesthood, and had appointed no proper person for propagating his faith. If we except the influence which his spirit of toleration exerted, the masses had remained passive. Most of the members, mentioned on p. 219, had died before Akbar; such as were still alive, as Sharīf of Āmul took again to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahāngīr.[3] As Jahāngīr did not trouble himself about any religion, Akbar's spirit of toleration soon changed to indifference, and gradually died out, when a reaction in favour of bigotry set in under Awrangzeb. But people still talked of the Divine

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[1] The story of Akbar's "conversion" is also repeated in Elphinstone's History, second edition, p. 531. The Mullā whom Akbar, according to Price's Memoirs, is said to have called is Ṣadr Jahān, who, as remarked above on p. 219 was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, as published by Sayyid Aḥmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqbālnāma, a poor production (though written in beautiful Irānī Persian), or Khāfī Khān, allude to the conversion which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Khāfī Khān especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Badā,onī, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (*vide Khāfī Khān*, I, p. 196). The silence of the author of the Dabistān is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullā Tarson, and the abuse uttered by his companion against Akbar (p. 220), are proofs that Akbar did not "repent". To this we have to add that Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls *Ḥaẓrat Nayyir-i Aʿẓam*; he also continued the *sijda*, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar's Solar Era, though it involved a loss to the revenue because for every 33 lunar years, the state only received taxes for 32 solar years; he allowed some Hindu customs at Court, as the *Rākhī* (*vide* above p. 193), and passed an order not to force Hindus to join the Islām (*Tuzuk*, p. 100).

[2] Akbar died on the *Shab-i Chahārshambih, 12th Jumāda 'l-ukhrā* 1014 A.H., which, according to note 3 of p. 180, is our Tuesday night [not Wednesday, as in Price, and all European Historians], the 15th October, 1605, old style. Hence Akbar would have died in the night which followed the day on which he celebrated his sixty-third birthday if we adopt our mode of reckoning; *vide* p. 64, note 1.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the exact day of Akbar's death.

The *Pādishāhnāma* (vol I, p. 66) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the *Chahārshambih* (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th *Jumāda 'l-ukhrā*, corresponding to the 2nd *Abān* of Akbar's Era. The *Mirʾāt* and *Khāfī Khān* (I, p 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight.

Pādishāhnāma (p. 69) and Khāfī Khān (p. 246) fix the *julūs* or accession, of Jahāngīr for Thursday, the 20th *Jumāda 'l-ukhrā*, or the 10th Ābān, i.e. 8 days after Akbar's death

Muhammad Hādī, in his preface to the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, says that Akbar died on the *Shab-i Chahārshambih, 13th Jumada 'l-ukhrā*; and Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the Tuzuk refers the *Julūs* to Thursday, the *eighth Jumada 'l-ukhrā*; but the word هشتم is often confounded in MSS. with بیستم.

Again the *Mirʾāt*, and Sharīf-i Irānī in his *Iqbālnāma*, mention the *Julūs* as having taken place on Thursday, the *eleventh Jumada 'l-ukhrā*. Lastly, the prefaces of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* refer the *julūs* to the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of *Jumāda 'l-awwal* [a mistake for *al-ukhrā*], corresponding to the *roz-i khur*, or the *eleventh* of Ābān.

[3] *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 22.

Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistān collected his notes on Akbar's religion.[1]

Āʾīn 78.

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The *Khāṣa* elephants with their furniture and ornaments are the first which are daily brought before His Majesty, namely, ten on the first day of every solar month. After this, the *Ḥalqa* elephants are mustered, according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitikchī, during the muster, must be ready to answer any questions as to the name of each animal (there are more than five thousand elephants, each having a different name. His Majesty knows to which section most of the elephants belong—ten elephants form a section of ten (*dahā,ī*), and are in charge of an experienced officer); as to how each elephant came into the possession of His Majesty; the price; the quantity of food; the age of the animal; where it was born; the period of heat, and the duration of that state each time; the date when an elephant was made *khāṣa*; its promotion in the *ḥalqas*; the time when the tusks are cut; how many times His Majesty has mounted it; how many times it was brought for riding out; the time of the last muster; the condition of the keepers; the name of the Amīr in charge. For all other elephants eight things are to be reported, *viz.*, the change of its name (?); the repetition of it; its price; how it came into the possession of His Majesty; whether it is fit for riding, or for carrying burdens; its rank; whether it has plain furniture or not; which rank the Fawjdār has assigned to it. The rule is, that every Fawjdār divides his elephants into four classes, separating those that are best from those that are worst, whether they are to remain with him or whether he has to give some to other Fawjdārs.

Each day five *tahwīlī* (transferable) elephants are inspected by an

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[1] Only one of Akbar's innovations, the *Sijda* was *formally* abolished by Shāhjahān. "During the reigns of ʿ*Arsh-āshyānī* [Akbar], and *Jannat-makānī* [Jahāngīr], it was customary for courtiers on meeting their Majesties, or on receiving a present, to prostrate themselves, placing the forehead on the ground. . . . This custom had also obtained in antiquity, but had been abolished by the Islām. . . When His Majesty [Shāhjahān] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to *the reintroduction of the customs of the Islām, the strict observance of which had died away*, and turned his august zeal to rebuilding the edifice of the law of the Prophet, *which had all but decayed*. Hence on the very day of his accession, His Majesty ordered that putting the forehead on the ground should be restricted to God. Mahābat Khān, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, etc. His Majesty would not even allow the *Zamīnbos*, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth *Taslīm* [Akbar had fixed three, *vide* p. 166, l. 5]." *Pādishāhnāma*, 1, p. 110.

experienced man. The following custom is observed: When new elephants arrive for the government, they are handed over in fifties or hundreds to experienced officers, who fix their ranks. Such elephants are called *Taḥwīlī* elephants. When His Majesty inspects them, their rank is finally settled, and the elephants are transferred to the proper sections. Every Sunday one elephant is brought before His Majesty, to be given away as a present to some deserving servant. Several *ḥalqas* are set apart for this purpose. The rank of the *k͟hāṣa* elephants formerly depended on the number of times they had been inspected by His Majesty; but now their precedence is fixed by the number of times His Majesty has mounted them. In the *ḥalqas*, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the *k͟hāṣa* elephants are again examined, ten every day. Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves. After them come the *ḥalqas*. As they are arranged in sections according to the price, some elephants have, at every muster, their value either enhanced or lowered, and are then put among their equals. For this reason, many Fawjdārs are anxious to complete their sets, and place themselves for this purpose in a row at the time of the musters. His Majesty then gives the elephants to whomsoever he likes. If the number of the elephants of any Fawjdār is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Fawjdārs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Fawjdār receives some, provided he musters all his elephants. The Mushrif (accountant) receives orders where to keep the elephants.

The elephants of the grandees also, though not belonging to the fixed establishment, are almost daily brought before His Majesty, who settles their rank, and orders them to be branded with a peculiar mark. Elephants of dealers also are brought before His Majesty, who fixes their rank and value.

Āʾīn 79.

THE MUSTER OF HORSES.

They begin with the stables of forty; then come the stables of the princes; then the *k͟hāṣa* courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten-muhr horses have been inspected, they bring the *Gūṭs*, *Qisrāqs*, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the *Bārgīr* horses (*vide* p. 146, l. 25; p. 143, l. 10 from below, and Āʾīn 54, p. 147). The place of the horses at the musters, is determined

by their value, and in the case of horses of the same value, the precedence is determined by the time of service. Before the musters, the horses are inspected by clever officers, who again fix their value, and divide them into three classes. When the rank of a horse has been put higher or lower, it is placed among his proper class-fellows. Those horses which belong to the third class, form separate stables, and are given away as presents. If horses have their value raised, they are given over to such keepers as bring to the musters either the full complement of their horses, or at least a complement not more deficient than by two. Incomplete stables are daily filled up during the musters; or if not filled up, they are put in charge of separate keepers. Twenty horses are daily mustered. On Sundays, horses are the first that are mustered. Double the usual number are then inspected. Several horses are also kept in waiting at Court, viz., one from each of the sixty to the forty-muhr stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten-muhr stables. They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries. The precedence at musters of bāzār-horses is fixed according to the price. According to the number of horses available, from twenty to a hundred are daily mustered. Before the musters, experienced officers fix the prices, which are generally enhanced at the time of the parades. Horses above thirty muhrs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty. A cash-keeper attached to the State-hall is entrusted with money, so that horse-dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims. When horses have been bought they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange.

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three rupees for every ʿ*Irāqī*, *Mujannas* (*vide* p. 147, note 3), and Arab, imported from Kābul and Persia; two and a half rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahār; and two from Kābul horses, and Indian Arab bred.

Āʾīn 80.

THE MUSTER OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five *qaṭārs* are daily inspected. Those *panṣadīs* (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dārogha has the permission to parade before His Majesty a *qaṭār* of excellent Bughdīs and Jammāzas. Then come the Bughdīs, and after them the Jammāzas, the Ghurds, the Loks, and all other camels. The commencement of the muster takes place

on Fridays, on which day double the usual number marches past. The precedence of camels is determined by their value.

Āʾīn 81.

THE MUSTER OF CATTLE.

Cattle are mustered according to their value, ten yokes daily. The muster commences on Wednesdays, on which day double the usual number is inspected.

On the day of the *Dīwālī*—an old festival of this country, on which the Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shown to cows as worship—several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty. People are very fond of this custom.

Āʾīn 82.

THE MUSTER OF MULES.

The muster of this beast of burden commence on Thursdays, when six *qaṭārs* are inspected in order of their value. Mules are mustered once a year.

Formerly all musters took place as above described. But now horses are inspected on Sundays; camels, cows, and mules, on Mondays; the soldiers, on Tuesdays; on Wednesdays, His Majesty transacts matters of finance; on Thursdays, all judicial matters are settled; Fridays His Majesty spends in the Harem; on Saturdays the elephants are mustered.

Āʾīn 83.

THE *PĀGOSHT* REGULATION.[1]

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores,

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[1] The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily extra quanta of food supplied to the animals, had been fixed by minute rules (Āʾīns 43, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Dāroghas (store-keepers) entered into their *roznāmchas*, or day-books, the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fatness of each animal, and compared it with the food it had been receiving since the last muster, as shown in the day-book. Akbar determined a maximum fatness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food, (*a*) Similarly, he determined a fatness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (*b*), though Abū 'l-Faẓl does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, etc.,

teaches equity, reveals the excellent and stimulates the lazy man. Experienced people saw their wisdom increased, and such as inquired into this secret obtained their desires.

His Majesty first determined the quantity of daily food for each domestic animal, and secondly determined the results, which different quanta of food produce in the strength of an animal. In his practical wisdom and from his desire of teaching people, His Majesty classifies the dishonest practices of men. This is done by the *Pāgosht* regulation. From time to time an experienced man is sent to the stables of these dumb creatures. He inspects them, and measures their fatness and leanness. At the time of the musters also the degrees of fatness or leanness are first examined into, and reports are made accordingly. His Majesty then inspects the animals himself, and decreases or increases the degrees of their fatness or leanness as reported, fixing at the same time the fine for leanness. If, for some reason, the allowance of grain or grass of an animal had been lessened, proper account is taken of such a decrease. The leanness of an elephant has been divided into thirteen classes. . . .[1]

For all other animals beside the elephant, six degrees have been laid down, viz., the second, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth [degrees of the thirteen for the elephant]. And as it is the custom of the Fawjdārs, to mark, at the time of the musters of the *ḥalqas*, one *ḥalqa* which is the best in their opinion, and to put separate that which is the worst, the officers who inquire into the leanness and fatness, deduct fifty per cent. from the degree of the former, and count one half for the latter *ḥalqa*. If the Fawjdār works in concert with the Dārogha, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Fawjādr is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dārogha for the remaining part of the food. The leanness of old elephants is fixed by the condition of the whole *ḥalqa*. In the horse stables the grooms, water-carriers, and sweepers are fined one-fourth of the wages. In the case of camels, the Dārogha is fined the amount

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were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as $\frac{8A}{8}$, $\frac{7A}{8}$, $\frac{6A}{8}$ etc. Thus in the case of elephants the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees.

Pā-gosht means *a quarter of flesh*, and evidently expresses that the food *a* only produced $\frac{1}{4}$A, instead of $\frac{4}{4}$A. The name was then transferred to the regulation.

We do not know how the mustering officers applied Akbar's rule, whether by measuring the circumference of an animal or by weighing it. The rule may appear fanciful and unpractical; but it shows how determined Akbar was to fathom the dishonesty of his *Dāroghas*. Hence the carefulness which he showed in assessing fines (Āʾīns 48, 57), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men, in reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by ʿAlāʾu 'd-Dīn Khilji and Sher Shāh, in fixing the perquisites, in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, etc.

[1] The text (p. 163, l. 19) enumerates several fractions, or degrees of leanness, but they give no sense. The confusion of the MSS. is due to the want of interpunctuation.

of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass. In the case of oxen used for carriages, the Dārogha is fined for the part of the grass and the grain; but the driver is not liable. In case of heavy carriages, half the fine is remitted.

Āʾīn 84.

ON ANIMAL FIGHTS. REGULATIONS FOR BETTING.

His Majesty is desirous of establishing harmony among people of different classes. He wishes to arrange feasts of friendship and union, so that everything may be done with propriety and order. But as all men do not possess a mind capable of selecting that which is true, and as every ear is not fit to listen to wisdom, His Majesty holds social meetings for amusement, to which he invites a large number of people. Through the careful arrangements of His Majesty, the court has been changed from a field of ambitious strife to a temple of a higher world, and the egotism and conceit of men have been directed to the worship of God. Even superficial, worldly people thus learn zeal and attachment, and are induced by these gatherings to inquire after the road of salvation.[1]

Deer[2]*-fights.*

The manner of fighting of this animal is very interesting, and its method of stooping down and rising up again is a source of great amusement. Hence His Majesty pays much attention to this animal, and has succeeded in training this stubborn and timid creature. One hundred and one deer are *khāṣa*; each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer, *first*, those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild ones; *secondly*, such as fight best with tame ones; and *thirdly*, such as fiercely attack wild deer. The fights are conducted in three different ways. *First*, according to number, the first fighting with the second, the third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole. At the second go, the first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. If a deer runs away, it is placed last; and if it is known to have run away three times, it ceases to be *khāṣa*. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 *dāms*. *Secondly*, with those belonging to the princes. Five *khāṣa* pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two *khāṣa* pair from His Majesty's hunting-ground; then five other *khāṣa* pair. At the

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[1] To join Akbar's Divine Faith.

[[2] The text has *āhū* which is the Persian name of the *chikārā* (H.), the "ravine-deer" of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.]

same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five *khāṣa* deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen *khāṣa* pair engage with each other, and fight afterwards with the deer of the prince, till the fight with the deer of the prince is finished. Upon this, the deer of princes fight with each other, and then *khāṣa* deer. The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhr. *Thirdly*, with the deer of other people.

His Majesty selects forty-two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets. The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven. To every set a *Mal*,[1] a water-buffalo, a cow, a *quchqār* (fighting ram), a goat, and a cock, are given. Fights between cows[2] and goats are rarely mentioned to have been held in ancient times. Before the fighting commences, two *khāṣa* deer are brought in trimmed up, and are set against two deer belonging to people of various sets. First, with a deer belonging to a powerful grandee, and then the fight takes place before His Majesty. If a general assembly is announced, the fight may also take place, if the deer belongs to a commander of One Thousand. The betting on *khāṣa* deer is eight muhrs. and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhrs, if it be an *Aṭkal*; and four, if an *Anīn*. As deer have not equal strength and impetuosity of attack, the rule among deer-keepers is, once to select each of their deer in turn and take it to the arena. Such deer are called *Anīn*. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called *Aṭkal*. In case of *Mals*, the betting is five muhrs; for water buffaloes and cocks, four; for cows[2] and fighting rams, and goats two. A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhrs on a *khāṣa* deer; and with one of his own rank,[3] 3¾ muhrs, if the bet is on an *Atkal*; and three on an *Anīn*; and so also in the same proportion on *Mals*, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows,[4] fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a *khāṣa* deer 50 rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30¼ *R* on an *Aṭkal*, and 25 *R*. on an *Anīn*; on a *Mal* 3½ muhrs; on a water-buffalo and a cock 3¼ *M*.; and on all other animals, 1½ *M*. A commander of Eight Hundred is allowed to bet 48 *R*. on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank, 30 *R*. on an *Aṭkal*; and 24 *R*. on an *Anīn*;

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[1] *Mal*, according to Ā*īn 6 of the second book, is the name for a Gujrāt wrestler.

[[2] In text *gāv*, which in Persian is applied to the bull, cow, and bullock. It is improbable that *cows* were used for fighting.—P.]

[3] Or perhaps with his opponent in the set (*miṣl*).

[[4] See note 2 on previous page.]

on a *Mal* 3⅛ *M.*; on a water buffalo and cock, 2½ *M.*, and on other animals as before. A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank on an *Atkal* 27½ *R.*; on an *Anīn* 22 *R.*; on a *Mal* 3 *M.*; on other animals as before. A commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank, 25 *R.* on an *Atkal*; 20 *R.* on an *Anīn*; on other animals as before. A commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 *M.* [36 *R.*] on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 2½ *M.* on an *Atkal*, and 2 *M.* on an *Anīn*; on other animals, as the preceding. A commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 21½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 17 *R.* on an *Anīn*; on a *Mal* 2¾ *M.*; on a water-buffalo and cock, 2 *M.*; on a cow, a fighting ram, and goat, 1 *M.* A commander of Three Hundred may bet 30 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank, 18¾ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 15 *R.* on an *Anīn*; 2½ *M.* on a *Mal*; on other animals as the preceding. A commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 15 *R.* on an *Atkal*, 12 *R.* on an *Anīn*, and on other animals as before. A commander of One Hundred may bet 2 *M.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 1½ *M.* on an *Atkal*; 1 *M.* on an *Anīn*; and on other animals as before. A commander of Eighty may bet 16 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 10 *R.* on an *Atkal*; 8 *R.* on an *Anīn*; 17 *R.* on a *Mal*; 1½ *M.* on a water-buffalo and a cock; on other animals as before. A commander of Forty may bet 12 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of his own rank 7½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 6 *R.* on a *Anīn*; on other animals as before. A commander of Twenty may bet 10 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; 6½ *R.* with one of his own rank on an *Atkal*; 5 *R.* on an *Anīn*; on other animals as before. A commander of Ten may bet 8 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer, and 5 *R.* on an *Atkal*, with one of his own rank; 4 *R.* on an *Anīn*; on other animals as before. People who hold no *manṣabs*, bet 4 *R.* on a *khāṣa* deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ *R.* on an *Atkal*; 2 *R.* on an *Anīn*; 15 *R.* on a *Mal*; on other animals as before.

But if the opponent hold a less rank, the amount of the bet is determined according to the amount which the opponent is allowed to bet on an *Anīn*. When the last pair comes, the betting is everywhere on the deer. A fourth part of what people take from each other in *Mal* fights, is given to the victorious wrestler. The presents which His Majesty makes on such occasions have no limits.

The rule is that every one of such as keep animals brings on the fourteenth night of the moon one deer to the fight. The Bitikchī of this department appoints half the number of deer as *Anīns*, and the other half as *Atkals*. He then writes the names of the *Atkals* on paper slips,

folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an *Anīn*. As such nights are clear, fights are generally announced for that time.

Besides, there are two other classes of deer, *kotal* and *half kotal*. The number of each is fixed. As often the number of *khāṣa* deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the *kotal* deer; and the deficiency in the number of *kotals* is made up from *half kotals*. One pair of *kotals* also is brought to the fight, so that they may be tried. Hunters supply continually wild deer, and bring them to His Majesty, who fixes the price. A fat superior deer costs 2 *M.*; a thin superior one, 1 *M.* to 15 *R.*; a fat middling one, 12 *R.*; Do. lean, 8 *R.*; a third class fat one, 7 *R.*; Do. thin, 5 *R.*; a fourth class fat one, 4 *R.*; Do. lean, 2 to 2½ *R.*

Deer are kept and fed as follows; *Khāṣa* deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 *s.* grain, ½ *s.* boiled flour, ¼ *s.* butter, and 1 *d.* for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty's hunting-grounds, *kotals*, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1¾ *s.* of grain, and flour and butter as before. The grass is supplied by each amateur himself. All *khāṣa*, home-bred, *kotal* deer, and those of His Majesty's hunting-ground, have each one keeper. The fighting deer of the sets have one keeper for every two; the single last one has a keeper for itself. Nothing is given for grass. Deer which are given to people to have them fattened get 1¼ *s.* grain, and ½ *d.* for grass They have one keeper for every four; but one for every two, if they are fit to become *khāṣa*. Some deer are also sent to other towns; they get 1½ *s.* grain, and have each one keeper. If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get ½ *s.* of grain for a fortnight. They then get 1 *s.* and when one month is over, 1½ *s.*

In the deer park, Manṣabdārs, Aḥadīs, and other soldiers are on staff employ. The pay of foot-soldiers varies from 80 to 400 *d.*

His Majesty has 12,000 deer; they are divided into different classes, and proper regulations are made for each of them. There is also a stud for deer, in which new results are obtained. A large female gets 1½ *s.* grain, and ½ *d.* for grass. A new-born deer drinks the milk of the dam for two months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ¼ *s.* of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter *ser* of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, ¼ *d.* is given from the seventh to the tenth month. Young males also get weaned after two months, when they get ¾ *s.* of grain, which is increased by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2¼ *s.* From the fifth to the eighth month, they get ¼ *d.* for grass, after which period they get ½ *d.* for grass.

I have given a short description of animal fights as announced for general assemblies. His Majesty announces them also for day time; but as often a more important act of worship is to be performed, he announces them for the night. Or else His Majesty thinks of God, and seeks for wisdom in self-examination; he cares neither for cold nor heat; he spends the time which others idle away in sleep, for the welfare of the people, and prefers labour to comfort.

Á'*īn* 85.

ON BUILDINGS.

Regulations for house-building in general are necessary; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for worldly power.

Everywhere also *Sarā,is* have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells are being dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and places of worship are being founded, and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned.

His Majesty has inquired into every detail connected with this department, which is so difficult to be managed and requires such large sums. He has passed new regulations, kindled the lamp of honesty, and put a stock of practical knowledge into the hands of simple and inexperienced men.

Á'*īn* 86.

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, ETC.

Many people are desirous of building houses; but honesty and conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders. His Majesty has carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied.

Red sandstone costs 3 *d. per man*. It is obtainable in the hills of Fatḥpūr Sīkṛī, His Majesty's residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture book of *Mānī* [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red sandstone (*sang-i gulūla*), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the *pharī*, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 *gaz* long, 2¼ *g*. broad, and 1 *g*. high. Such a heap contains 172 *mans*, and has a value of 250 *d*., i.e. at the rate of 1 *d*. 11¼ *j. per man*.

Bricks[1] are of three kinds; burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three *sers*, and cost 30 *d. per* thousand. The second class cost 24 *d*., and the third 10 *d. per* thousand.

Wood. Eight kinds of wood are in general use. 1. *Sīsaū*,[2] unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 *Ilāhī gaz* long, and 8 *Ṭassūj* broad and high, costs 15 *d*. 6 *j*. But if the height be only 5 or 6 *Ṭ*., 11 *d*. 10¾ *j*. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. *Nāzhū*, called in Hindī *Jīḍh*.[3] A beam, 10 *Ṭ*. broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d*. 13¾ *j*.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 *Ṭ*. broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d*. 3¾ *j*. 3. *Dasang* (?), called in Hindī *Karī*[4]; a beam 3 *Ṭ*. broad, and 4 *gaz* long, costs 5 *d*. 17½ *j*. 4. *Ber*,[5] 1 *Ṭ*. broad and high, 4 *gaz* long, 5 *d*. 17¾ *j*.; so also *Tūt*, or Mulberry. 5. *Mughīlān* (Babūl), of the same cubic contents as No. 4, 5 *d*. 2 *j*. 6. *Sirs*, size as before, 10 *d*. 4 *j*. 7. *Dayāl*, same size, first quality 8 *d*. 22¼ *j*.; second quality, 8 *d*. 6½ *j*. 8. *Bakāyin*, same size, 5 *d*. 2 *j*.

Gaj-i shīrīn, or sweet limestone. There is a quarry near Bahīrah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 *R. per three mans*; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 *d*. *Qalʿī-yi sangīn*, *per man* 5 *d*. 5 *j*. *Ṣadafī* 5 *d*. *Chūna*, or quicklime, 2 *d. per man*; it is mostly boiled out of *kangur*, a kind of solid earth resembling stone in hardness.

Iron cramps, if tinned, 13 for 18 *d*.; plain ones, for 6 *d*.

Iron door-knockers, from Persia and Tūrān. tinned; large ones, 8 *d. per pair*; small ones, 4 *d*. Indian do., tinned, 5½ *d*.; plain ones, 4 *d*. 12 *j*.

Gul-mekh (large nails with broad heads), 12 *d. per ser*. *Dīnārīn* nails,

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[[1] *Khisht* in text. In modern Persian this word means a sun-dried brick as opposed to *ājur*, a kiln-burnt brick.—P.]

[[2] In Platt's *sīsū*.—P.]

[3] This word is spelt *Chīḍh* in Āʾīn 90, No. 59.

[[4] *Karī*.—P.]

[5] "The *Ber* was in great request in Akbar's time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood." *Balfour's Timber Trees of India*.

5 *d. per ser*. *Goga*, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 *d.* for one hundred; second quality, 5 *d.*; smallest, 4 *d.*

Screws and nuts, chiefly used for doors and boxes. Tinned, 12 *d. per ser*; plain, 4 *d.*

Rings, tinned, 6 *d. per ser*; plain, 4 *d.*

Khaprel, or tiles. They are one hand long and ten fingers broad, are burnt, and are used for the roofs of houses, as a protection against heat and cold. Plain ones, 86 *d. per* thousand; enamelled, 30 *d.* for ten.

Qulba, or spouts, to lead off water. Three for 2 *d.*

Bās, or bamboo. It is used for spears. First quality, 15 *d.* for twenty pieces; second quality, 12 *d.* for do.; third quality, 10 *d.* for do. The price of some kinds of bamboo is much higher. Thus a peculiar kind is sold at 8 *Ashrafīs* [muhrs] *per* piece. They are used for making thrones.[1] Bamboo, at a rupee *per* piece, is common. *Patal*, is made of the reed which is used for *qalams* (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ *d. per* square *gaz*; second quality, 1 *d.* Sometimes they sell *patal* at 2 *d.* for pieces 2 *gaz* long, and 1½ *g.* broad. *Sirkī* is made of very fine *qalam* reeds, looks well, and is very smooth; it is sold at the rate of 1½ *d. per* pair, 1½ *g.* long, and 16 *girihs* broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

Khas[2] is the sweet-smelling root of a kind of grass which grows along the banks of rivers. During summer, they make screens of it, which are placed before the door and sprinkled with water. This renders the air cool and perfumed. Price 1½ *R. per man*.

Kāh-i chappar[3] (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindī *pūla*, *per ser* from 100 to 10 *d.*

Bhus, or wheat straw, used for mixing with mortar, 3 *d. per man*.

Kāh-i ḍābh, straw, etc., which is put on roofs, 4 *d.* for a load of 2 *mans*.

Mūnj, the bark of *qalam* reeds, used for making ropes to fasten the thatching, 20 *d. per man*.

San[4] is a plant. Peasants mix it with quicklime. People also make ropes of it for well-buckets, etc., 3 *d. per man*.

Gum, of an inferior quantity, is mixed with quicklime, 70 *d. per man*.

Sirīsh-i kāhī, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 *d. per ser*.

Luk is the flower-bunch of the reed which is used for matting. People burn it and use it as a candle. It is also mixed with quicklime and *galʿī*. Price, 1 *R. per man*.

[[1] کیس ?—P.]
[[2] Or Hindi *khas-khas*.—P.]
[[3] For *chhappar*, H.—P.]
[[4] *San*, H., hemp, flax ?—P.]

Sīmgil (silver clay) is a white and greasy clay, 1 *d. per man.* It is used for white-washing houses. It keeps a house cool and looks well. *Gil-i surkh*, or red clay, called in Hindī, *gerū*,[1] 40 *d. per man.* There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwāli,ār.

Glass is used for windows; price, 1 *R.* for 1¼ *s.* or one pane for 4 *d.*

Āʾīn 87.

ON THE WAGE OF LABOURERS.

Gilkārs (workers in lime), first class workmen, 7 *d.*; second class, 6 *d.*; third class, 5 *d.*

Sang-tarāsh (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 *e.* for each *gaz*; one who does plain work, 5 *d.* A labourer employed in quarries gets for every *man* he breaks, 22 *j.*

Carpenters, first class, 7 *d.*; second do., 6 *d.*; third do., 4 *d.*; fourth do., 3 *d.*; fifth do., 2 *d.* For plain job-work, a first class carpenter gets 1 *d.* 17 *j.* for one *gaz*; second class do., 1 *d.* 6 *j.*; third class do., 21 *j.*

Pinjara-sāz (lattice worker and wicker worker). *First*, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 *d.* for every square *gaz*; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 *d.*; when hexagonal, 18 *d.*; when *jaʿfarī* [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical, the other horizontal], 16 *d.*; when *shaṭranjī* [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 *d.* for every square *gaz.*

Secondly, when the work is *ghayr-waṣlī* (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 *d.* per square *gaz*; for second class do., 40 *d.*

Arra-kash (one who saws beams). For job-work, *per square gaz* 2½ *d.*, if *sīsaū* wood; if *nāzhū* wood, 2 *d.* A labourer employed for the day, 2 *d.* There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Bīldārs (bricklayers),[2] first class, daily 3½ *d.*; second class do., 3 *d.* If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 *d.* per *gaz*; for laying foundations, 2½ *d.*; for all other walls, 2 *d.* For digging ditches, ½ *d. per gaz.*

The *gaz* of a labourer contains 32 *ṭassūj.*

Chāh-kan, or well-diggers, first class workmen, 2 *d. per gaz*; second class do., 1¾ *d.*; third class, 1½ *d.*

[1 *Gerū*, H. Armenian bole.—P.]
[2 *Bel-dār* a digger, a pioneer.—P.]

Ghoṭa-khur, or divers. They clean wells. In the cold season, 4 *d. per diem*; in the hot season, 3 *d.* By the job, 2 *R.* for cleaning a depth of 1 *gaz.*

Khisht-tarāsh, or tile makers, for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 *d.*

Surkhī-kob (pounders of old bricks), 1½ *d.* for a heap of 8 *mans.*

Glass-cutters,[1] 100 *d. per gaz.*

Bamboo-cutters, 2 *d. per diem.*

Chappar-band,[2] or thatchers, 3 *d. per diem*; if done by the job, 24 *d.* for 100 *gaz.*

Patal-band (*vide* p. 234), 1 *d.* for 4 *gaz.*

Lakhīra. They varnish reeds, etc., with lac. Wages, 2 *d. per diem.*

Ābkash, or water-carriers. First class, 3 *d. per diem*; second class do., 2 *d.* Such water-carriers as are used for furnishing house-builders with water for mortar and quicklime, get 2 *d. per diem.*

Āʾīn 88.

ON ESTIMATES OF HOUSE BUILDING.

Stonebuildings. For 12 *gaz*, one *pharī* (*vide* above *Āʾīn* 86) is required; also 75 *mans* of *chūna*; but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 *mans* of *chūna* are required *per gaz.*

Brickbuildings. For every *gaz*, there are required 250 bricks of three *ser* each, 8 *mans chūna*, and 2 *m.* 27 *s.* pounded brick (*surkhī*).

Claybuildings. 300 bricks are required for the same; each brick-mould contains 1 *s.* of earth and ½ *s.* of water.

Astarkārī work. For every *gaz*, 1 *man chūna*, 10 *s. qalʿī*, 14 *s. surkhī*, and ½ *s. san* (*vide* p. 234) are required.

Ṣandalakārī work. For every *gaz*, 7 *s.* of *qalʿī*, and 3 *s. surkhī* are required.

Safīdkārī work. 10 *s.* of *qalʿī* are required *per gaz.*

Gajkārī work (white-washing). For walls and ceilings, 10 *s. per gaz*; for pantries, 6 *s.*; chimneys, 10 *s.*

Windows require 24 *s.* of lime, 2½ *s.* of glass, 4 *s.* of *sirīsh-i kāhī* (putty).

Plaster for walls, for 14 *gaz* 1 *m.* of straw, and 20 *m.* earth; for roofs and floors, do. for 10 *gaz.* For ceilings, and the inside of walls, do. for 15 *gaz.*

Lac (varnish work) used for *chighs*[3] [sliced bamboo sticks, placed

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[[1] See note 1 to Āʾīn 86.—P.]
[[2] Chhappar-band.—P.]
[[3] *Chiq* T., *f.*—P.]

horizontally, and joined by strings, with narrow interstices between the sticks. They are painted, and are used as screens]. If red, 4 *s.* of lac, and 1 *s.* of vermilion; if yellow, 4 *s.* of lac, 1 *s.* of *zarnīkh* (auripigment). If green, ¼ *s.* of indigo is mixed with the lac, and *zarnīkh* is added; if black, 4 *s.* of lac and 8 *s.* of indigo.

Āʾīn 89.

RULES FOR ESTIMATING THE LOSS IN WOOD CHIPS.[1]

One *gaz* = 24 *ṭassūj*
1 *ṭassūj* = 24 *tiswānsa*
1 *tiswānsa* = 24 *khām*
1 *khām* = 24 *zarra.*

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at one-eighth (?). In *Sīsaū* wood, *per ṭassūj*, 26½ *sers* 15 *tānks*; *Babūl* wood, 23½ *s.* 5 *d.*; *Sirs* wood, 21½ *s.* 15 *tānks*; *Nāzhū* wood, 20 *s.*; *Ber* wood, 18½ *s.*; *Dayāl* wood, 17 *s.* 20 *tānks.*

Āʾīn 90.

THE WEIGHT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOOD.

His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has for several reasons experimented on the weight of different kinds of wood, and has thus adorned the market place of the world. One cubic *gaz* of dry wood of every kind has been weighed, and their differences have thus been established. *Khanjak* wood has been found to be the heaviest, and *Safīdār* the lightest wood. I shall mention 72 kinds of wood.

The weight of one cubic *gaz* of

			Mans.	Sers.	Tanks.
1.	Khanjak	is	27	14	—
2.	Amblī (*Tamarindus indica*)		24	8¾	25
3.	Zaytūn (*Gyrocarpus asiaticus*[2] ?)		21	24	—
4.	Balūṭ (Oak)				
5.	Kher (*Acacia catechu*)		21	16	—
6.	Khirnī (*Mimusops*)				
7.	Parsiddh		20	14	17
8.	Ābnūs (Ebony)		20	9	20

[1] I am not sure whether this Āʾīn has been correctly translated.

[2] So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his *Hortus Bengalensis*, says the wood of *Zaytūn*, or *Gyrocarpus*, is very light, and is used for boats. Abū 'l-Faẓl puts *Zaytūn* among the heaviest woods.

		Mans.	Sers.	Tanks.
9.	Sain (*Acacia suma*)	19	32	10
10.	Baqam (*Caesalpina sappan*)	19	22½	10
11.	Kharhar	19	11¼	5
12.	Mahwā (*Bassia latifolia*)	18	32½	2
13.	Chandanī	18	20½	10
14.	Phulāhī			
15.	Red Sandal, in Hindī *Rakt Chandan* (*Pterocarpus santalinus*)	18	4½	10
16.	Chamrī	18	2	7½
17.	Chamar Mamrī	17	16¼	—
18.	ᶜUnnāb (*Zizyphus sativus*)	17	5	4
19.	Sisaū Patang (*vide* No. 40)	17	1¾	7
20.	Sāndan	17	1	28
21.	Shamshād (*Buxus sempervirens*)	16	18	25
22.	Dhau (*Grislea tomentosa*)	16	1	10
23.	Āṃla, *Hind* Āṇwlah, (*Emblica officinalis*)	16	1½	1
24.	Karīl (*Sterculia fetida*)	16	1	10
25.	Ṣandal	15	17	20
26.	Sāl (*Shorea robusta*)	15	4¾	7
27.	Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree *Shāh Ālū*; but in Kābul and Persian it is called *Ālū Bālū* [1] (Cherry)	14	36½	10
28.	Kailās [2] (Cherry-tree)	14	35½	—
29.	Nīṃb (*Azadirakhta indica*)	14	32¼	31
30.	Dārhard (*Berberis aristata*)	14	32¼	19
31.	Main	14	22¾	—
32.	Babūl (*Acacia arabica*)			
33.	Sāgaun	14	10	20
34.	Bijaysār	13	34	—
35.	Pīlū			
36.	Mulberry	13	28½	15
37.	Dhāman	13	25	20
38.	Bān Barās	13	10	29
39.	Sirs (*Acacia odoratissima*)	12	38	21
40.	Sīsaū (*Dalbergia sissoo*; *vide* No. 19)	12	34¼	5
41.	Finduq	12	26	4

[1. *Ālū-bālū* is a sour dark cherry.—P.]
[2. *Gilās* in Persia and Kasmīr is a sweet cherry.—P.]

	Mans.	Sers.	Tanks.
42. Chhaukar 43. Duddhī	12	17½	22
44. Haldī	12	13½	32
45. Kaim (*Nauclea parviflora*)	12	12½	30
46. Jāman (*Jambosa*) 47. Farās	12	8	20
48. Bar (*Ficus indica*)	12	3¼	5
49. Khandū 50. Chanār [1].	11	29	—
51. Chārmaghz (Walnut-tree) 52. Champā (*Michelia champaca*)	11	9¼	17
53. Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*)	11	4	—
54. Āmb (Mango, *Mangifera indica*) 55. Pāparī (Ulmus)	11	2	20
56. Diyār (*Cedrus deodar*) 57. Bed (Willow)	10	20	—
58. Kunbhīr (*Gunbhīr* (?) *gmelina arborea*) 59. Chīḍh (*Pinus longifolia*)	10	19½	22
60. Pīpal. The Brahmins worship this tree (*Ficus religiosa*)	10	10¼	21
61. Kaṭhal (Jacktree, *Artocarpus integrifolia*) 62. Gurdaiṇ	10	7½	34
63. Ruherā (*Terminalia belerica*)	10	7	30
64. Palās (*Butea frondosa*)	9	34	—
65. Surkh Bed	8	25	20
66. Āk (*Calotropis gigantea*)	8	19¼	25
67. Senbal (*Cotton-tree*)	8	13	34
68. Bakāyin (*Melea composita*)	8	9	30
69. Lahsorā (*Cordia mixa*) 70. Padmākh (*Cerasus capronia na*)	8	9	20
71. Aṇd	7	7	31
72. Safīdār	6	7	22½

In the above weights the *ser* has been taken at 28 *dāms*.

[[1] *Chanār*, the Plane.—P.]

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

Áʾín 1.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY.

His Majesty guides the Imperial Army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.

With some tribes, His Majesty is content, if they submit; he does not exact much service from them, and thus leads many wild races towards civilization.

The Zamíndárs of the country furnish more than four million, four hundred thousand men, as shall be detailed below (Third Book).

Some troopers are compelled by His Majesty to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. They are subject to divisions into ranks, and to musters.

Some soldiers are placed under the care and guidance of *one* commander. They are called *Ahadís*, because they are fit for a harmonious *unity*. His Majesty believes some capable of commanding, and appoints them as commanders.

A large number are worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. Túránís and Persians get 25 *Rupees*; and Hindústánís, 20 *R*. If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 *R*. Such troopers are called *Baráwardí*.

Some commanders, who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called *Dakhilís*.

In the contingent of a commander (*manṣabdár*) of Ten Thousand, other *manṣabdárs* as high as *Hazárís* (commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Eight Thousand, Manṣabdárs up to *Hashtṣadís* (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Seven Thousand, Manṣabdárs up to Haftṣadís (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve; in the contingent of

a commander of Five Thousand, other Manṣabdārs as high as *Panṣadīs* (commanders of Five Hundred) serve ; and in the contingent of a *Panṣadī*, Manṣabdārs as high as *Ṣadīs* (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Manṣabdārs of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Manṣabdārs.

Some commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called *Kumakīs*.

At the present time, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand. This class of soldiers is superior to others. His Majesty's chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses (for the time of musters) or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses ; for he knows that avarice makes men so short-sighted that they look upon a loss as a gain. In the beginning of the present reign, when His Majesty was still " behind the veil ", many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged, from want of honour, in the comforts of married life.[1] Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot-soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a *tātū*[2] that looked more like an ass. They were magniloquent in their dishonesty and greediness of pay, and even expressed dissatisfaction, or rebelled. Hence His Majesty had to introduce the Descriptive Roll System, and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls (*vide* below Āʾīn 7). This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty ; hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves, nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was then the order of the day. His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System. Easy-minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, low men were taught honourableness and manliness. The unfeeling and avaricious learned the luxury of magnanimity. The army resembled a newly irrigated garden. Even for the Treasury the new regulations proved

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[[1] In text نوکر گسسته مہار زیستی.—P.]

[[2] For *taṭṭū* H. pony.—P.]

beneficial. Such are the results which wisdom and practical knowledge can produce! Branding a horse may indeed inflict pain; but when viewed from a higher point, it is the cause of much satisfaction to the thinking man.

Āʾīn 2.

ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [*vide* p. 147, note 2]. The ranks of the men were also laid down in the best manner, and the classification of the animals belonging to the army was attended to. The requirements for each were noted down, and excellent regulations were issued. The maximum and minimum prices were inquired into by His Majesty, and average prices were fixed. A proper check by accounts was enforced, and regulations on this subject were laid down. The Bakhshīs were also freed from the heavy responsibility of bringing new men, and everything went on smoothly.

1. *Horses*. They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are *Arabs*, *Persian horses*, *Mujannas*, *Turkī horses*, *Yābūs*, *Tāzīs*, and *Jangla horses*.

The *first* class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 *dāms per mensem*; and get daily 6 *s*. of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 *d*. *per man*), 2½ *d*. of *ghī*, 2 *d*. for sugar, and 3 *d*. for grass. Also, for a *jul*, *artak*, *yālposh*, girth [1] (His Majesty does not call it *tang*, but a *farākhī*),[1] *gaddī nakhtaband*,[2] *qayza* (which the vulgar pronounces *qāyiza*), *magassān*, curry-comb, *hatthī* (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, *pāy-band*, nails, etc. [*vide* p. 144], 70 *d*. *per mensem*, which outlay is called *kharj-i yarāq-i asp* (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 *d*. for the saddle, and an *apchī* (?) every second month; 7 *d*. *per mensem* for shoes; and 63 *d*. for a groom, who gets double this allowance if he takes charge of two horses. Total, 479 *d*. But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and inquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 *d*. by 81 *d*.; and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 *dāms*, His Majesty granted a second additional allowance of 80 *d*. This coin [the Rupee] is always counted at 40 *d*. in salaries. Afterwards a third additional allowance of 2 *R*. (80 *d*.) was ordered to be given for

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[[1] *Tang* is girth, but *farākhī* is a body-roller, not a girth.—P.]
[[2] *Nakhta-band* for *nukhta-band* headstall ?—P.]

each class of horses, except *Janglas*, which horses are nowadays entirely left out in the accounts.

The *second* class are horses bred in Persia,[1] or such as resemble Persian [2] horses in shape and bearing. Monthly allowance, 680 *d*. Of this, 458 *d*. are necessary expenses, being 21 *d*. less than the former, viz., 10 *d*. for the *yarāq*, 10 *d*. for saddle and bridle, and 1 *d*. for shoes. The first increase which was given amounted to 67 *d*.; the second to 75 *d*.; the third to 80 *d*. Total 680 *d*.

The *third* class, or *Mujannas* horses, resemble Persian horses [*vide* p. 147, note 3], and are mostly Turkī, or Persian geldings.[3] Monthly cost 560 *d*. Of this, 358 *d*. are for necessaries. The allowance for these horses is 100 *d*. less than the preceding, viz., 30 *d*. less for sugar; 30 *d*. less for saddle, bridle, etc.; 15 *d*. less in *ghī*; 3 *d*. less for the groom; 2 *d*. less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 *d*.; second, 50 *d*.; third, 80 *d*.

The *fourth* class are horses imported from Tūrān; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 *d*. Of this, 298 *d*. are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 *d*. less than for *Mujannas* horses, viz., 30 *d*. less for sugar, 30 *d*. less for grass; 10 *d*. less for the *yarāq*; 4 *d*. less for the saddle, bridle, etc.; 2 *d*. less for shoeing; 2 *d*. less for *ghī*. But the daily allowance of grain was increased by 2 *sers* (which amounts to 18 *d*. *per mensem*), as the sugar had been left out. First increase, 52 *d*.; second, 50 *d*.; third, 80 *d*.

The *fifth* class (*yābū* horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Turkī horses with an inferior breed. Monthly cost 400 *d*. Of this, 239 *d*. are for necessaries. The allowance is 59 *d*. less than the preceding; viz., 28 *d*. for *ghī*; 15 *d*. less for the groom; 10 *d*. less for the *yarāq*; and 6 *d*. less for the saddle, bridle, etc. First increase, 41 *d*.; second increase, 40 *d*.; third, 80 *d*.

The last two classes also are mostly Indian breed. The best kind is called *Tāzī*; the middling, *Janglas*; the inferior ones, *Tātū*.[4]

Good mares are reckoned as *Tāzīs*; if not, they are counted as *Janglas*.

1. *Tāzī*. Monthly cost, 320 *d*., of which 188 *d*. are for necessaries. The allowance is 51 *d*. less than for the *Yābū*, viz., 18 *d*. less for grain, as they only get 6 *sers per diem*; 15 *d*. less for grass; 10 *d*. less for *ghī* and sugar; 8 *d*. less for *yarāq*. First increase, 22 *d*.; second, 30 *d*.; third, 80 *d*.

[[1] ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam.—P.] [[2] "ʿ*Irāqī horses*."—P.]
[[3] *Ikdish* does not mean gelding but "of mixed breed".—P.]
[[4] For *ṭaṭṭū*, H.—P.]

2. *Jangla.* Monthly cost, 240 *d.*, of which 145½ *d.* are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ *d.* less than for *Tāzīs*. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at 5 *sers*. Hence there are 15 *d.* less for grass; 9 *d.* less for grain; 6 *d.* less for *ghī* and molasses; [1] 4½ *d.* less for the *yarāq*; 2 *d.* less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ *d.*; second, 25 *d.*; third, 40 *d.*

Formerly mules were reckoned as *Tāzī* horses; but nowadays, as *Jangla*.

For *Tātūs* [2] the monthly expenditure is 160 *d.*; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abū 'l-Faẓl's items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badā,onī, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindūstān was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwāls responsible for it: *vide Bad.* II. p. 390, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a *Manṣabdār*, brought horses with them, for which the *Manṣabdār* received from the treasury an allowance according to the following table:—

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
	Arabs.	Persian Horses.	Mujannas Horses.	Turkī Horses.	Yābūs.	Tāzīs.	Janglahs.	Tātūs.
Gram	54 *d.*	54 *d.*	54 *d.*	72 *d.*	72 *d.*	54 *d.*	45 *d.*	Not specified.
Ghī	75 *d.*	75 *d.*	60 *d.*	} 58	30 *d.* {	10 *d.*	4 *d.*	
Sugar	60 *d.*	60 *d.*	30 *d.*			10 *d.*	4 *d.*	
Grass	90 *d.*	90 *d.*	90 *d.*	60 *d.*	60 *d.*	45 *d.*	30 *d.*	
Yarāq	70 *d.*	60 *d*	40 *d.*	30 *d.*	20 *d.*	12 *d.*	7½ *d.*	
Saddle, &c	60 *d.*	50 *d.*	20 *d.*	16 *d*	10 *d.*	10 *d.*	10 *d.*	
Shoes	7 *d.*	6 *d.*	4 *d.*	2 *d.*	3 *d.*	2 *d.*	—	
Groom	63 *d.*	63 *d.*	60 *d.*	60 *d.*	45 *d.*	45 *d.*	45 *d.*	
Original Allowance	479 *d.*	458 *d.*	358 *d.*	298 *d.*	239 *d.*	188 *d.*	145½ *d.*	
1st Increase	81 *d.*	67 *d.*	72 *d.*	52 *d.*	41 *d.*	22 *d.*	29½ *d.*	Not specified.
2nd Ditto	80 *d.*	75 *d.*	30 *d.*	50 *d.*	40 *d.*	30 *d.*	25 *d.*	
3rd Ditto	80 *d.*	80 *d.*	80 *d.*	80 *d.*	80 *d.*	80 *d.*	40 *d.*	
Total monthly cost in *dāms*	720 *d.*	680 *d.*	560 *d.*	480 *d.*	400 *d.*	320 *d.*	240 *d.*	160 *d.*

The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Abū 'l-Faẓl ceases from Class IV; but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. *Ghī* and molasses were generally given together; *vide* p. 142.

[[1] *Qand-i siyāh* is probably *gur*, H.—P.]
[[2] See footnote 4, p. 244.—P.]

3. *Elephants.* The branded elephants of the army are divided into *seven* classes: *Mast, Shergīr, Sāda, Manjhola, Karha, Phanḍurkiya,* and *Mokal,* elephants; but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty's elephant stables [*vide* p. 131, l. 27].

The monthly allowance for *Mast* elephants is 1,320 *dāms* [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ *māns.* No elephant has more than three servants, a *Mahāwat,* a *Bho,ī,* and a *Meṭh,* of whom the first gets 120 *d.*, and the two last 90 *d.* An increase of 120 *d.* was given. From the beginning, elephants were branded; but now certain differences are made.

Shergīr elephants. Monthly cost, 1,100 *d.*, which is 220 *d.* less than the former. Grain, 2 *m. per diem,* which makes 180 *d.* less *per mensem*; also 15 *d.* less for the *Mahāwat* and the *Bho,ī.* His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 *d.*

Sāda elephants. Monthly cost, 800 *d.*, which is 300 *d.* less than the preceding. Grain 1½ *m. per diem,* which gives 180 *d.* less *per month.* Besides 30 *d.* less for the *Meṭh,* and 15 *d.* less for the *Mahāwat* and the *Bho,ī.* An increase of 50 *d.* was sanctioned.

Manjhola elephants. Monthly cost, 600 *d.* Grain 1 *m.* The decrease is the same as in the preceding; but an additional allowance of 90 *d.* was sanctioned.

Karha elephants. Monthly cost, 420 *d.*; grain, 30 *s.* Hence there is a decrease of 30 *d.* on this account; and of 15 *d.* for the *Mahāwat.* No *Bho,ī* is allowed. The additional grant is 60 *d.*

Phanḍurkiya elephants. Monthly cost, 300 *d.* Grain, 15 *s. per diem,* which gives a decrease of 135 *d. per mensem.* Only one servant is allowed. at 60 *d. per month.* An additional grant of 105 *d.* was sanctioned.

Mokal elephants were formerly not counted. Now they are considered worthy of entering the classes. Monthly allowance, 280 *d.*

In all payments on account of elephants, *dāms* are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation.

4. *Camels.* Monthly cost, 240 *d.* Grain, 6 *s.*; grass, 1 *d.*; furniture, 20 *d.*; the driver, 60 *d.* An addition of 58 *d.* was sanctioned; and when the value of the Rupee was fixed at 40 *dāms,* 20 *d.* more were allowed.

5. *Oxen.* Monthly allowance, 120 *d.* Grain, 4 *s.*; grass, 1 *d.*; furniture, 6 *d.* Additional grant, 38 *d.* At the time when the value of the rupee was raised, 10 *d.* more were given.

6. *Oxen for the waggons.* For each waggon, the monthly expenditure is 600 *d.*, viz. 480 *d.* for four oxen; 120 *d.* for grease, repairs, and additional comforts.

Elephants and waggons are only allowed to Manṣabdārs, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

Āʾīn 3.

THE MANṢABDĀRS.[1]

Wise inquirers follow out the same principles, and the people of the present age do not differ in opinion from those of ancient times. They all agree that if that which is numerous be not pervaded by a principle of harmony, the dust of disturbances will not settle down, and the troubles of lawlessness will not cease to rise. It is so with the elements; as long as the uniting principle is absent, they are dead, and incapable of exhibiting the wonders of the kingdoms of nature. Even animals form unions among themselves, and avoid wilful violence; hence they live comfortably and watch over their advantages and disadvantages. But men, from the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in need of a just leader round whom they may rally; in fact, their social existence depends upon their being ruled by a monarch; for the extraordinary wickedness of men, and their inclination to that which is evil, teach their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even cause them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command.[2] To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favour. That man will quell the strife among men by his experience, intrepidity, and magnanimity, and thus infuse into them new vigour.

But as the strength of one man is scarcely adequate to such an arduous

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[1] The Arabians say *manṣib*; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced *manṣab*. It means a post, an office, hence *manṣabdār*, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

[2] "When the Collector of the Dīwān asks them (the Hindus) to pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission. And if the Collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination (*taqazzuz*), so that the Collector may do so. In this state [with their mouths open] they should stand before the Collector. The object of such humiliations and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of infidel subjects under protection, and to promote the glory of Islām, the true religion, and to show contempt to false religions: God himself orders us to despise them; for He says (Sur. 9. 29), 'Out of hand, whilst they are reduced low.' To treat the Hindus contemptuously is a religious duty, because they are the greatest enemies of Muṣṭafa (Muḥammad), because Muṣṭafa, regarding the killing and plundering of Hindus, and making slaves of them, has ordered, 'They must either accept the Islām, or be killed, or be made slaves, and their property must be plundered'; and with the exception of the Imām-i Aʿẓam (Abū Ḥanīfah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the *Jizya* from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, 'Either death or the Islām.'" *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the suttee.

undertaking, he selects, guided by the light of his knowledge, some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them. For this cause did His Majesty establish the ranks of the Manṣabdārs, from the *Dahbāshī* (Commander of Ten) to the *Dah Hazārī* (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand to his august sons.

The deep-sighted saw a sign, and inquirers got a hint from above when they found the value of the letters of God's holy name ; [1] they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Manṣabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of *Allāh*, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

In selecting his officers, His Majesty is assisted by his knowledge of the spirit of the age, a knowledge which sheds a peculiar light on the jewel of his wisdom. His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance,[2] and confers upon them high rank. Sometimes he increases the manṣab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Manṣabdārs vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his manṣab, is put into the first class of his rank ; if his contingent is one half and upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class ; the third class contains those contingents which are still less, as is shown in the table below.

Yūzbāshīs (Commanders of One Hundred) are of eleven classes. The *first* class contains such as furnish one hundred troopers. Their monthly salary is 700 Rupees. The *eleventh* class contains such as have no troops of their own, in accordance with the statement made above, that *Dākhilī* troops are nowadays preferred. This class gets 500 Rupees. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from 700 Rupees by 20 Rupees for every ten troopers which they furnish less.

In the live stock accounts of the *Du-bīstīs*, the fixed number of *Turkī* and *Jangla* horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned generally *Mujannas*, rarely

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[1] *Jalālah.* This curious word is, according to *Bahār-i ʿAjam*, an abbreviation of the phrase *Jalla jalālu-hu*, "May His glory shine forth." It is then used in the sense of *God* ; thus the dual *jalālatayn*, saying *Allah* ! *Allah* ! ; and *khatm-i jalāla* saying the word *Allah* 125,000 times. Similarly here ; the 66 *manṣabs* correspond to the value of the letters of *Jalālah*, i.e. الله = 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66. Abū 'l-Faẓl makes much of the coincidence, for Akbar's name was *Jalālu 'd-Dīn*, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say *coincidence*, because of the sixty-six *manṣabs* only one half existed.

[2] Abū 'l-Faẓl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Badā,onī says Akbar learnt the art from the Jogīs.

Yābūs; and *Dahbāshīs* are excused the *Turkī* horse, though their salaries remain as before.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR ON THE MANṢABS.

The sixty-six Manṣabs, detailed by Abū 'l-Fazl in the following table, appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Manṣabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar's plan; but the list of grandees, as given by Abū 'l-Fazl himself in the 30th Āʾīn of this Book, only mentions *thirty-three*—the three commands of the three Princes from 10,000 to 7,000; and thirty commands of the Manṣabdārs, namely commands of 5,000, 4,500, 4,000, 3,500, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,250, 1,000, 900 ?, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300 ?, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. Of the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Āʾīn, though the List of Grandees of Shāh Jahān's time (*Pādishāhnāma*, II, p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Manṣabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

Abū 'l-Fazl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Manṣabdārs of 500; he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list. Of the Commands below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, viz.:—of Commanders of

150	53
120	1
100 (*Yūzbāshīs*)	250
80	91
60	204
50	16
40	260
30	39
20	250
10	224

in all, 1,388 commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abū 'l-Fazl made his list.

As Abū 'l-Fazl's List (Āʾīn 30), according to the testimony of Niẓām-i Harawī is a complete list,[1] it is certain that of the 66 Manṣabs of the

[1] Niẓām says, in the introduction to his List of the principal grandees of Akbar's Court, that it was unnecessary for him to specify all, because *tafṣīl-i asāmī-yi har yak rā afẓalpanāh Shaykh Abū 'l-Fazl dar kitāb-i Akbarnāma marqūm-i qalam-i badāʾiʿ raqam gardānida.*

following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shāhjahān's grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma*, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the *Pādishāhnāma* are :—Four commands of the princes (Dārā Shikoh, 20,000 ; Shāh Shujāʿ, 15,000 ; Awrangzeb, 15,000 ; Murād Ba<u>kh</u>sh, 12,000) and commands of 9,000, 7,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500.

From the fact that Abū 'l-Faẓl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the *Pādishāhnāma* up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Manṣabs under 200, and at Shāhjahān's time, Manṣabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of *Amīr*. To judge from *Niẓām's Ṭabaqāt* and the *Maʾāṡir-i Raḥīmī*, Manṣabdārs from the Hazārī (Commander of 1,000) were, at Akbar's time, styled *umarāʾ-i kibār*, or *umarā-i ʿiẓām*, great Amīrs ; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to Manṣabdārs from the *Hazārīs* upwards. Niẓām does restrict his phrases *ba-martaba-yi imārat rasīd*, or *dar jarga* (or *silk*, or *zumra*)-*yi umarā muntaẓim gasht*, to commanders from Hazārīs.

The title *Amīr*ᵘ *'l-umarā* (the Amīr of the Amīrs, principal Amīr), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Niẓām gives his title to Adham <u>Kh</u>ān, <u>Kh</u>izr <u>Kh</u>wāja <u>Kh</u>ān, Mīr Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān Atkah, Muẓaffar <u>Kh</u>ān, Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bayrām <u>Kh</u>ān, Munʿim <u>Kh</u>ān, and Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm, the three latter being styled *<u>Kh</u>ān <u>Kh</u>ānān*,[1] or *<u>Kh</u>ān <u>Kh</u>ānān o Sipahsālār*.

In the *Pādishāhnāma*, however, the title of *Amīr*ᵘ *'l-Umarā* is restricted to the first living grandee (ʿAlī Mardān <u>Kh</u>ān).

It is noticeable that Niẓām only mentions commanders of 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000—for lower Manṣabs he does not specify names. Abū 'l-Faẓl gives three intermediate Manṣabs of 4,500, 3.500, and 1,250 ; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks we may conclude that these Manṣabs were unusual. This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders ; for if we leave out the commands of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250, we have, according to Āʾīn 30, *twelve* steps from 5,000 to 500, and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs. 2,500) is the *twelfth* part of the salary of a commander of 5,000 (Rs. 30,000). The *Pādishāhnāma* gives *fourteen* steps between the

[1] For *<u>Kh</u>ān-i <u>Kh</u>ānān*, the <u>Kh</u>ān of the <u>Kh</u>āns. In such titles the Persian *Iẓāfat* is left out.

commanders of 7,000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a commander of 7,000 at one *kror* of *dāms per annum*, or 250,000 Rs., stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ghiyāṣu 'l-lughāt*, states that the salary of a commander of 5,000 is one *kror*, or 250,000 *Rs*., and that the salary of a *Panṣadī*, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. *per annum*, the 12½th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Manṣabdārs, as given by Abū 'l-Faẓl in the following table, are somewhat *higher* than those given in the *Pādishāhnāma* and the *Ghiyāṣ*, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be considerably reduced, if each Manṣabdār had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, etc., which Abū 'l-Faẓl specifies for each rank. Taking the preceding Āʾīn and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, etc., mentioned in the following table, would amount, for a commander of

5,000 (monthly salary 30,000 *R*.) to 10,637 *R*.
1,000 („ „ 8,200 *R*.) to 3,015½ *R*.
100 („ „ 700 *R*.) to 313 *R*.

The three classes which Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions for each Manṣab differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p. 249, l. 23.

A commander of 5,000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5,000 men. In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Manṣabdār. Thus Niẓām says of Todar Mall and Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4,000 cavalry, and the latter 5,000 *naukars*, or servants, i.e., soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4,000 (Niẓām says 5,000), and Quṭbu 'd-Dīn a commander of 5,000. Of ʿAbdul majīd Āṣaf Khān, a commander of 3,000 (*vide* Āʾīn 30, No. 49), Niẓām says, "he reached a point when he had 20,000." In the *Pādishāhnāma*, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 commanders of 500 under Shāhjahān, only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers. This also explains the use of the word ذات *ẕāt* after the titles of Manṣabdārs; as *panj hazārī-yi ẕāt sihhazār suwār*, "a commander of 5,000, personally (*ẕāt*, or by rank), and in actual command of 3,000 cavalry." Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as *Shāyista Khān panjhazārī, panj hazār suwār-i duaspa sihaspa*, "Shāyista Khān, a commander of 5,000, contingent 5,000 cavalry, *with two horses, with three horses*." A trooper

is called *duaspa*, if he has two horses, and *sihaspa*, if three, in order to change horses during *elghārs* or forced marches. But keeping *duashpa sihaspa* troopers was a distinction, as in the *Pādishāhnāma* only the senior Manṣabdars of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhazārīs; 1 Chahārhazārī; 2 Sihhazārī; 2 Duhazārī; 2 Hazār o panṣadī; 1 Hazārī; and 1 Haftṣadī.

The higher Manṣabdārs were mostly governors of Ṣūbas. The governors were at first called *sipahsālārs*; towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Ḥākims*, and afterwards *Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah*, or *Ṣūba-dārs*, and still later merely *Ṣūbas*. The other Manṣabdārs held *Jāgīrs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Manṣabdārs are also called *taʿīnatiyān* (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called *tābīnāt* (followers);[1] hence *tābīnbāshī*, the Manṣabdār himself, or his *Bakhshī* (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Manṣabdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general or the local treasuries; *vide* Āʾīns 6, 7, 8. Akbar had much trouble with these musters, as fraudulent practices were quite common. The reform of the army dates from the time when Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* pp. 148, 197) was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*. The following passage from Badā,onī (II, p. 190) is interesting:—

"The whole country, with the exception of the *Khāliṣa* lands (domains), was held by the Amīrs as *jāgīr*; and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops or take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency, they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but really useful soldiers there were none. Shāhbāz Khān,[2] the Mīr Bakhshī, introduced the custom and rule of the *dāgh o maḥallī*, which had been the rule of ʿAlāʾ 'd-Dīn Khiljī,[3] and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every Amīr should commence as a commander of twenty (*bīstī*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and . . .,[4] as had

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[1] تعیناتیان, pl. of تعینی, from تعین *taʿīn*, the Indian pronunciation of تعیین *taʿyīn*, to appoint *tābīn*, تابین, *to follow*; then as an adj. *one who follows*. This corrects the erroneous meanings of *tābīn* on p. 62 of the *Journal A. S. of Bengal* for 1868.

[2] The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For *kih* read *Kanbū*; for *bad dahanida*, we have perhaps to read *yād dahānida*, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for *tābīān*, read *tābīnān*; for *panāh Khudā*, read *panāh ba-Khudā*; for *ān hām*, read *ān hamah*.

[3] The *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* says but little regarding it. The words *dāgh o maḥallī* occur very often together.

[4] *Ojār o maljār* (?). For *jār*, a Turkish word, *vide* Vullers.

been ordered; and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadī*, or commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Manṣabs, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the musters their new contingent complete they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazārī*, *Duhazārī*, and even *Panjhazārī*, which is the highest Manṣab; but if they did not do well at the musters, they were to be put down. But notwithstanding this new regulation, the condition of the soldiers got worse, because the Amīrs did what they liked; for they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers' clothes (*libās-i sipāhī*), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their *jagīrs*, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the Manṣabdār remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers, and cotton cleaners (*naddāf*), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Musalmān, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Manṣab, or were made *Krorīs* (*vide* p. 13, l. 7 from below), or Aḥadīs, or Dākhilīs to some one (*vide* p. 231); and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the emperor himself in the *Dīwān-khāna-yi khāṣṣ*, that they were weighed in their clothes, with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from 2½ to 3 *man*, more or less (?) and after inquiry, it was found that all were hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, 'With my eyes thus open, I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on.' After some time had passed away, His Majesty divided the Aḥadīs into *du-aspa*, *yakaspa* (having one horse), and *nīmaspa* (having half a share in a horse), in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees.[1]

Weigh well these facts, but put no question!

These were things of daily occurrence . . .;[2] but notwithstanding

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[1] So according to one MS. The passage is not quite clear.

[2] Here follows a sentence which I do not know how to translate.

all this, His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amīrs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants."

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men and of animals, carts, etc.; the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the Ā'īn; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (pp. 226–7, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (*kasrat*), in order to understand the whole (*waḥdat*)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success.[1]

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's army. We may, however, quote a statement in the *Pādishāhnāma* regarding the strength of Shāhjahān's army; *vide Pādishāhn.* II, p. 715.

"The paid army of the present reign consists of 200,000 cavalry, according to the rule of branding the fourth part, as has been mentioned above. This is exclusive of the soldiers that are allowed to the Fawjdārs, Krorīs, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganas. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows :—

8,000 Manṣabdārs.

7,000 mounted *Aḥadī* and mounted *Barqandāz*.

185,000 cavalry, consisting of the contingents (*tābīnān*) of the princes, the chief grandees, and the other Manṣabdārs.

"Besides these 200,000 cavalry, there are 40,000 foot, musketeers, artillery, and rocket-bearers. Of these 40,000, 10,000 accompany the emperor, and the remaining 30,000[2] are in the ṣūbas and the forts."

The "Rule of branding the fourth part" is described among the events of the year 1056 as follows (II, p. 506) :—

"The following law was made during the present reign (Shāhjahān). If a Manṣabdār holds a jāgīr in the same ṣūba, in which he holds his manṣab, he has to muster *one-third* of the force indicated by his rank.[3] Accordingly a *Si Hazārī-yi ẕāt sih-hazār suwār* (a commander of 3,000, personal rank; contingent 3,000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another ṣūba, he has only to muster *a fourth* part. Accordingly, a *Chahārhazārī chahār-hazār suwār* (a commander of 4,000; contingent, 4,000) has only to muster 1,000 cavalry.

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[1] *Vide* p. 11, note.

[2] The edition of the *Pādishāhnāma* has wrongly 3,000.

[3] Literally, *he has to bring his followers* (*troopers*) *to the brand* (*dāgh*) *according to the third part.*

"At the time the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055], His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Manṣabdār should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a *Panjhazārī panjhazār suwār* (a commander of 5,000; contingent, 5,000) mustered only 1,000; viz., 300 *sihaspa* troopers, 600 *du-aspa* troopers, 100 *yak-aspa* troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,200 horses], provided the income (*ḥāṣil*) of his jāgīr was fixed at 12 months; or 250 *sihaspa* troopers, 500 *du-aspa* troopers, and 250 *yak-aspa* troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,000 horses], provided the income of his jāgīr was fixed at 11 months; or 800 *du aspa* troopers, and 200 *yak-aspa* troopers [i.e., 1,000 men and 1,800 horses], if the income of his jāgīr was fixed at 10 months; or 600 *du-aspa* troopers and 400 *yak-aspa*, if at 9 months; or 450 *du-aspa* and 550 *yak-aspa* troopers, if at 8 months; or 250 *du-aspa* and 750 *yak-aspa* troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 *du-aspa* and 900 *yak-aspa* troopers, if at 6 months; or 1,000 *yak-aspa*, if at 5 months.

"But if the troopers to a manṣab had all been fixed as *si-aspa du-aspa* [in other words, if the commander was not a *Panj hazārī, panj hazār suwār*, but a *Panj hazārī panj hazār suwār-i du-aspa si-aspa*] he musters, as his proportion of *duaspa* and *sihaspa* troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his manṣab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a *Panj hazārī panj hazār tamām du-aspa si-aspa* (a commander of 5,000; contingent, only *du-aspa* and *si-aspa*) would muster 600 troopers with three horses, 1,200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [i.e., 2,000 men with 4,400 horses], provided the income of his jāgīr be fixed at 12 months and so on."

From this important passage, it is clear that one-fourth of that number of troopers, which is indicated by the title of a Manṣabdār, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shāhjahān. Thus if a commander of 1,000 troopers had the title of *Hazārī hazār suwār*, the strength of his contingent was $\frac{1000}{4} = 250$ men with 650 horses, viz., 75 *si-aspa*, 150 *du-aspa*, and 25 *yak-aspa*; and if his title was *Hazārī hazār suwār-i du-aspa si-aspa*, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1,300 horses, viz., 150 *si-aspa*, 300 *du-aspa*, and 50 *yak-aspa*, if the income of his jāgīr was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of *si-aspa*, *du-aspa*, and *yak-aspa* troopers was for all manṣabs as 300 : 600 : 100, or as 3 : 6 : 1.

As the author of the *Pādishāhnāma* does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Manṣabdārs drew the income,

we may assume that the difference in strength of the contingents mentioned after the name of each grandee depended on the value of their jāgīrs.

From an incidental remark (*Pādishāhnāma*, I, p. 113), we see that the pay of a commander of *sihaspa du-aspa* troopers was double the pay allowed to a commander of *yak-aspas*. This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter.

The strength also of Awrangzeb's army, on a statement by Bernier, was conjectured to have been 200,000 cavalry, *vide* Elphinstone's *History*, second edition, p. 546, last line.

Akbar's army must have been smaller. It is impossible to compute the strength of the contingents, which was continually fluctuating, and depended rather on emergencies. We can, however, guess at the strength of Akbar's *standing* army. At the end of Ā*īn 30, Abū 'l-Faẓl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the Ā*īn

250	Commanders	of	100	(Yūzbāshīs)
204	,,	,,	60	,,
260	,,	,,	40	,,
250	,,	,,	20	,,
224	,,	,,	10	,,

As these numbers are very uniform, the regular army could not have been larger than 250 × 100, or 25,000 men (troopers, musketeers, and artillery). The Imperial stables contained 12,000 horses (*vide* p. 132, l. 6 from below) which were under the immediate charge of Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In Ā*īn 6, Abū 'l-Faẓl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Aḥadīs, of which Shāhjahān had 7,000, cannot have been very large. Many of them were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders. They were, at Akbar's time, gentlemen rather than common soldiers, as they had to buy their own horse on joining. Badā,onī mentions an Aḥadī of the name of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Manṣabdārs, which under Shāhjahān amounted to 8,000, was also much less. Of the 415 Manṣabdārs whose names are given in Ā*īn 30, about 150 were dead when Abū 'l-Faẓl wrote it,[1] so that there would be about

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[1] The list of grandees in Ā*īn 30 is quoted in Niẓām's Ṭabaqāt which do not go beyond A.H. 1002, as the author died in October, 1594; but it may be still older, as Niẓām assigns to several Manṣabdārs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 993, when the three princes (*Bad.* II, p. 342) were appointed Commanders of 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 respectively, whilst in Abū 'l-Faẓl's List, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) is still put down as a Commander of 10,000, Murād as Commander of 8,000, and Dā[illegible] of 7,000.

Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Manṣabdārs.[1]

Number.	Commanders of	Horses.						Elephants.					Beasts of Burden and Carts.			Monthly Salaries. Classes.		
		ʿIraqi.	Mujannas.	Turki.	Yabū.	Tāzi.	Jangla.	Shergir.	Sāda.	Manjhola.	Karha.	Phandurkiya.	Qaṭārs of Camels.	Qaṭārs of Mules.	Carts.	1st Rs.	2nd Rs.	3rd Rs.
1	10,000	68	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	—	—
2	8,000	54	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	60,000	—	—
3	7,000	49	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	—	—
4	5,000	34	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	4,900	33	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	19	157	27,600	27,400	27,300
6	4,800	32	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	19 3/5	152	27,600	27,400	27,300
7	4,700	31	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	18	9	75	19 1/5	151	26,800	26,600	26,500
8	4,600	31	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	18 4/5	148	26,400	26,200	26,100
9	4,500	31	30	61	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	72 2/5	18 2/5	145	26,000	25,800	25,700
10	4,400	30	29	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	18 1/5	142	25,200	25,000	24,800
11	4,300	29	28	59	59	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	69 3/5	18	139	24,400	24,200	24,000
12	4,200	28	27	58	58	57	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	17 3/5	136	23,600	23,400	23,200
13	4,100	27	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	17 1/5	133	22,800	22,400	22,400
14	4,000	27	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	130	22,000	21,800	21,600
15	3,900	26	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	63 3/5	16 4/5	127	21,400	21,200	21,100
16	3,800	26	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	16 2/5	124	20,800	20,600	20,500
17	3,700	25	25	50	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	60 2/5	16 1/5	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18	3,600	25	25	49	48	48	47	16	23	17	14	6	59	15 4/5	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19	3,500	24	24	47	47	47	46	16	23	17	14	5	57 3/5	15 3/5	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20	3,400	23	23	46	46	46	44	16	22	17	14	5	56	15 1/5	112	18,300	18,014	18,300
21	3,300	22	22	45	45	44	43	15	22	17	14	5	54 2/5	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22	3,200	21	21	44	44	42	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	14 2/5	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23	3,100	20	20	43	43	41	40	15	20	17	14	5	51 3/5	14 3/5	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24	3,000	20	20	40	40	40	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25	2,900	19	19	39	39	39	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	13 1/5	96	16,400	16,200	16,100
26	2,800	18	18	38	38	38	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	12 2/5	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27	2,700	17	17	37	37	37	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	11 3/5	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28	2,600	17	17	36	36	35	35	13	15	12	11	3	42	10 4/5	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29	2,500	17	17	34	34	35	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30	2,400	17	17	33	33	33	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	9 3/5	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31	2,300	16	16	33	33	32	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	8 4/5	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32	2,200	16	16	32	32	31	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	8 1/5	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33	2,100	15	15	31	31	31	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	7 4/5	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34	2,000	15	15	30	30	30	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35	1,900	14	14	29	29	29	30	10	12	9	7	2	28 4/5	5 4/5	58	11,950	11,350	11,450
36	1,800	14	13	28	28	28	29	10	11	9	7	2	27 1/5	6 1/5	56	11,400	11,650	11,300
37	1,700	14	13	27	27	27	27	9	11	9	7	2	26 4/5	5 4/5	54	11,220	11,000	10,800
38	1,600	13	13	26	26	25	25	9	10	9	7	2	25 1/5	5 3/5	52	10,600	10,400	10,200
39	1,500	12	12	24	24	24	24	8	10	8	7	2	24	5	50	10,000	9,800	9,700
40	1,400	12	12	24	24	23	23	8	10	8	7	2	23 2/5	4 4/5	43	9,600	9,400	9,300
41	1,300	12	12	23	23	23	22	8	10	7	7	2	23	4 1/5	48	9,200	9,100	9,060
42	1,200	11	11	22	22	22	22	7	9	7	7	2	22	4 3/5	46	9,000	8,900	8,800
43	1,100	11	11	22	22	21	21	7	9	7	7	2	22	4 2/5	44	8,700	8,600	8,400
44	1,000	10	10	21	21	21	21	7	8	7	7	2	21	4 1/5	42	8,200	8,100	8,000
45	900	10	10	20	20	20	20	7	8	6	7	2	20	4	40	7,700	7,400	7,100
46	800	10	14	17	17	9	3	7	8	5	5	2	17	3 2/5	34	5,000	4,700	4,400
47	700	6	12	9	13	14	7	5	6	4	4	1	15 2/5	3	27	4,400	4,000	3,800
48	600	5	7	11	9	4	4	4	3	5	2	1	13	2 2/5	21	3,500	3,200	3,000
49	600	4	7	8	8	4	3	4	2	4	2	1	14	2	15	2,800	2,750	2,700

[1] For [illegible] in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 133.

Number.	Commanders of	Horses.						Elephants.					Beasts of Burden and Carts.			Monthly Salaries.		
																Classes.		
		ʿIrāqī.	Mujannas.	Turkī.	Yābū.	Tāzī.	Jangla.	Shergīr.	Sāda.	Manjhola.	Karha.	Phandurkiya.	Qaṭārs of Camels.	Qaṭārs of Mules.	Carts.	1st Rs.	2nd Rs.	3rd Rs.
50	500	4	6	8	8	4	—	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2,500	2,300	2,100
51	400	3	4	5	6	2	—	2	2	2	2	1	5	—	12	2,000	1,751	1,500
52	350	3	4	4	4	2	—	1	1	2	3	1	$4\frac{2}{5}$	—	11	1,450	1,305	1,350
53	300	3	3	3	4	2	—	1	1	2	2	1	4	—	10	1,400	1,250	1,200
54	250	3	3	3	4	1	—	1	1	2	2	—	$3\frac{2}{5}$	—	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55	200	2	3	3	3	1	—	1	2	1	2	—	3	—	7	975	950	900
56	150	2	3	3	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	—	6	875	850	800
57	125	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	$2\frac{1}{5}$	—	5	780	760	750
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	$2\frac{1}{5}$	—	5	745	740	730
59	100	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	5	700	600	500
60	80	2	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	3	410	380	350
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	2	301	285	270
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	2	250	240	230
63	40	1	2	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—		$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	1	223	200	185
64	30	—	1	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	$1\frac{1}{5}$	—	1	185	165	155
65	20	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	$1\frac{1}{5}$	—	1	135	125	115
66	10	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	$82\frac{1}{2}$	75

250 higher Manṣabdārs, to which we have to add 1,388 lower Manṣabdārs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1,600 Manṣabdārs.

But Akbar's Manṣabdārs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Manṣabdārs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (*ẕat*) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Manṣabdārs had even to furnish men with four horses (*chahār-aspa*). A *Dahbāshī*, or Commander of ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (*vide* Āʾīn 5) the *Chahār-aspas* were discontinued, and a *Dahbāshī* furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazārīs would have had to bring 1,800 horses, whilst a Hazārī at the time of Shāhjahān only furnished 650.

Of non-commissioned officers a *Mīrdaha* is mentioned; *vide* note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mīrdaha of matchlock-bearers varied from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ *R. per mensem*. Common matchlock-bearers received from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ *R.* As they were standing (household) troops, Abū 'l-Faẓl has put them into the first book of this work (Āʾīns 36 to 40); and, generally, the reader will have to bear in mind that the second book, relating to the army, treats chiefly of the contingents of the Manṣabdārs.

Badā,onī, in the above extract, p. 253, speaks of a *libās-i sipāhī*, or soldier's uniform (armour ?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Manṣabdārs consisted in certain flags (*vide* p. 52, l. 6, from below), and the *gharyāl* or gong (*vide* in the beginning of the fourth book, *Ā*ʾ*īn-i Gharyāl*).

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 4.

THE AḤADĪS.

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Manṣab, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. As it is the aim of His Majesty to confer a spiritual meaning on that which is external, he calls such persons *Aḥadīs* (from *aḥad*, one). They are thus reminded of the *unity* of God.

A new regulation regarding rank was given.

For the sake of the convenience of the Aḥadīs, a separate Dīwān and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amīrs is their chief. A fit person has also been selected to introduce to His Majesty such as are candidates for Aḥadīships. Without partiality or accepting bribes, he takes daily several before His Majesty, who examines them. When they have been approved of, they pass through the *Yād-dāsht*, the *Taʿlīqa*, the descriptive roll, and accounts [*vide* Āʾīn 10]. The paymaster then takes security and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths.[1] Many Aḥadīs have indeed more than 500 Rupees *per mensem*.[2] He then gets the number *nine* as his brand [*vide* Āʾīn 7]. In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Aḥadīs mustered eight horses; but now the limit is five. On his *sar-khaṭ* [*vide* Āʾīn 11] each receives a *farmāncha* (rank and pay certificate), on which year after year the treasurer makes payments.

Aḥadīs are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Dīwān and the Bakhshī, which is called nowadays *Taṣḥīḥa*,[3] the

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[1] Or, as we would say, by 75 or even 85⅐ *per cent.* *Vide* note 4, p. 83.

[2] This agrees with a statement which I have seen in some historian of Akbar's reign that a senior *Aḥadī* was promoted to a *Yūzbāshīship* as the next step. *Vide* p. 20, note 1.

[3] The *Taṣḥīḥa* corresponds, therefore, to a "life certificate". Arabic Infinitives II take in modern Persian a final *ʰ*; thus *taʿlīqa* [*vide* below, Āʾīn 10], *takhfīfa* [*vide* p. 101, note 1], etc.

clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be countersigned by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps, and pays the claim. Before the period (of four months) is over, he gets one month's salary in advance. In the course of the year, he receives cash for ten months, after deducting from it one-twentieth of the sum, the total stoppage being made on account of his horses and other expenses. On joining the service, an Aḥadī generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqaṭnāma*,[1] explains the reason why the horse is not forthcoming he is held indemnified for his dead horse, but does not receive the money for keeping a horse until he gets a new one. But if he has no *Saqaṭnāma* to show, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster. Those who are in want of horses are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one-half being reckoned as *irmās* money,[2] and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or if the Aḥadī be in debt, in eight instalments.

Āʾīn 5.

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Manṣabdārs and the Aḥadīs, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers.

The horse-dealer fixes the quality of the horses, which are carefully inspected by the Ba<u>kh</u>shīs. The description of the man is then taken down in writing. If a trooper has more than one horse they add to his establishment a camel or an ox, for which he gets half the allowance usually given to troopers of a superior class; or if this be not given he gets an addition of two-fifths.

A *Yak-aspa* trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his horse be an ʿIrāqī, he gets 30 *R.* *per mensem*; if *mujannas*, 25 *R.*; if *Turkī*, 20 *R.*; if a *Yābū*, 18 *R.*; if a *Tāzī*, 15 *R.*; if a *Jangla*, 12 *R.*

The revenue collectors of domain lands got formerly 25 *R.*, but now only 15 *R.*

Troopers of this kind mustered formerly up to four horses, but now the order is not to exceed three.

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[1] From *saqaṭa*, he fell.

[2] Or *armās* money. The word ارماس may be Inf. IV, or plural of *rams*, a grave. Badā,oni evidently reads *irmās*, because in II, p. 202, he explains *irmās* by *zawāl-i dushman* the burying or destruction of the foes, 'which word the grandees used instead of *ṭalab-i ajnās*, requesting stores, etc.' Hence *irmās*, a request made for military supplies or for salary.

Every *Dah-bāshī* had to muster 2 *chahār-aspa*, 3 *si-aspa*, 3 *du-aspa*, and 2 *yak-aspa* troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Manṣabdārs in the same proportion. But now a Dah-bāshī's contingent consists of 3 *si-aspa*, 4 *du-aspa*, and 3 *yak-aspa* troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses].

Āʾīn 6.

THE INFANTRY.

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers. They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

The writer of these . . .[1] is the *Awāra-navīs*. Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry. There are several classes of them. The first class gets 500 *dāms*; the second, 400 *d.*; the third, 300 *d.*; the fourth, 240 *d.*

The *Bandūq-chīs*, or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchi*, an honest treasurer, and an active *Dārogha*. A few *Bandūq-chīs* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks. Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal, and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these [non-commissioned] officers is of four grades, *first*, 300 *d.*; *second*, 280 *d.*; *third*, 270 *d.*; *fourth*, 260 *d.*

Common *Bandūq-chīs* are divided into *five* classes and each class into three subdivisions. *First class*, 250, 240, and 230 *d.* *Second class*, 220, 210, 200 *d.* *Third class*, 190, 180, and 170 *d.* *Fourth class*, 160, 150, and 140 *d.* *Fifth class*, 130, 120, and 110 *d.*

The *Darbāns*, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the *Mīrdahas* is five fold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 *d.* Common *Darbāns* have from 100 to 120 *d.*

The *Khidmatiyyas*.

The *Khidmatiyyas* also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. *Panjāhīs*

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[1] The text has a word which does not suit.

to *Bīstīs* have 200 *d.*; and a *Dah-bāshī* gets 180 and 140 *d.* The others get 120, 110, and 100 *d.*

The caste to which they belong was notorious for highway robbery and theft; former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty have led them to honesty; they are now famous for their trustworthiness. They were formerly called *Māwīs.* Their chief has received the title of *Khidmat Rā,ī*. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called *Khidmatiyyas.*[1]

The *Mewras.*[2]

They are natives of Mewāt, and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies, and will perform the most intricate duties. There are likewise one thousand of them, ready to carry out orders. Their wages are the same as the preceding.

The *Shamsherbāz*, or Gladiators.

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they show much swiftness and agility, and join courage to skill in stooping down and rising up again. Some of them use shields in fighting, others use cudgels. The latter are called *Lakrāit.* Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called *yak-hāth*. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call *chirwa.* Those who come from the southern districts make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call *tilwa.*

Another class goes by the name of *Pharāits.* They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a *gaz* broad.

Some again are called *Banāits.* They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a *gaz* long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of *Bankūlīs* are likewise famous. They use a peculiar sword which, though bent towards the point, is straight near the handle. But they do not make use of a shield. The skill which they exhibit passes all description. Others make various kinds of daggers and knives, and perform with them the most extraordinary feats. Each class of these men has a different name; they also

[1] They are called in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī *Piyādahā-yi Khidmatiyya.* The name of their chief under Jahāngīr was *Rai Mān.* He once picked up the young Shāh Shujā' who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 303.

[2] "Among the innovations made by Akbar are the *Dāk-Mewras*, of whom some were stationed at every place." *Khāfī Khān*, I, p. 243. Hence the *Mewras* were chiefly postmen.

differ in their performances. But it is really impossible to give a mere description of them; nor would mere listening to my descriptions be sufficient.

There are more than a hundred thousand of them. At Court one thousand of them are always in readiness. Their *Ṣadī* (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Aḥadī, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 *d*.

The *Pahluwāns*, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Tūrānī wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindūstān, clever *Mals* from Gujrāt, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 *d*. Every day two well-matched men fight with each other. Many presents are made to them on such occasions. The following belong to the best wrestlers of the age—Mīrzā Khān of Gīlān; Muḥammad Qulī of Tabrīz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of *Sher-ḥamla*, or Lion-attacker; Ṣādiq of Bukhārā; ʿAlī of Tabrīz; Murād of Turkistān; Muḥammad ʿAlī of Tūrān; Fūlād of Tabrīz; Qāsim of Tabrīz; Mīrzā Kuhna-suwār of Tabrīz; Shāh Qulī of Kurdistān; Hilāl of Abyssinia; Sadhū Dayāl; ʿAlī; Srī Rām; Kanhyā; Mangol; Ganesh; Ānbā; Nānkā; Balbhadr; Bajrnāth.

The *Chelas*, or Slaves.[1]

His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name *banda*, or slave; for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men *Chelas*, which Hindi term signifies a *faithful disciple*.[2] Through His Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.[3]

Various meanings attach to the term *slave*.[4] *First*, that which people in general mean by a slave. Some men obtain power over such as do not belong to their sect, and sell and buy them. The wise look upon this as abominable. *Secondly*, he is called a slave who leaves the path of selfishness and chooses the road of spiritual obedience.[5] *Thirdly*, one's

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[[1] *Chela*, H., disciple, etc.—P.]

[2] The word *Chela* is the same as the Arab. *murīd*, a disciple who places implicit belief in his *murshid* or *pīr*, the head of the sect. "And many of His Majesty's special disciples, in 991, called themselves *chelas* in imitation of the use of this term among Jogis."—Badāonī II, p. 325.

The author of the pretty Tazkira, entitled *Kalimātu 'sh-Shuʿarā*, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called *Chela*. His real name is Mīrzā Muḥammad Afẓal; as a poet he is known as *Sarkhush*.

[3] By joining the Divine Faith.

[[4] *Chela*?—P.]

[5] Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his *pīr*.

child. *Fourthly*, one who kills a man in order to inherit his property. *Fifthly*, a robber who repents and attaches himself to the man whom he had robbed. *Sixthly*, a murderer whose guilt has been atoned by payment of money, in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him. *Seventhly*, he who cheerfully and freely prefers to live as a slave.

The pay of Chelas varies from 1 *R.* to 1 *d. per diem.* His Majesty has divided them into several sections, and has handed them over to active and experienced people who give them instruction in several things. Thus they acquire knowledge, elevate their position, and learn to perform their duties with propriety.

His Majesty, who encourages everything which is excellent and knows the value of talent, honours people of various classes with appointments in the ranks of the army; and raises them from the position of a common soldier to the dignity of a grandee.

The *Kuhārs*, or *Pālkī* bearers.

They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders, and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *pālkīs*, *singhāsans*, *chauḍols*, and *ḍūlīs*, they walk so evenly that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting. There are many in this country; but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal. At Court, several thousand of them are kept. The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *d.* Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *d.*

Dākhilī troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Manṣabdārs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nīma suwārān*, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dākhilī troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.

A non-commissioned officer of the matchlock-bearers receives 160 *d.* or 4 *R.*; common matchlock-bearers get 140 *d.* The Mīrdahas of the archers get from 120 to 180 *d.*; common archers from 100 to 120 *d.*

I could say much more on this subject, but I must content myself with having described the principal classes. I have also given some details in speaking of the several workshops and offices of the Household.

Āʾīn 7.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS.

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A Dārogha also was appointed, whose duty it is to see that the men are not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations.

Every one who wishes to join the army is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Taʿlīqa* [*vide* Āʾīn 10].

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the Manṣabdārs.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is countersigned by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Dārogha. He takes them in the manner described above [*vide* Āʾīn 4] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay. He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge'. When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wāqiʿa Nawīs* (Āʾīn 10), the *Mīr ʿArz*, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Dārogha of the *dāgh* (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter *sīn* (i.e. like this, ר), and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse. For some time, it was made in shape of two *alifs* intersecting at right angles, the heads of the *alif* being made heavy as in this figure ✢, and put on the right thigh. For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new

signs are likewise put on the right thigh. Formerly, each horse on being mustered for the first time, was marked with a 1; the second time with a 2, and so on; but now His Majesty has ordered that separate numerals should be used for the horses of the princes, the Manṣabdārs, the governors of the provinces, and all other dignitaries attached to the Court.

The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses; for when a soldier, after the introduction of the system of repeated marks (*vide* next Āʾīn), brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhshī commenced to count from the day be brought his (exchanged) horse. But since the present mark was introduced, the rule was made that each horse with which, instead of with his old one, a trooper came to the muster, should be described, and should get the same mark as the dead one; the Bakhshīs, at the subsequent musters held for repeating the marks, were to inspect it and go by the brand. Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest.

Āʾīn 8.

ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK.

The servants (Manṣabdārs) of His Majesty have their horses every year newly marked, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavours unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty. If a Manṣabdār delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jāgīr (*aqṭāʿ*) [1] is withheld. Formerly, when the mark was repeated, they put the number on the muster of the horse, marking, for example, a horse with a 2 when it was mustered the second time, and so on; but now, as each class of soldiers had a particular mark, the mark is merely repeated at the subsequent musters. In the case of Aḥadīs, the former custom was retained. Some Bitikchīs, and near servants of His Majesty, who have no leisure to look after jāgīrs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and

[1] Properly *iqṭāʿ*, Inf. IV, of *qaṭʿa*; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as *aqṭā*. The king is therefore called *muqṭiʿ*, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. *muqṭiʿī*, the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Moghul historians accuse Sher Shāh. *Vide* end of Āʾīn 10, third book. *Muqṭaʿ*, past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*. From the times of Akbar the words *aqṭāʿ*, and *jāgīr* are used as synonyms; before his time we only find *aqṭāʿ* used; but *jāgīr* occurs, or *jāygīr*, in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word *aqṭāʿ* is but rarely met with.

muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jāgirs are very remote, do not bring their horses to muster before twelve years have elapsed; but when six years have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income is retrenched. And if a Manṣabdār has been promoted to a higher Manṣab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (ذات) increase of salary, but draws the allowance for the increased number of his men after the first muster. His old and his new men then get their assignments. If at the renewal of the mark at subsequent musters, any soldier brings a superior horse in exchange for his old one, he is taken before His Majesty, who inspects and accepts it.

Āʾīn 9.

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD.

Mounting guard is called in Hindī *chaukī*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Manṣabdār. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as *Mīr ʿArẓ*. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the *Mīr ʿArz*, and the commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue. In the evening, the Imperial *Qur* (*vide* p. 116) is taken to the State hall. The mounting guards stand on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved are drawn up on the other side. His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. Both ranks salute His Majesty. If His Majesty be prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties, as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays much attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.

The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court, and to partake of the liberality of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact

condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WĀQIʿA-NAWĪS.[1]

Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government; it is even necessary for every rank of society. Though a trace of this office may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were but recognized in the present reign. His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight.[2] Some other suitable men are selected as supernumeraries, each of whom is appointed for one day; and if any of the fourteen be detained by an important business, this additional person acts for him. Hence they are called *kotal* (supernumeraries).

Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; what His Majesty eats and drinks; when he sleeps, and when he rises; the etiquette in the State hall; the time His Majesty spends in the Harem; when he goes to the general and private assemblies; the nature of hunting-parties; the slaying of animals;[3] when he marches, and when he halts; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; vows made to him; his remarks (*vide* Fifth Book); what books he has read out to him; what alms he bestows; what presents he makes; the daily and monthly exercises[4] which he imposes on himself; appointments to manṣabs; contingents of troops; salaries; jāgīrs; *Irmās* money (*vide* above, p. 260, note 2); *sayūrghāls* (rent-free land); the increase or decrease of

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[1] From *wāqiʿa* an event and *nawīs* a writer. Instead of *waqiʿa-nawīs* we also find *majlis-nawīs*.

There was a *wāqiʿa-nawīs*, or recorder, in each Ṣūba. From several places in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, we see that the Bakhshīs of the Ṣūbas often held the posts of *Wāqiʿa-nawīs* at the same time. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 121, l. 2; p. 137, l. 1; p. 171, l. 5.

[2] Hence the arrangement must have been as follows—first day, first and second writers; second day, second and third writers; third day, third and fourth writers, and so on.

[3] Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals. *Vide* above, p. 200, l. 9.

[4] Especially fasts.

taxes; contracts; sales, money transfers; *peshkash* (tribute receipts); dispatch; the issue of orders; the papers which are signed by His Majesty; the arrival of reports; the minutes thereon; the arrivals of courtiers; their departures; the fixing[1] of periods; the inspection of the guards; battles, victories, and peace; obituaries of well-known persons; animal-fights and the bettings on them; the dying of horses; capital punishments; pardons granted by His Majesty; the proceedings of the general assemblies; marriages, births; *chawgān* games (*vide* Āʾīn 29); *chaupar nard,* chess, card games, etc.; extraordinary phenomena; the harvests of the year; the reports on events.

After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwānchī*, by the *Mīr ʿArẓ*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yād-dāsht*, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive *yād-dāsht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgement of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yād-dāsht*, when the abridgement is signed and sealed by the *Wāqiʿa-nawīs*, and the *Risāla-dār*,[2] the *Mīr ʿArẓ*, and the *Dārogha*. The abridgement, thus completed, is called *Taʿlīqa*, and the writer is called *Taʿlīqa-nawīs*.

The *Taʿlīqa* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of state.

His Majesty's object is, that every duty be properly performed; that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department; that dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem; and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check.

Āʾīn 11.

ON SANADS.

Every money matter will be satisfactorily settled, when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen and write down the

[1] *Taʿīn-i mudd-at*, the fixing of periodical inspections: opp. *be-taʿīn āmadan* to come at times not appointed beforehand, unexpectedly.

[2] The text has *risāla*, which stands for *risāla-dār*, as, in later times, *ṣūba* for *ṣūba-dār*.

For *Mīr ʿArẓ* we find in the early historians *ʿāriẓ*.

statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a *sanad*. All classes of men adopt such a practice.

The *sanad* is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims. Honest experienced officers, upon whose forehead the stamp of correctness shines, write the agreement upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction cannot be forgotten. These loose sheets into which all *sanads* are entered are called the *Daftar*.[1]

His Majesty has made himself acquainted with this department and brought it into proper working order. He has appointed clever, honest, incorruptible, experienced writers, and entrusts the *daftar* to impartial officers, who are under his immediate control.

The *Daftar* of the empire is divided into three parts :—

1. The *Abwāb*[u] *'l-māl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, etc.).

2. The *Arbāb*[u] *'t-taḥāwīl*.[2] This part explains the manner in which the sums for the Household have been expended; it contains the debits and credits entered on account of the cashkeepers employed at Court; and lastly, contains the accounts of daily expenditure, etc., for things bought or sold.

3. The *Tawjīh*.[3] This part contains all entries referring to the pay of the army, and shows the manner in which the pay is given out.

Some *sanads* are merely sealed with the imperial seal. Other *sanads* are first signed and sealed by the ministers of State, and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature. Many *sanads*, however, are only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court. This will be explained in the following.

The *Farmān-i ṣabtī*.

Farmān-i ṣabtīs are issued for three purposes :—

1. For appointments to a Manṣab; to the Vakīlship; to the post of *Sipāh-sālār* (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief); to the

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[1] English writers of the last century often refer to this system of keeping all documents in loose sheets, instead of bound books. The sheets were kept together by a string drawn through them. This custom, I am informed, is still in use in Persia; and suits Eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word *daftar* is the Greek διφθέρα, a tanned hide, parchment, *ṣaḥib-i daftar*, Minister of Finance, the same as *Dīwān* and *Vazīr*. *Daftarī* means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, etc.

[2] *The men who get transfer receipts on the Treasury.* This part of the *Daftar* contained all Household accounts, as specified above. Though all MSS. read *Arbāb*, it is probable that *abwāb* is the more usual expression.

[3] Or, *the giving of wajh* (pay) *to the army*; hence *tawjīh*, military accounts. For *tawjīh*, some MSS. read *tawjīhah*.

tutorship of the princes; to the rank of *Amīr*[u] *'l-umarā* (*vide* p. 250); to a *Nāḥiyat*, or districtship; to the post of *Vazīr*, or Finance Minister; to the *Bakhshīship* (Paymaster and Adjutant-General); to the post of a *ṣadr*, or a judge.

2. For appointments to *jāgīrs*, without military service;[1] for taking charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes . . .[2]

3. For conferring *Sayūrghāls* (*vide* Āʼīn 19); for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the *Taʿlīqa* has been made out, the *Dīwān-i Jāgīr* (who keeps the Jāgīr accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jāgīr is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the *Bakhshīs* for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—*khāṣa, o mardum barāward numāyand*; *kārgarān-i īn shughl chihra-nawīsī kunand* (this is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls). When the horses are then branded at the time of the muster, the *Bakhshī general* takes the *Taʿlīqa*, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the *Bakhshī* grants instead of the *Taʿlīqa*, is called *Sarkhaṭ*.

The *Sarkhaṭs* are entered in the *daftars* of all *Sub-Bakhshīs*, and are distinguished by particular marks. The Dīwān then keeps the *Sarkhaṭ* with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it, and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a jāgīr on the person specified in the *Sarkhaṭ*, the following words are entered on the top of the report: *Taʿlīqa-yi tan qalamī numāyand* (they are to write out a *Taʿlīqa-yi tan* (certificate of salary)). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Dīwān, who verifies it by writing on it the words *ṣabt numāyand* (ordered to be entered). The mark of the daftar, and the seal of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, and the Accountant the Dīwān, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is

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[1] *Jāgīrs*, to which no military service attaches, appear to be called *bedāgh o maḥallī*, i.e., the holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the Manṣabdārs drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of the taxes of the several *Maḥalls* or Parganas. Thus *Fatḥ*[u] *'llah* of Shīrāz (*vide* p. 203) received Basāwar as his jāgīr, *bedāgh o maḥallī*. *Badā,onī*, p. 315. Badā,onī also had a jāgīr of 1,000 Bighas at which he often grumbles, calling himself by way of joke *Hazārī*, or Commander of One Thousand.

[2] The text has *jāe* (sometimes ?) *ba ʿunwān-i mulk* (*milk* ?) *dādan*—which I do not understand.

written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Dīwān.

The *Ṣāḥib-i Tawjīh*, or military accountant, keeps the former *Taʿlīqa* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmān*, and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the *Mustaufī*, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Nāẓir* and the *Bakhshīs* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Dīwān, his accountant, and the *Vakīl* of the State.

If His Majesty's order specifies a cash payment, the *farmān* is made out in the same manner, but is generally called *barāt* (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the *Nāẓir*, the *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt* signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs and the Dīwān, it is sealed and signed by the *Khān Sāmān*. The receipts and expenditure of the Imperial workshops, the deposits and payments of salaries to the workmen (of whom some draw their pay on [military] descriptive rolls, and others according to the services performed by them, as the men engaged in the Imperial elephant and horse stables, and in the waggon department) are all made by *barāts*. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two *barāts*, one for the six months from *Farwardīn* (February–March) to *Shahrīwar*, and the other from *Mihr* (September) to *Isfandiyārmuz*. He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, etc., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement. The *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt* inspects them, passes the order for payment, inquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin *az taḥwīl-i falānī barāt nawīsand*, 'Let a *barāt* be made out showing the amount to be deposited with such and such a *Mushrif*.' The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it. In all cash payments, one-fourth is deducted, as another *sanad* is given for this amount. The *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt* then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the *barāt* and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the military accountant, the Nāẓir, the Dīwān-i Buyūtāt, the Dīwān-i Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Dīwān, and the Vakīl, who sign and seal it. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake. When it has been laid before His Majesty, the Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several *daftars*. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz., one-fourth is to be paid in gold (*ashrafīs*), one half in silver (*rūpīs*), and one part in copper (*dāms*), according to the fixed values of the coins.

The *Farmāns* in favour of Manṣabdārs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of *Sayūrghāls* (*vide* Āʾīn 19), the farmāns, after having been signed by the Mustawfī, are entered in the *daftars* of the *Dīwān-i Saʿādat* (*vide* Āʾīn 19); they are then signed and sealed by the *Ṣadr*, and the *Dīwān-i Kul.*

Farmāns are sometimes written in *Tughrā* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmān is called a *Parwāncha.*

Parwānchas are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the *Dīwān-i Saʿādat* (*vide* Āʾīn 19); the salaries of the Aḥadīs, Chelas, and of some officers in the workshops; and for the allowances on account of the food of *Bārgīr* horses (*vide* p. 147, Āʾīn 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new *sanad*, but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the ministers of the State. The Mushrif (accountant) writes out the receipt which is signed by the recipient, and is then sent to the Dīwān for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustawfī, the Nāẓir-i buyūtāt, the Dīwān-i kul, the Khān-Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Dīwān. In the *Parwānchas* given to Aḥadīs, the signature, seal, and orders of the *Aḥadībāshī*, or Commander of the Aḥadīs, are required after those of the Mustawfī, the Dīwān, and the Bakhshīs, because His Majesty from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these *Parwānchas* need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign *sarkhats*, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, *ʿarẓ-nāmchas* (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains), *qarār-nāmas* (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the *muqāsā* (statements of account which *Tahwīldārs* take from the Mustawfī, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

Āʾīn 12.

THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmāns, Parwānchas, and Barāts, are made into several folds, beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakīl puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Dīwān puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner, but a little lower, comes the seal of the Ṣadr. But when Shaykh

ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī and Sulṭān Khwāja were Ṣadrs (*vide* note to Āʾīn 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakīl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakīl, as Atka Khān did at the time of Munʿim Khān, and Adham Khān. The Mīr Māl, the Khān Sāmān, the Parwānchī, etc., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Dīwān, and the Bakhshī do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Dīwān-i juz, the Bakhshī-yi juz, and the Dīwān-i buyūtāt put their seals on the third fold. The Mustawfī puts his seal on the fourth, and the Ṣāḥib-i Tawjīh on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Ṭughrā* lines on the top of the Farmān, where the princes also put their seals in *Taʿlīqas*.

Āʾīn 13.

THE FARMĀN-I BAYĀẒĪ.

Some matters connected with the Government do not admit of delay, or must not to be known to every one. Such an order receives only the Imperial seal, and is called a *Farmān-i bayāẓī*.[1] The farmān is folded up, and two edges are made to meet, when a knot of paper is put over them, which is sealed up in such manner that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum [2] of the Kunār, the Bar, the Pīpal, and other trees. Like wax, it gets warm when exposed to fire, but gets afterwards cool and hard. When thus sealed, the farmān is put into a golden cover; for His Majesty looks upon the use of external signs of grandeur as an act of divine worship. Such farmāns are carried by Manṣabdārs, Aḥadīs, or common foot-soldiers, to the parties concerned.

When an officer receives such an order he proceeds a proper distance to meet it, performs various acts of obeisance, puts it on the crown of his head, makes the *sijda*, and rewards the messenger according to the favour conferred upon himself or according to his circumstances. According to His Majesty's wishes, the bags in which reports are sent, are secured in the same manner as a *Farmān-i bayāẓī*, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

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[1] That is, a *blank* farmān.

[[2] *Lāk*. The author probably means "sap". It is from the exudations from slits made overnight in the bark of the *baṛ* and the *pīpal* tree that the best bird-lime is made.—P.]

Āʿīn 14.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH SALARIES ARE PAID.

When any one has the good fortune of joining the army, he receives, on bringing his horses to the muster, a proper *sanad* without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in *dāms*; but at the time of making out the estimate he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight *dāms*[1] each. Half of the remainder is paid in muhurs at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in *dāms* for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty *dāms*, the soldiers, through His Majesty's kindness, received *dāms* at the same rate. Every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is raised fifty per cent. above prime cost, and for accoutrements; but, as much care is shown in buying horses, this increase is not productive of any loss for the soldier. Besides, Aḥadīs are continually employed for affairs of importance, and are permitted to carry the orders of His Majesty; and whatever is given to them as an acknowledgment for their services by the recipients of the orders, is allowed to be kept by the Aḥadīs as a present if they bear a good character; but if not, a part of it is reckoned as monthly pay.

With the view of teaching zeal and removing the stamp of laziness, His Majesty fines soldiers for absence from guard; an Aḥadī loses fifteen days' pay, and other soldiers one week's.

The Commander of every contingent (*Tābīnbāshī*) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

Āʿīn 15.

MUSĀʿADAT, OR LOANS TO OFFICERS.

Higher Officers, who receive lands or monthly salaries may occasionally come into difficulties when it would be against the rules of the government for them to ask for a present. For this reason His Majesty appointed a treasurer and a separate *Mīr ʿArẓ*, and those who wish to borrow money may now do so without prejudice to their honour, or annoyance of delay. For the first year, nothing is charged; in the second, the loan is increased by a sixteenth part of it; in the third year, by one-eighth; in the fourth year, by one-fourth; from the fifth to the seventh, by one-half; from the eighth to the tenth year, by three-fourths; from the tenth year and longer, double the original loan is charged, after which there is no further increase.

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[1] The MSS. have forty-eight.

His Majesty's only object [1] is to teach propriety in transactions; else mutual esteem will never increase among men from the nature of their mercantile affairs.

This regulation brought unprincipled usurers to the proper path, and thus prevented much impropriety.

Á'ín 16.

ON DONATIONS.

His Majesty, from his knowledge of man's nature, gives donations in various ways. It looks as if he lends, but in his heart, he makes a present; or he calls the donation a loan, but never asks it back. The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality. He gives away elephants, horses, and other valuable articles. The Bakhshís read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.

Á'ín 17.

ON ALMS.

His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries, winning the hearts of all in public or private. Many enjoy daily, monthly, or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. It is impossible for me to detail the sums which some people receive in consequence of representations having been made of their circumstances by such as stand near the throne; and it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars, or the eating houses which have been established for the poor.[2]

There is a treasurer always waiting [3] at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees is sure to find relief.

Á'ín 18.

THE CEREMONY OF WEIGHING HIS MAJESTY.

From reasons of auspiciousness, and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor, His Majesty is weighed twice a year. Various articles are put into the scales.

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[1] It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law. But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.

[2] *Vide* p. 210, l. 19.

[3] *Vide* p. 15, l. 1.

On the first day of the month of Ābān [15th October], which is the solar anniversary of the emperor, His Majesty is weighed twelve times against the following articles: gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, *rūḥ-i tūtiyā*, drugs, *ghī*, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt; the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals. A great number of small animals are also set at liberty.

His Majesty is weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab,[1] against eight articles, viz., silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables. On both occasions the festival of *Sālgirih* (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks.

The Imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of His Majesty are weighed once in every solar year. They are for the first time weighed when two years old, but only against one thing. Every year, however, a new additional thing is put on the scales. When grown up, they are generally weighed against seven or eight things, but not against more than twelve. Animals are set free as usual.

A separate treasurer and an accountant are appointed for this purpose, so that the expenditure may be made with every propriety.[2]

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[1] The lunar birthday of the emperor. As this was the *Muhammadan* birthday, the articles were, of course, fewer and less valuable.

[2] According to the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (p. 163) and *Pādishāhnāma* (I, p. 243), the weighing of the Royal person was introduced by Akbar. It is an old Hindu custom. At first the weighing took place once a year, on the birthday of the Emperor; but with the introduction of Akbar's Divine (solar) Era, we find in the history of every year the record of a *wazn-i shamsī*, or *solar* weighing, and a *wazn-i qamarī*, or *lunar* weighing. There was of course, a *jashn*, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers on the same day were promoted to higher Manṣabs, or presented their *peshkash*. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (*vide* Pādishāhnāma, p. 243) that the articles against which the royal person was weighed were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor. Jahāngir, according to several remarks in the *Tuzuk* (pp. 69, 70, 278, etc.), was even weighed in the palace of his august mother, to whom the *Tuzuk* gives the title of *Maryam Zamānī*, the Mary of the age, as Akbar's mother had been styled *Maryam Makānī* (*vide* p. 49, note 7). The solar *wazn* was even retained by Aurangzeb; *vide* ʿĀlamgīrnāma, p. 229.

The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as there the string was kept, which numbered as many knots as the emperor numbered years; hence also *sālgirih* (or *sālgirah*, as the word is pronounced all over India) "the year's knot", or birthday.

Tying knots, or bits of string, or ribbon, to the tombs of saints is considered by barren women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of *Salīm-i Chishtī* in Fathpūr Sīkri, in whose house Jahāngir was born, is even nowadays visited by Hindu and Musalman women, who tie bits of strong to the marble trellis surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, near Āgra.

Akbar's regulation, as given in the above Āʾīn, appears to have been continued under Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān made some alterations, in asfar as he was weighed on each feast first against gold and silver, and then against other articles. The articles themselves were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men and beggars, as a means of keeping the royal

Āʾīn 19.

ON SUYŪRGHĀLS.[1]

His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considers doing so an act of divine worship.

His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers lands and subsistence allowances on the following four classes of men, *first*, on inquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching after true knowledge; *secondly*, on such as toil and practise self-denial, and while engaged in the struggle with the selfish passions of human nature, have renounced the society of men; *thirdly*, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for inquiry; *fourthly*, on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade.

Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Waẓīfa*; lands conferred are called *Milk*, or *Madad-i maʿāsh*. In this way krors are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called *Ṣadr*. The *Qāẓī* and the *Mīr ʿAdl* are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled *Dīwān-i Saʿādat*.

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such

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person from all bodily and mental harm. The gold and the silver against which Jahāngīr was once weighed amounted to Rs. 33,000; but according to the *Tuzuk*, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (*Tuzuk*, p. 163), Jahāngīr was found to weigh 6,514 *tolas*. Taking the *tola* as 186 grains (Prinsep's useful Tables, by E. Thomas, p. 111), Jahāngīr at the age of forty-seven would have weighed 210¼ lbs. Troy.

Akbar, in accordance with his Hindu tendencies, used to give the money to Brahmins. "On the fifth of Rajab 973, which is the day on which the Emperor was born, the feast of weighing His Majesty was held at Niẓāmābād, a town belonging to the Sirkār of Jaunpūr, for according to established custom the emperor is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, against gold, silver, etc., which is given as a present to the Brahmins of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems," *Badāoni*, ii, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahāngīr had once his Court doctor *Rūḥu 'llāh* weighed in silver (*Tuzuk*, p. 283), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as *jāgīr*.

[1] *Vide* the note at the end of this Āʾīn.

as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire.

When His Majesty commenced to inquire into this department, it was discovered that the former *Ṣadrs* had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaykh ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afghāns and Chaudrīs were taken away, and became domain lands (*khalṣā*),[1] whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaykh who inquired into, and certified, their grants. After some time it was reported that those who held grants had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khāliṣa* lands or near the jāgīrs of Manṣabdārs, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties. The officers of the government, on receiving this order, told off certain villages for this purpose; those who were weak were protected, and the encroachments of the unprincipled were put a stop to.

But when Time, according to his custom, commenced to tear the veil of secrets, rumours also regarding this *Ṣadr* [ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī] came to the ears of His Majesty. An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred *bīghas* should lay their *farmāns* personally before His Majesty, and in default, should lose their lands. As, however, the practices of these grant-holders did not come up to the wise counsels of His Majesty, the order was passed that the excess of all lands above one hundred *bīghas*, if left unspecified in the *farmāns*, should be reduced to two-fifths of it, three-fifths of the excess being annexed to the domain lands. Irānī and Tūrānī women alone were excepted from this rule.

As it was reported that impudent, avaricious people used to leave their old grounds and take possession of new places, it was ordered that every one who should leave his place, should lose one-fourth of his lands and receive a new grant.

Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qāẓīs were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men [the Qāẓīs], who wear a turban as a sign of respectability, but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense. He examined into the whole matter, and dismissed all Qāẓīs, except those who had been appointed during the *Ṣadrship* of Sulṭān Khwāja. The Irānī and Tūrānī

[1] This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian *khāliṣa*.

women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred *bīghas* held by them should be inquired into, whether it was correctly held or not.

During the *Ṣadrship* of ˤAzīzu 'd-Dawla [Mīr Fatḥu 'llāh of Shīrāz] the following order was given :—If any one held a Suyūrghāl together with a partner, and the farmān contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the *Ṣadr* should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further inquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the Crown, and remaining domain land till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty. The new *Ṣadr* was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen bīghas.

On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for Suyūrghāl-holders, to demand revenue taxes ; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with.

Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred bīghas and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mīr Ṣadr Jahān should bring these people before His Majesty ; and afterwards it was determined that the Ṣadr with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed is this, that all Suyūrghāl land should consist of one-half of tilled land, and of one-half of land capable of cultivation ; if the latter half be not so (i.e., if the whole be tilled land), one fourth of the whole should be taken away and a new grant be issued for the remainder.

The revenue derived from each bīgha varies in the several districts, but is never less than one rupee.

His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and promoting true piety, pays much attention to this department, and appoints disinterested men as *Ṣadrs* of districts and *Ṣadr* of the realm.

Note by the Translator on the Ṣadrs of Akbar's reign.

In this Āˀin—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chaghatāˀī word *suyūrghāl* is translated by the Arabic *madadu l-maˤāsh*, in Persian *madad-i maˤāsh*, for which we often find in MSS. *madad o maˤāsh*. The latter term signifies " assistance of livelihood ", and, like its equivalent *milk*, or property, it denotes *lands given for benevolent purposes*, as specified by Abū 'l-Faẓl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for

this reason from *jāgīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time on Manṣabdārs in lieu of salaries.

This Āʾīn proves that Akbar considerably interfered with *suyūrghāl* lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or *khāliṣa*,[1] lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghān) family. He also completely broke the power of the *Ṣadr*, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the *Ṣadr*, or as he was generally styled, *Ṣadr-i Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *julūs*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (*vide* end of Āʾīn 30). Their power was immense. They were the highest law-officers, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors. Thus ʿAbdᵘ ʾu-Nabī, during his *Ṣadrship*, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (*vide* p. 186, l. 7, from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms *idrārāt*, *waẓāif*, *milk*, *inʿām-i dehhā*, *inʿām-i zamīnhā*, etc., occur for the word *suyūrghāl* (or *siyūrgāl*, or *sughurghāl*, as some dictionaries spell it).

Among the former kings, ʿAlāʿᵘ ʾd-Dīn-i Khiljī is notorious for the disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers. He resumed the greater part of the *madad-i maʿāsh* tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the *Ṣadr* by appointing his keybearer to this high office (*Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 353). Quṭbᵘ ʾd-Dīn Mubārakshāh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom ʿAlāᵘ ʾd-Dīn had deprived (*T. F.*, p. 382). Fīrūz Shāh is still more praised for his liberality in conferring lands (*T. F.*, p. 558).

That Sher Shāh has often been accused by Moghul Historians for his bounty in conferring lands, has been mentioned above (p. 256, note); and this may have been one of the reasons why Akbar showed such an unexpected severity towards the grant-holders of his time.

Each *Ṣūbā* had a *Ṣadr-i juz*, or provincial *Ṣadr*, who was under the orders of the Chief *Ṣadr* (*Ṣadr-i Jahān*, or *Ṣadr-i kul*, or *Ṣadr-i Ṣudūr*).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the *Ṣadrs*. The land specified in the *farmān* of a holder

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[1] Regarding the turning out of *Alamghā* and *Madad-i maʿāsh* holders, *vide* Elliot's Glossary, under *Altamghā*, p. 18.

rarely corresponded in extent to the land which he actually held; or the language of the *farmān* was ambiguously worded to enable the holder to take possession of as much as he could and keep it, as long as he bribed the *Qāẓīs* and provincial *Ṣadrs*. Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated inquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers. The religious views of the emperor (*vide* p. 176) and the hatred which he showed to the ʿUlamā, most of whom held lands, furnished him with a personal, and therefore stronger, reason to resume their grants, and drive them away to *Bhakkar* in Sind, or to Bengal, the climate of which in those days was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gombroon. After the fall of ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī—a man whom Akbar used once to honour by holding the slippers before his feet—Sulṭān K͟hwāja, *a member of the Divine Faith* (*vide* p. 214), was appointed as *Ṣadr*; and the *Ṣadrs* after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Badā,onī to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar's *Ṣadrs*:—

1. Shayk͟h Gadā*ī, a Shīʿah, appointed at the recommendation of Bayrām K͟hān, till 968.
2. K͟hwāja Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, till 971.
3. Shayk͟h ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī, till 986.
4. Sulṭān K͟hwāja, till his death in 993.
5. Amīr Fatḥu 'llāh of Shīrāz, till 997.
6. Ṣadr Jahān, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abū 'l-Faẓl also mentions a *Ṣadr* Mawlānā ʿAbdu 'l-Bāqī; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Badā,onī.

Page 29. Shayk͟h Gadā*ī cancelled the *Madad-i maʿāsh* lands, and took away the legacies[1] of the *K͟hānzādas* (Afg͟hāns) and gave a Suyūrg͟hāl to any one that would bear up with humiliating treatment, but not otherwise. Nevertheless, in comparison with the present time, when obstacles are raised to the possession of every *jarīb* of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shayk͟h an ʿĀlambakhsh (one who gives away a world).

Page 52. After Shayk͟h Gadā*ī, K͟hājagī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ was, in 968, appointed *Ṣadr*; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as *madad-i maʿāsh*, because he was dependent on the Dīwāns.

Page 71. In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shayk͟h ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī was made *Ṣadr*. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muẓaffar K͟hān, at that time Vazīr and Vakīl. But soon after, the Shayk͟h acquired

[1] *Awqāf*. The text of Badā,onī has wrongly *auqāt*. For *bār* read *bārah*.

such absolute powers that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistence allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if you place the grants of all former kings of Hindūstān in one scale, and those of the Shaykh into the other, his scale would weigh more. But several years later the scale went up, as it had been under former kings, and matters took an adverse turn.

Page 204. In 983, His Majesty gave the order that the *Ayimas* of the whole empire should not be let off by the *krorīs* of each Pergana, unless they brought the *farmāns* in which their grants, subsistence allowances and pensions were described, to the *Ṣadr* for inspection and verification. For this reason, a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts up to Bhakkar on the Indus, came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the grandees or near friends of His Majesty, he could manage to have his affair settled; but those who were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Rasūl, the Shaykh's head man, or make presents to his farrāshes, darbāns (porters), syces (grooms), and mihtars (sweepers), "in order to get their blanket out of the mire." Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Ayimas*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the emperor. And when the Shaykh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his *masnad* (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaykh received them in his filthy way, paid respect to no one,[1] and after much asking, begging, and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidāya* (a book on law) and other college books 100 Bīghas, more or less; and though such a man might have been for a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaykh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he gave primitive lands as marks [2] of personal favour. Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation. . . . At no time had a *Ṣadr* for so long a time exercised more tyrannical powers.

The fate of ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī has been related above. Akbar gave him money for the poor of Makkah, and sent him on a pilgrimage. When he came back, he was called to account for the money, was put in prison, and murdered "by some scoundrel" in 992.

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[1] Badā,onī says that even in the State hall when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt water on the grandees standing near him.

[2] For *batafṣīl* in the text (p. 205) one MS. of Badāonī reads *zamīn-i ibtidāʾī ba-tafṣīl* as *khūd wādād*.

The next *Ṣadr* was Sulṭān Khwāja. Matters relating to suyūrghāls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Islām, and the new *ṣadr*, who had just returned from Makkah,[1] become a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty inquired personally into all grants (*vide* p. 199, second para.). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Badā,onī, who had managed to get 1,000 bīghas, at first to the great disgust of ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fatḥᵘ 'llāh of Shīrāz (*vide* p. 34) was appointed *Ṣadr*. As the *Suyūrghāl* duties, and with them the dignity of the *Ṣadr*, had dwindled down to nothing, Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, though *Ṣadr*, could be spared for missions to the Dakhin, *Bad.*, p. 343.

" His Shīrāzī servant *Kamāl* officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Ayima-dārs,[2] who had a few spots here and there ; for the dignity of the *Ṣadr* had approached its *kamāl* (perfection). Fatḥᵘ 'llāh had not even the power of conferring five bīghas ; in fact he was an imaginary *Ṣadr*, as all lands had been withdrawn. And yet, the lands which had been withdrawn became the dwelling-places of wild animals, and thus belonged neither to the *Ayima-dārs*, nor to farmers. However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the *Ṣadr*. though of the office of the *Ṣadr* the name only is left.

Page 368. Fatḥᵘ 'llāh [the *Ṣadr* himself] laid before His Majesty a bag containing the sum of Rs. 1,000, which his collector by means of oppression or under the pretext that an Ayima-dār was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Pargana of Basāwar [which was his jāgīr] and said " My collectors have this much collected from the *Ayima-dārs* as a *kifāyat* (i.e., because the collectors thought the Suyūrghāl holders had more than *sufficient* to live upon)" But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next *Ṣadr*, Ṣadr Jahān, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed *Ṣadr* immediately after the death of Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, Badā,onī continues calling him *Muftī-yi mamālik-i maḥrūsa*, the Muftī of

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[1] The same happened afterwards to Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned so disappointed and " fleeced " from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Islām. There is a proverb current in the East, *Ash-shayṭān fi 'l-ḥaramayn*, " The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madīnah."

[2] *Maqṭāʿᵘ 'l-arẓī* a pun reminding of *muqṭaʿ* (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and *muqṭiʿ* (part act. IV), one who confers lands. Observe that Badā,onī uses the word *ayima* not only in the plural sense of *ayima-dārs*, but as an equivalent of *those who hold a Suyūrghāl*.

Regarding the punishments which grasping Ṣadrs were subject to, *vide* Elliot's Index, p. [illegible], note, of which, however, the first para. ought to be expunged as unhistorical.

the empire, which had been his title before. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the *Ṣadr*ship. Ṣadr Jahān continued to serve under Jahāngīr.

A great portion of the Suyūrghāl lands is specified by Abū 'l-Faẓl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

Āʾīn 20.

ON THE CARRIAGES, ETC., INVENTED BY HIS MAJESTY.

His Majesty has invented an extraordinary carriage, which has proved a source of much comfort for various people. When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn.[1]

His Majesty also invented a large cart, which is drawn by one elephant. It is made sufficiently large so as to hold several bath-rooms, and thus serves as a travelling bath. It is also easily drawn by cattle.

Camels and horses also are used for pulling carriages, and thus contribute to the comfort of mankind. Finely built carriages are called *bahals*;[2] if used on even ground several may sit together and travel on.

Water wheels and carts have also been so constructed that water may be fetched from far, low places. Two oxen may pull four such wheels at the same time, or one ox two.

Another machine exists which conveys water from a well, and moves at the same time a millstone.

Āʾīn 21.

THE TEN SER TAX (*DAHSERĪ*).

His Majesty takes from each *bīgha* of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty. Store-houses have been constructed in every district. They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bāzārs. These stores prove at the same time of great use for the people; for poor cultivators may receive grain for sowing purposes, or people may buy cheap grain at the time of famines. But the stores are only used to supply necessities. They are also used for benevolent purposes; for His Majesty has established in his empire many houses[3]

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[1] This was, according to Niẓām's Ṭabaqāt, an invention of Fatḥᵘ 'llāh of Shīrāz (vide p. 38, note). Niẓām says, "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn. He also invented a looking-glass which, whether seen near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures. Also a wheel, which cleaned at once twelve barrels." The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abū 'l-Faẓl to Akbar; vide Book I, Āʾīn 38, p. 122.

[2] Regarding English carriages (*rath-i angrezī*) brought to India under Jahāngīr, vide Tuzuk, pp. 167, 168.

[3] *Vide* pp. 210 and 211.

for the poor, where indigent people may get something to eat. He also appoints everywhere experienced people to look after these store-houses, and selects for this purpose active Dārogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

Āʾīn 22.

ON FEASTS.

His Majesty inquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus, when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pārsī priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. 1. *The New Year's Day feast.*[1] It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month (Farwardīn). Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents ; the first day of the month of Farwardīn, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the *Sharaf*. Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pārsīs, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month.[2] The following are the days which have the same name as a month : 19th *Farwardīn* ; 3rd *Urdībihisht* ; 6th *Khūrdād* ; 13th *Tīr* ; 7th *Amurdād* ; 4th *Shahrīwar* ; 16th *Mihr* ; 10th *Ābān* ; 9th *Āzar* ; 8th, 15th, 23rd *Day* ; 2nd, *Bahman* ; 5th *Isfandārmuz*. Feasts are actually and ideally held on each of these days. People in their happiness raise the strain of inward joy. In the beginning of each *pahr* the *naqqāras* (*vide* p. 51, l. 1) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights ; on the second for one night, and the joy is general.

I have given a few particulars in the first book (Āʾīn 18).

Āʾīn 23.

THE *KHUSHROZ* OR DAY OF FANCY BĀZĀRS.

On the third feast-day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assembly for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things

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[1] Badā,oni generally calls this day *Nawrūz-i Jalālī* ; *vide* p. 183, note 2.

[2] Thus *Ābān* was the name of the eighth month (October-November) ; but the tenth day also of every month had the same name.

found in this world. The merchants of the age are eager to attend, and lay out articles from all countries. The people of His Majesty's Harem come, and the women of other men also are invited, and buying and selling is quite general. His Majesty uses such days to select any articles which he wishes to buy, or to fix the price of things, and thus add to his knowledge. The secrets of the empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office and workshop, will then appear. His Majesty gives to such days the name of *Khushrūz*, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.

After the fancy bāzārs for women, bāzārs for the men are held. Merchants of all countries then sell their wares. His Majesty watches the transactions, and such as are admitted to Court indulge in the pleasure of buying. Bāzār people, on such occasions, may lay their grievances before His Majesty, without being prevented by the mace-bearers, and may use the opportunity of laying out their stores, in order to explain their circumstances. For those who are good, the dawn of success rises, whilst wicked bāzār-people are called to account.

His Majesty has appointed for this purpose a separate treasurer and an accountant, so that the sellers may get paid without delay. The profit made by tradesmen on such occasions is very great.[1]

Ā'*īn* 24.

REGULATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGES.

Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world; it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign, watches over great and small, and imbues men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful; for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they dislike having connexion, and their home is desolate.

Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts.

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[1] Regarding these fancy bāzārs, *vide* above Badā,onī's remarks on p. 213, l. 4.

Marriage between near relations His Majesty thinks highly improper. He says, "The fact that, in ancient times (?) even, a girl was not given to her twin brother[1] ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted followers of Muḥammad's religion as wrong; for the beginning of a religion resembles, in this regard, the beginning of the creation of mankind.

His Majesty disapproves of high dowries; for as they are rarely ever paid, they are mere sham; but he admits that the fixing of high dowries is a preventive against rash divorces. Nor does His Majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man's health, and disturbs the peace of the home. He censures old women that take young husbands, and says that doing so is against all modesty.

He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of *Tū*ī-begī*, or masters of marriages. In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Manṣabdārs commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 *Muhrs*; do. from one thousand to five hundred, 4 *M.*; do. to Commanders of one hundred, 2 *M.*; do. to Commanders of forty, 1 *M.*; do. to Commanders of ten, 4 *R.* The latter fee is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 *R.*, and common people 1 *dām*.[2] In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

*Ā*īn* 25.

REGULATIONS REGARDING EDUCATION.

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms.[3] He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may

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[[1] و برزبان قدسی جهانی رود آنکه در باستان دختر بتوام ندادندی.—P.]

[2] "The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwāl, and were stared at by the kotwāl's men, who had to take down their respective ages; and you may imagine what advantages and fine opportunities the officers thus had, especially the people of the kotwāl, and the *khānd-yi* [illegible] (?), and their other low assistants outside." *Bad.* II, p. 391. *Vide* also Third Book, *Ā*īn* 5.

[3] Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copyslips (*qiṭ*as*).

be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agrculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the *ṭabīʿī*, *riyāẓī*, and *ilāhī*, sciences,[1] and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayākaran, Nīyā,ī, Bedanta, and Pātanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasas.

Āʾīn 26.

THE ADMIRALTY.

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general: it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provides for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering this source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

First.—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries, and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His

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[1] This is the three-fold division of sciences. *Ilāhī*, or *divine*, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. *Riyāẓī* sciences treat of quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics. *Ṭabī-ʿī* sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences *ṭabaʿ'ī*, instead of *ṭabīʿī*.

Majesty's empire ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmīr, and Thathah (Sind) they are the pivot of all commerce. His Majesty had the sterns of the boats made in shape of wonderful animals, and thus combines terror with amusement. Turrets and pleasing kiosks, markets, and beautiful flower-beds, have likewise been constructed on the rivers. Along the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Ilāhābās and Lāhor, and are then sent to the coast. In Kashmīr, a model of a ship was made which was much admired.

Secondly.—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind hearted, hard working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient; in fact, he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen come from Malībār (Malabar).

Boatmen also bring men and their things from one side of the river to the other.

The number of sailors in a ship varies according to the size of the vessel. In large ships there are twelve classes. 1. The *Nāḵhudā*, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of *Nāvḵhudā*. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The *Muᶜallim*, or Captain. He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers. 3. The *Tamḍīl*,[1] or chief of the *ḵhalāṣīs*, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen's language, are called *ḵhalāṣīs* or *ḵhārwas*. 4. The *Nāḵhudā-ḵhashab*. He supplies the passengers with firewood and straw, and assists in shipping and unlading the cargo. 5. The *Sarhang*, or mate, superintends the docking and landing of the ship, and often acts for the *Muᶜallim*. 6. The *Bhanḍārī* has the charge of the stores. 7. The *Karrānī*[2] is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The *Sukkāngīr*,[3] or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the *Muᶜallim*. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The *Panjarī* looks out from

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[[1] *Tanḍail* or *ṭanḍel*, H.—P.]

[2] This word is nowadays pronounced *Kirānī*, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.

[[3] There is a modern Anglo-Indian word used in Calcutta, 'sea-cunny,' derived from *sukkānī*.—P.]

the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land or a ship, or a coming storm, etc. 10. The *Gūmtī* belongs to the class of *khalāṣīs*. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The *Top-andāz*, or gunner, is required in naval fights; the number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The *Khārwa* or common sailors. They set and furl the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set free the anchor when it sticks fast. The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or *kūsh*, as seamen call it. In the harbour of *Sātgāw* (*Hūglī*) a *Nākhudā* gets 400 *R.*; besides he is allowed four *malīkh*, or cabins, which he fills with wares for his own profit. Every ship is divided into several divisions, for the accommodation of passengers and the stowage of goods, each of the divisions being called a *malīkh*. The *Muʿallim* gets 200 *R.* and two *malīkhs*; the *Tandīl*, 120 *R.*; the *Karrānī*, 50 *R.* and one *malīkh*; the *Nākhudā khashab*, 30 *R.*; the *Sarhang*, 25 *R.*; the *Sukkāngīr*, *Panjarī*, and *Bhandārī*, each 15 *R.*; each *Khārwa* or common sailor, 40 *R.*, and his daily food in addition; the *Degandāz*, or gunner, 12 *R.*

In *Kambhāyat* (Cambay), a *Nākhudā* gets 800 *R.*, and the other men in the same proportion.

In *Lāharī*, a nākhudā gets 300 *R.*, and the rest in proportion.

In *Āchīn* he gets half as much again as in southern harbours; in Portugal, two and a half as much again; and in Malacca,[1] twice as much again. In Pegu, and Dahnāsarī, he gets half as much again as in Cambay. All these rates vary according to the place and the length of the voyage. But it would take me too long to give more details.

Boatmen on rivers have wages varying from 100 to 500 *d. per mensem*.

Thirdly, an experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers. He must be an imposing and fearless man, must have a loud voice, must be capable of bearing fatigue, active, zealous, kind, fond of travelling, a good swimmer. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are passed over *gratis*. He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night, unless in cases of necessity.

Fourthly, the remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the

[[1] Malāgha.—P.]

revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The state takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed two and a half *per cent.*, which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, that merchants lock upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

The following sums are levied as river tolls. For every boat, 1 *R. per kos* at the rate of 1,000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 *R.* for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10 *d.* for crossing; a laden cart, 4 *d.*; do. empty, 2 *d.*; a laden camel, 1 *d.*; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, ½ *d.*; do. empty, ¼ *d.* Other beasts of burden pay $\frac{1}{16}$*d.*, which includes the toll due by the river. Twenty people pay 1 *d.* for crossing; but they are often taken *gratis*.

The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the State (the other half goes to the boatmen).

Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.

Ā'īn 27.

ON HUNTING.

Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance stride about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep inquirers see in hunting a means of acquisition of knowledge, and the temple of their worship derives from it a peculiar lustre. This is the case with His Majesty. He always makes hunting a means of increasing his knowledge, and besides, uses hunting parties as occasions to inquire, without having first given notice of his coming, into the condition of the people and the army. He travels *incognito*, and examines into matters referring to taxation, or to *Sayūrghāl* lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shows himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active *Qarāwals* [men employed by the *Mīr Shikār*,[1] or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting

[[1] *Mīr shikār* in India is now applied to *any* assistant falconer, bird-catcher, etc. etc.—P.]

ground, the *Qur* (p. 110), remaining at a distance of about five *kos* from it. Near the *Qur* the grandees and other people await the arrival of His Majesty. The men who look after the things sit down and watch. About a yard behind them the *Mīr Tūzak* stands ready for service, and about a *kos* and one-half behind them stand some of the *Khidmatiyya* (p. 252) and other servants of His Majesty. The *Khidmatiyya* are told off to watch at that place. At about the same distance there stands a vigilant officer with some of His Majesty's servants. He advances very slowly and guards the private hunting ground. Behind them an experienced officer is stationed to superintend the whole. Several near servants of His Majesty have admission to this place; but generally only such are allowed to come as are required to render services at the chase.

When a certain distance has been passed over, His Majesty selects a few to accompany him, and then moves on; and after having gone over another distance, he generally goes alone, or accompanied by one or two. When the hour of rest comes, both parties which had been left behind again join His Majesty.

As I have stated the views of His Majesty regarding the chase, and have written down some remarks on the arrangements which are made during hunting parties, I shall give a few particulars as to the several modes of chasing, and the wonderful contrivances which people have recourse to.

1. *Tiger Hunting.*

They make a large cage, and having fastened it (on the ground) with strong iron ties, they put it in places frequented by tigers. The door is left open; but it is arranged in such a manner that the slightest shaking will cause it to close. Within the cage they put a goat, which is protected by a screen so constructed that the tiger can see the goat, but not get hold of it. Hunger will lead the tiger to the cage. As soon as he enters, he is caught.

Another method.—They put a poisoned arrow on a bow, painted green, in such a manner that a slight movement will cause the arrow to go off. The bow is hung upon a tree, and when the tiger passes, and shakes it a little, the arrow will hit the animal and kill it.

Another method.—They tie a sheep to a place in a road frequented by tigers, putting round about the sheep on the ground small blades of grass covered with glue.[1] The tiger comes rushing forward and gets his claws full of the glue. The more he tries to get rid of it, the more will the glue

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[[1] *Shilim*, probably bird-lime made from the exudations from slits made in the bark of the *bar* (banyan) or the *pīpal* tree.—P.]

stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him. Or they take him alive, and tame him.

His Majesty, from his straightforwardness, dislikes having recourse to such tricks, and prefers with bows or matchlocks openly to attack this brute, which destroys so many lives.

Another method.—An intrepid experienced hunter gets on the back of a male buffalo and makes it attack the tiger. The buffalo will quickly catch the tiger on its horns, and toss it violently upwards, so that it dies. It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger. One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo.

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bārī. His Majesty got on the elephant *Nāhir Ḵẖān*, and went into the jungle. The brute was stirred up; and striking its claws into the forehead of the huge animal, it pulled its head close down to the ground, when the tiger was killed by the men. This occurrence astonished the most intrepid and experienced hunters.

On another occasion, His Majesty hunted near Ṭoḍa. The tiger had stretched one of the party to the ground. His Majesty aimed at the brute, killed it, and thus saved the life of the man.

Once during a *qamargha* [1] chase, a large tiger was stirred up. The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head and killed it.

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man. All who witnessed it despaired of his life. His Majesty shot the tiger through the body and released the unfortunate man.

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mathurā. Shujāʿat Ḵẖān (*vide* Āʾīn 30, No. 51), who had advanced very far, got suddenly timid. His Majesty remained standing where he was, and looked furiously at the tiger. The brute cowered [2] down before that divine glance, and turned right about trembling all over. In a short time it was killed.

The feats of His Majesty are too numerous to be imagined; much less can a Hindustānī, as I am, describe them in a dignified style.

He slays lions,[3] but would not hurt an ant.
He girds himself for the fray; but the lion[3] drops his claws from fear.[4]

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[1] *Qamargha* is a chase for which drivers are employed. [The game is apparently enclosed in a living ring.—P.]

[2] This is one of Akbar's miracles.

[[3] *Sher*, tiger.—P.]

[4] These two verses are taken from Fayẓī's *Nal Daman*; *vide* p. 113, note 1.

2. *Elephant-catching.*

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. *Kheda.*[1] The hunters are both on horseback and on foot. They go during summer to the grazing places of this wonderful animal, and commence to beat drums and blow pipes, the noise of which makes the elephants quite frightened. They commence to rush about, till from their heaviness and exertions no strength is left in them. They are then sure to run under a tree for shade, when some experienced hunters throw a rope made of hemp or bark round their feet or necks, and thus tie them to the trees. They are afterwards led off in company with some trained elephants, and gradually get tame. One-fourth of the value of an elephant thus caught is given to the hunters as wages.

2. *Chor kheda.* They take a tame female elephant to the grazing place of wild elephants, the driver stretching himself on the back of the elephant, without moving or giving any other sign of his presence. The elephants then commence to fight, when the driver manages to secure one by throwing a rope round the foot.

3. *Gād.*[2] A deep pit is constructed in a place frequented by elephants, which is covered up with grass. As soon as the elephants come near it the hunters from their ambush commence to make a great noise. The elephants get confused, and losing their habitual cautiousness, they fall rapidly and noisily into the hole. They are then starved and kept without water, when they soon get tame.

4. *Bār.* They dig a ditch round the resting-place of elephants, leaving only one road open, before which they put up a door, which is fastened with ropes. The door is left open, but closes when the rope is cut. The hunters then put both inside and outside the door such food as elephants like. The elephants eat it up greedily; their voraciousness makes them forget all cautiousness, and without fear they enter at the door. A fearless hunter, who has been lying concealed, then cuts the rope, and the door closes. The elephants start up, and in their fury try to break the door. They are all in commotion. The hunters then kindle fires and make much noise. The elephants run about till they get tired, and no strength is left in them. Tame females are then brought to the place, by whose means the wild elephants are caught. They soon get tame.

From times of old, people have enjoyed elephant hunts by any of the above modes; His Majesty has invented a new manner, which

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[1] Hence our elephant *kheddas.*

[[2] For *gāḍ* or *gāṛd* f., a pit ?—P.]

admits of remarkable *finesse*. In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty. A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open. At it several female elephants are stationed. From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females. The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow. They are now caught as shown above.[1]

3. *Leopard*[2] *Hunting.*

Leopards, when wild, select three places. In one part of the country they hunt; in another part they rest and sleep; and in a third district they play and amuse themselves. They mostly sleep on the top of a hill. The shade of a tree is sufficient for the leopard. He rubs himself against the trunk. Round about the tree they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindī *ākhar*.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called *odī*. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet or legs, or managed by jumping to get out again. Nor could you catch more than one in each pit. His Majesty therefore invented a new method, which has astonished the most experienced hunters. He made a pit only two or three *gaz* deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

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[1] "A large number of people had surrounded the whole jungle, outside of which, on a small empty space, a throne made of wood had been put on a tree, as a seat for the emperor [Jahāngīr], and on the neighbouring trees beams had been put, upon which the courtiers were to sit and enjoy the sight. About two hundred male elephants, with strong nooses, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the *Jhariyyah* caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gujrāt] with elephant hunting. The plan was to drive the wild elephants from all parts of the jungle near the place where the emperor sat, so that he might enjoy the sight of this exciting scene. When the drivers closed up from all sides of the jungle, their ring unfortunately broke on account of the density and impenetrability of the wood, and the arrangements of the drivers partially failed. The wild elephants ran about as if mad; but twelve male and female elephants were caught before the eyes of the emperor." *Iqbālnāma*, p. 113.

[[2] *Yūz*, the *chītā* or hunting leopard.—P.]

Another method is to fasten nooses to the foot of the above mentioned tree. When the animal comes to scratch itself, it gets entangled.

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty *kos* from Āgra, especially in the districts of Bārī, Sīmāwalī, Alāpūr, Sunnām, Bhaṭinḍa, Bhaṭnīr, Paṭan in the Panjāb, Fatḥpūr Jhinjhanū, Nāgor, Mīrath, Jodhpūr, Jaisalmīr, Amrsarnāyin; but several other more remote spots have been selected as hunting grounds. His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers. He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little; but before he had done so, good news were brought from some hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser.

In former times people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained in an excellent manner in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.[1]

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the *k͟hāṣa* leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

Āʾīn 28.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.

First class leopards get 5 *s.* of meat every day; second class, 4½ *s.*; third class, 4 *s.*; fourth class, 3¾ *s.*; fifth class, 3½ *s.*; sixth class, 3¼ *s.*;

[1] Two more miracles of Akbar's.

seventh class, 3 *s.*; eighth class, 2¾ *s.* The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed,[1] double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four *sers* of butter and one-tenth of a *ser* of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also were appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 *R.* to 5 *R. per mensem*; but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The seniors get 300 *d.*, 260 *d.*, 220 *d.* 200 *d.*, and 180 *d.*, which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 *d.*, 140 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*, and 100 *d.* For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths,[2] chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and *Gushkānī* [3] carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a *Miṣl* or *Ṭaraf* (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows. One thousand [4] leopards are kept in His Majesty's park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are *khāṣa*; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (*miḥaffa*) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for a prey. Litters are also put on camels, horses, and mules. Carts even are made for the leopards, and are drawn by horses or cattle; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesty has goes by the name of *Samand-mānik*; he is carried on a *chau-ḍol*, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants,

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[1] According to the order mentioned on p. 209, 2nd para

[[2] *Jul*, a covering for any animal.—P.]

[3] In my text edition, p. 208, l. 8, کشکانی. This should perhaps be کشکانی or گوشکانی *goshkānī*, Goshkān (in Arabic *Joshqān*), being a town in Īrān, famous for its carpets.

[4] "Among the curious events which happened during the present [Jahāngīr's] reign I must mention that a leopard in captivity covered a female leopard, which gave birth to three cubs. The late emperor [Akbar] during his youth, was passionately fond of leopards and hunting with leopards. He had about 9,000 leopards collected during his reign, and tried much to pair them, so as to get cubs, but in vain. He even allowed some leopards to run about in the gardens without collars, letting them walk about and hunt after their fashion; but they would not pair. During this year a male leopard broke its collar, and covered a female, which after a space of two months and a half gave birth to three cubs. They went on well, and grew big." *Iqbālnāma*, p. 70.

fully equipped, run at his side; the *naqqāra* (a large drum) is beaten in front, and sometimes he is carried by two men on horseback, the two ends of the pole of the *chau-ḍol* resting on the necks of their horses. Formerly two horses were kept for every leopard; but now three horses are given to two leopards. Others have a dooly, or a cart drawn by four oxen. Many travel along on one and the same dooly. A tame, trained leopard has the dooly carried by three men, others by two.

Skill exhibited by hunting leopards.

Leopards will go against the wind, and thus they get scent of a prey, or come to hear its voice. They then plan an attack, and give the hunters notice where the prey is.[1] The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. *Ūparghaṭī*. The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer[2] was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws. 2. *Righnī*. The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer[2] from a distance. The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer.[2] 3. *Muhārī*. The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer,[2] when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language fails to express his skill and cunning. Thus he will raise up the dust with his forefeet and hind legs, in order to conceal himself; or he will lie down so flat, that you cannot distinguish him from the surface of the ground.

Formerly a leopard would not kill more than three deer[2] at one and the same chase; but now he will hunt as many as twelve.

His Majesty has also invented a method called *chatrmanḍal*. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer,[2] and commence the chase from this place as if it was a *qamargha* hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer[2] are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shown by His Majesty, a deer[2] made friendship

[[1] The translation of this passage is doubtful.—P.]
[[2] *Āhū*, gazelle.—P.]

with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer,[1] would pounce upon them as any other leopard.

In former times leopards were never allowed to remain loose towards the close of the day; for people were afraid of their stubbornness and anxiety to run away. But now, in consequence of the practical rules made by His Majesty, they are let loose in the evenings and yet remain obedient. Formerly, leopards were also kept blindfolded,[2] except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But nowadays they are kept without covers for their heads. The grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty *khāṣa* leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his *Ḍoriya* [3] gets five rupees from his equals. The grandee in charge of the *khāṣa* leopards, Sayyid Aḥmad of Bārha,[4] gets one muhr from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a grandee lays before His Majesty twenty pair of deer horns,[5] he takes an *Ashrafī* from each of his equals. So also do the *Ṭarafdārs* and *Qarāwals* [6] bet; in fact every one shows his zeal in trying to get as many deer[1] as possible. The skins of the deer[1] are often given to poor people as part of money presents.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer[1] belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays.[7]

[[1] *Āhū*, gazelle.—P.]

[[2] *i.e.* hooded.—P.]

[3] The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.

[4] He was a *Duhazārī*; *vide* Āʾīn 30, No. 91.

[5] Akbar required the horns of deer.

"In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Āgra to Ajmīr. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (*dargāh*) of Muʿīn-i Chishtī at Ajmīr; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every *kos* a tower (*manāra*), and had a well made near it. The towers were studded with several hundred thousand horns of deer which His Majesty had killed during his lifetime. The words *mīl-i shākh* contain the *Tārīkh* (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and *sarāīs* for travellers instead." *Badāonī*, ii, p. 173. *Vide* also Elliot's Index, p. 243, note.

[6] *Ṭarafdārs*, the men in charge of a *ṭaraf*, which word Abū'l-Faẓl above used in the same sense as *miṣl*, or set. *Ṭarafdār* means also a Zamīndār. A *Qarāwal* is a driver.

[7] "It was at this time [1027 A.H. or A.D. 1618] that Shāhzāda Shujā, son of Shāhjahān, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the insensibility in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a favour. During the prayer, it occurred to me that I had already made a contract with my God and had promised Him to give up hunting after reaching the age of fifty, not to touch after that an arrow or a gun, and never again to slay an animal with my own hands; and I thought that if I should carry into effect my former vow from the present time, which would prevent so many animals from being killed, God might grant my

The Siyāh-gosh.[1]

His Majesty is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black deer.[2] It eats daily 1 *s.* of meat. Each has a separate keeper, who gets 100 *d. per mensem.*

Dogs.

His Majesty likes this animal very much for his excellent qualities, and imports dogs from all countries. Excellent dogs come from Kābul, especially from the Hazāra district [north of Rawūl Pindī]. They even ornament dogs, and give them names.[3] Dogs will attack every kind of animals, and more remarkable still, they will attack a tiger. Several also will join and hunt down the enemy. *Khāṣa* dogs get daily 2 *s.* of meat; others get 1½ *s.* There is one keeper for every two *Tāzī*[4] (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 *d. per mensem.*[5]

Hunting Deer[6] *with Deer.*

This timid animal also may be tamed and trained. They put a net[7] over his horns, and let it off against wild deer,[6] which from fear will fight with them. During the struggle, the horn, or the foot, or the ears of the wild deer will get entangled in the net; the hunters who have been lying in ambush, will then run up to it, and catch it. The deer thus caught

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prayer for the prince's recovery, I then made this contract with God, and promised, in all singleness of intention and true belief, never again to harm an animal with my own hand. Through God's mercy, the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed. When I was in the womb of my mother, it happened one day that I did not quicken as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father [Akbar]. In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view to making God inclined to preserve me, made a vow never again, to the end of his life, to hunt on Fridays. I have followed the practice of my father, and have never hunted with leopards on a Friday." *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 249.

Jahāngīr's self denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahāngīr was fifty years of age!

[1] Or *black ear*, the Persian translation of the Turkish *qara-qolaq*, whence our *Felis caracal.*

[The Red Lynx of India, Persia, and Arabia. It is trained to take, besides the quarry mentioned, partridges, pigeons, cats, and Egyptian vultures, etc.—P.]

[[2] *Āhū-yi siyāh*, a wrong term.—P.]

[3] This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered unclean animals by Muhammadans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Nowadays we hear occasionally names, as *kallū*, *bachhū*; or English names as *fenī* (Fanny), *buldag* (bull dog), etc.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahāngīr once said to Roe, "I only desire you to help me to a horse of the greatest size, and a male and female of mastiffes, and the tall Irish greyhounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your land." Regarding European dogs in India, *vide* also *Tuzuk*, p. 138, l. 3, from below.

[[4] *Tāzī* is the Arab greyhound.—P.]

[[5] For a note on hunting Dogs and Cheetas *vide Jl. and Pro. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1907.—P.]

[[6] *Āhū*, gazelle.—P.]

[[7] *Dām*, probably a noose of thick gut.—P.]

passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net[1] should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net[1] on it, or sends out a fresh deer.[2]

Sulṭān Fīrūz-i Khiljī used to indulge in this sport; but His Majesty reduced this manner of hunting to a proper system.

Sometimes it happens that a wild deer will carry on the struggle from morning till evening, defeating as many as four tamed deer; but at last it will succumb to the fifth. Deer are nowadays rendered so perfectly obedient as to hunt at night; of their own accord they will return to their keepers, should the net break, or the wild deer run away; on hearing the call, they will discontinue a fight, come back, and then again engage, if ordered to do so.

In former times deer were never let loose at night time; for people were afraid, lest they should run away. Hence they attached a heavy ball to one of their feet, when the deer were let loose.

Many stories are related of the sagacity and faithfulness of trained deer.

Only lately a deer created much sensation. It had run away from Ilāhābād, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjāb, its home, and rejoined its former keeper.

In former times, two persons at most enjoyed together the pleasures of deer hunting. They would even, from fear of the timidity of the deer, alter the style of their dress, and lie concealed among shrubs. Nor would they employ other than wild deer; they caught them somehow, and taught them to hunt. His Majesty has introduced a new way, according to which more than two hundred may at the same time go deer hunting. They drive slowly about forty cattle towards a place where deer are; the hunters are thus concealed, and when arrived enjoy the chase.

There are nowadays also deer-studs; the deer born in captivity are employed as hunting-deer.

The keepers will also bend forward and allow the trained deer to jump on them from behind. Wild deer, on seeing this, will think that they are in the act of copulation, and come near to fight. This way of hunting is disapproved of by His Majesty, who uses female deer as a means of making wild deer fight.

Once a deer caught a leopard, whose foot had got entangled in the net.[1] Both were brought together from Gujrāt, as mentioned above (?).

Ghanṭāhera is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The

[[1] *Dām*, probably a noose of thick gut.—P.] [[2] *Āhū*, gazelle.—P.]

hunter takes a shield, or a basket, the concave[1] side being turned from him. He then lights a lamp, which being put in the concavity of the shield, will conceal him, and commences to ring bells. Other hunters lie at the same time in wait. The light of the lamp, and the sound of the bells, will attract the animals towards the place, when they are shot by the hunters in ambush. The sound of musical instruments will so enchant deer that they are easily caught; or sometimes hunters will charm them with a song, and when the deer approach will rise up and cruelly slay them. From a long time His Majesty has disapproved of these two methods.

Thāngī. The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer; and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes. The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him. At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it.

Baukāra. The hunters lie in ambush, against the scent, at a good distance from each other. Some others drive the deer towards them, each of the drivers swinging a white sheet above his head. The deer naturally will take fright, and run towards the hunters in ambush, who kill them.

Ḍaḍāwan. Two good shots, dressed in green, place themselves as before, and have the deer driven towards themselves. This manner of hunting yields much amusement, as the deer get quite perplexed.

Ajāra. The hunters tie green twigs round their bodies from head to foot, and similarly conceal their bows and arrows. They then move boldly to a place where deer generally pass, and enjoy the chase. Or they make ropes of deer skin, and attach them to trees, or let them hang down from poles all round about the place where wild deer sleep. They then lay down some nooses at a place situate against the wind. When the hunters show themselves from the side, the deer are compelled to run towards the spot where the nooses lie, and thus get caught. Sometimes the hunter will take his place behind a tree, and imitate the voice of deer. As soon as deer approach him, he kills them. Or, they tie a female deer to a place in a plain, or they let a trained deer go to the pasture place of wild deer. The latter will soon come near it, and get entangled with their feet.

Thāngī. The hunter . . .[2] walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with *pān* juice, and the man himself acts as if he were wounded. Wild animals and others will soon gather round him, waiting for his death; but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction.

[[1] *Wāshgūn.* The concave side towards him ?—P.]
[2] The text has *dar k͟hāna-yi zīn*, in the hollow of a saddle (?).

Buffalo Hunts.

At a place where buffaloes sleep, a rope is laid in the ground; but the end forming a loop is left outside. Another long rope is attached to it. To this they tie a female buffalo that wants the male. A courageous active man lies in ambush. As soon as a wild male buffalo comes to the spot, and covers the female, the hunter makes use of the opportunity, and fastens the foot of the male; but it frequently happens that the man loses courage, and has to pay for the attempt with his life.

Another mode of catching them is to go near the ponds which they frequent. They put snares round the ponds; and sitting on tame buffaloes the hunters go into the water with spears in their hands. Some buffaloes are then killed with spears, others are caught in the snares. A similar method may be adopted when buffaloes are attacked in their jungle pastures.

On Hunting with Hawks.

His Majesty is very fond of these remarkable animals, and often uses them for hunting purposes. Though he trains the *bāz*,[1] *shāhīn*,[2] *shunqār*,[3] and *burkat*[4] falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the *bāsha*,[5] to which class of hawks he gives various names.

As I am compelled to hurry on, and must restrict myself to summary accounts, it is impossible to say much about this matter, or about the skill of the several birds, especially as I know little about it, being by nature averse to destroying life. I shall, however, give a few details, and lead inquirers to the retired spot of knowledge.

In the middle of spring the birds are inspected; after this they are allowed to moult, and are sent into the country. As soon as the time of moulting is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the *khāṣa* falcons (*bāz*) which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of *jurras*[1] is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the *bāshas*,[5] the *shāhīns*,[2] the *khelas*,[6] the *chappak*[7] *bāshas*, the *baḥrīs*, the young *baḥrīs*,[8] the *shikaras*,[7]

[[1] *Bāz*, the female goshawk, the *jurra* being the male.—P.]

[[2] *Shāhīn*, fem., the male being the *shāhīncha*, is in India the Shahin Falcon, but in Persia the Peregrine is included in this term. *Vide Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1907.—P.]

[[3] The *Shunqār* was a Jer falcon, of which an occasional specimen found its way to India. It is doubtful whether it ever lived in India long enough to be trained. *Vide* Note in *Journ.* and *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iii, No. 2, 1907.—P.]

[[4] *Barkat*, *bargud*, etc., was the Golden Eagle.—P.]

[[5] *Bāsha* is the female of the Common English Sparrow-hawk, the male being called *bāshin*.—P.]

[[6] *Khela*, word not traceable; evidently the Hindi name of some hawk.—P.]

[[7] *Chappak* is the Hindi name of the *male* of the Shikara or Indian Sparrow-hawk. The dictionaries make the former term masculine, and the latter feminine, but Akbar being a falconer knew better.—P.]

[[8] *Baḥrī* is the female peregrine, and *baḥrī bachcha* the tiercel or male, which is a *third* smaller; *bachcha* does not mean "young".—P.]

the *chappak shikaras*, the *turmatīs*,[1] the *rekīs*,[2] the *besras*,[3] the *dhotīs*, the *chargh*s, the *charghela*,[4] the *lagars*, and the *jhagars*,[5] (which His Majesty calls the *chappak*[6] kind of the *lagar*). The *Molchīns*[7] also are inspected—the *molchīn* is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the *shāhīn*; it will kill a *kulang*[8] crane. People say that, whilst flying, it will break the wing[9] of the *kulang*, and others maintain that it pierces its eyes; but this cannot be proved. *Odhpapars*[10] also are brought from Kashmīr. This bird has a bluish (*sabz*) colour and is smaller than a parrot; its beak is red, straight, and long;[11] its tail is rather elongated. It brings down small birds, and returns to the hand of the keeper.

Many other birds can be trained for the chase, though I cannot specify all. Thus the crow, the sparrow, the *bodna*,[12] and the *sārū*[13] will learn to attack.

His Majesty, from motives of generosity and from a wish to add splendour to his Court, is fond of hunting with falcons, though superficial observers think that merely hunting is his object.

In this department many Manṣandārs, Aḥadīs, and other soldiers are employed. The footmen are mostly Kashmīrīs or Hindūstānīs. Their pay is as follows. *First class* of the former first grade, 7½ *R.*; second, 7 *R.*; third, 6¾ *R.* *Second class*, first grade, 6½ *R.*; second, 6¼ *R.*; third, 5¾ *R.* *Third class*, first grade, 5½ *R.*; second, 5 *R.*; third, 4½ *R.* *First class* of the latter (Hindūstānī), first grade, 5 *R.*; second, 4¾ *R.*; third, 4½ *R.* *Second class*, first grade, 4¼ *R.*; second, 4 *R.*; third, 3¾ *R.* *Third class*, first grade, 3½ *R.*; second, 3¼ *R.*; third, 3 *R.*

Allowance of Food.

In Kashmīr and in the aviaries[14] of Indian amateurs, the birds are generally fed once a day; but at Court they are fed twice. A *bāz* falcon

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[[1] *Turmatī* or vulg. *turumtī*, is the Red-headed Merlin.—P.]

[[2] *Regī*, the common English Merlin.—P.]

[[3] The Besra Sparrow-hawk male and female, sexes transposed in the dictionaries.—P.]

[[4] *Chargh* or *charkh* is the female, and *charghela* the male of F. Sakar of Jerdon.—P.]

[[5] *Lagar* is the female, and *jhagar* the male of F. Jugger.—P.]

[6] See n. 7, p. 304.

[[7] *Molchīn*, obviously the Falconet. Apparently it was occasionally trained to alight on a crane's head, the startled quarry being then gathered by hand.—P.]

[[8] *Kulang*, the common Crane (in the Panjab *kūnj*), the coolan of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.]

[[9] *Kulang rā az pā andāzad*, "brings down a crane."—P.]

[10] The name of this bird is doubtful. It is not to be found among the names of *Kashmīrī* birds given in the *Iqbālnāma*, p. 150.

[[11] Probably the Green Jay, *Sissa Sinensis*, No. 673, of Jordan, vol. ii.—P.]

[[12] *Bodna* for *būdana*, the common Quail, which is used for fighting.—P.]

[[13] *Sārū*, the common Maina.—P.]

[[14] *Qūsh-khāna*, mews for hawks.—P.]

gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 *dāms*; the *jurra*, 6 *d.*; the *bahrī*, *lāchīn*,[1] and *khela*, 5 *d.*; the *bāsha*, 3 *d.*; the *chappak bāsha*, *shikara*, *chappak shikara*, *besra*, *dhotī*, etc., 2 *d.* Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the *bāz*, *jurra*, and *bahrī*, get each seven; the *lāchīn*, five; the *bāsha*, three; others, two. *Charghs* and *lagars* get at the same time meat. *Shunqārs*, *shāhbāzes*, *burkats*, get one *ser*. On the hunting grounds they feed them on the game they take.

Prices of Falcons.

From eagerness to purchase, and from inexperience, people pay high sums for falcons. His Majesty allows dealers every reasonable profit; but from motives of equity, he has limited the prices. The dealers are to get their gain, but buyers ought not to be cheated. In purchasing falcons people should see to which of the following three classes birds belong. First, *khāna-kurīz* birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, *chūz* birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, *Tarīnāk* birds; they have moulted before they were captured. *First class*, a superior *bāz* costs 12 *muhrs*; second grade do., 9 *M.*; third do., 6 *M.* *Second class*, first, 10 *M.*; second, 7 *M.*; third, 4 *M.* A *third class bāz* is somewhat cheaper than second class ones.

Jurras. First class, 8, 5, 2, 1 *M.* Second class, 6, 4, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1 *M.*, 5 *R.*
Bāshas. First class, 3, 2, 1 *M.*, 4 *R.* Second class, 2, 1 *M.*, 5 *R.*
Shāhīns of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 *M.*
Bahrīs, 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1 *M.* Young *Bahrīs*[2] a little less.
Khelas, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ *M.*
Charghs, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*, 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
Chappak bāshas, 1 *R.*; $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ *R.*
Shikaras, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ *R.*
Besras, 2 *R.*, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1 *R.*
Chappak shikarahs, *lagars*, *jhagars*, *turmatīs*, *rekīs*, 1 *R.*, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ *R.* Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the *Mīr Shikārs* (superintendents[3] of the chase) according to their ranks, with suitable presents. There are also fixed donations for each game brought in, varying from 1 *M.* to 1 *d.* If the falcons bring down the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited and to the size of the quarry. The man who keeps the falcon gets one-half of the allowance. If His Majesty hunts himself, fifty

[1 *Lāchīn* is the Turki name of the Shāhīn.—P.]
[2 *Bahrī bachcha*, peregrine tiercel.—P.]
[3 *Mīr shikār* is a term applied to any bird-catcher, assistant falconer, etc.—P.]

per cent. of the donation is stopped. If birds are received by the Imperial aviary[1] as *peshkash* (tribute), the *Qushbegī* (Superintendent of the Aviary)[1] gets for every *bāz* 1½ *R.*, and the accountant ½ *R.* For *jurras*, the Qushbegī gets 1 *R.*; the accountant, ¼ *R.*; for *bāshas*, the former receives ¼ *R.*; the latter, ⅛ *R.*; for every *lāchīn*, *charg͟h*, *charg͟hela*, *k͟hela*, *baḥrī-bachcha*, the former gets ⅛ *R.*, the latter $\frac{1}{10}$ *R.*; for every *chhappak*, *bāsha*, *dhotī*, etc.. the former receives $\frac{1}{10}$, the other $\frac{1}{20}$ *R.* (*sūkī*).

The minimum number of *bāz* and *shāhīn* falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of *jurras*, thirty; of *bāshas*, one hundred; of *baḥrīs*, *charg͟hs*, twenty; of *lagars*, and *shikaras*, ten.

Waterfowl.

Hunting waterfowl affords much amusement. A rather curious way of catching them is the following. They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning and fly away.

In Kashmīr they teach *bāz* falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter. Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes].

Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds.

Durrāj[2] catching. There are various methods. Some get a young one and train it till it obeys every call. It will fight with other birds. They put it into a cage, and place hair-nets[3] round about it. At the signal of the fowler, the bird commences to sing,[4] when wild ones come near it either from friendship or a desire to fight, and get entangled in the snares.

Bodnas.[5] The hunter makes a claypot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl's cry. The *bodnas*, frightened by the noise, come together. Another man then lights a bundle of straw, and swings it about, so that the eyes of the birds get dazzled. The fowlers thereupon seize the birds, and put them into cages.

Lagars. They resemble *charg͟hs*; in body they are as large *jurras*. They hang nets[3] (about the body of a trained *lagar*) and put birds'

[1 Mews.—P.]

[2 The *durrāj* is the francolin or black partridge. Abū 'l-Faẓl was evidently not a sportsman and probably meant the red-legged partridge, the *chukor* of India and the *kubk* of Persia.—P.]

[3 Hair nooses.—P.] [4 *I.e.* utter its challenging call.—P.]

[5 *Bādina* in Persia is the Common Quail.—P.]

feathers into its claws. It is then allowed to fly up. The birds think that it has got hold of prey, and when they get entangled in the nets,[1] they commence to fight, and fall to the ground.

Ghaughā,ī. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a *ghaughā,ī*,[2] and hang hair nets [1] round about them. The owl will soon get restless; the birds think that the owl wishes to fight, and commence to cry out. Other *ghaughā,īs* and owls will come to their assistance; and get entangled in the nets.[1]

Frogs.

Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows. This looks very funny.

His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight [3] and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their enemy.

I am in the power of love; and if I have thousands of wishes, it is no crime:
And if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime.

And in truth, His Majesty's fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love,[4] and an instance of his wonderful insight.

It would take me too long to give more details. It is impossible to enumerate all particulars; hence it is better to go to another subject.

Ā,īn 29.

ON AMUSEMENTS.

His Majesty devises means of amusement, and makes his pleasures a means of testing the character of men.

There are several kinds of amusements, of which I shall give a few details.

[[1] *Dām*, a noose. The nooses are attached to the claws. A hawk so prepared is called in the Panjab, a *bārak* (*urānā*). For Plate and description, vide *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iii, 1907.—P.]

[[2] *Ghaughā,ī* is probably the Large Grey Babbler or *sāt bhā,ī*, 433 of Jerdon.—P.]

[[3] *Ba-shikār-i ʿankabūt dil nihad* means "catch their prey".—P.]

[4] The Historian may thank Abū 'l-Faẓl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the Ā,īn, Abū 'l-Faẓl tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as "higher motives" were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in frog and spider fights, Abū 'l-Faẓl has to recognize the fact that peculiar leanings will lead even a sensible man to oddities and to actions opposed to the general tenor of his character.

The game of Chaugān (hockey).[1]

Superficial observers look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. It tests the value of a man, and strengthens bonds of friendship. Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding; and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the reins. Hence His Majesty is very fond of this game. Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court; but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents.

When His Majesty goes to the *maydān* (open field) in order to play this game, he selects an opponent and some active and clever players, who are only filled with one thought, namely, to show their skill against the opponent of His Majesty. From motives of kindness, His Majesty never orders any one to be a player; but chooses the pairs by the cast of the die. There are not more than ten players; but many more keep themselves in readiness. When one *gharī* (20 minutes) has passed, two players take rest, and two others supply their place.

The game itself is played in two ways. The first way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end of the *chaugān* stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the *hāl*.[2] This manner is called in Hindī *rol*. The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugān* stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called *bela*, and may be performed in various ways. The player may either strike the ball with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the right forwards or backwards; or he may do so with his left hand; or he may send the ball in front of the horse to the right or to the left. The ball may be thrown in the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body: or the rider may spit[3] it when the ball is in front of the horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather[3] of the horse, and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shows in the various

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[1] There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game. Bābar says it is played all over Thibet. In the East of India the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey players. *Vide* Vigni's Travels in Cashmir, ii, p. 289.

Sayyid ʿAbdu 'llah Khān, son of Mīr Khwānda, was Akbar's *chaugānbegī*, or Superintendent of the game of *chaugān*; *vide* Bad. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, after 970, Gharīwalī, which lies a *farsang* from Āgra, was the favourite spot for *chaugān* playing. Bad. II, p. 70. [*Chaugān*, polo.—P.]

[2] The pillars which mark the end of the playground.

[[3] Meaning not clear.—P.]

ways of hitting the ball; he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all. When a ball is driven to the *ḥāl*, they beat the *naqqāra*, so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the *ḥāl* wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (*mīl*), the game is looked upon as *burd* (drawn). At such times the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill.

His Majesty also plays at *chaugān* in dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire.[1] For this purpose, *palās* wood is used, which is very light, and burns for a long time. For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the *chaugān* sticks. If one of them breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may keep them.

It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it.

ʿIshqbāzī (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon-flying *ʿishqbāzī* (love-play). This occupation affords the ordinary run of people a dull kind of amusement; but His Majesty, in his wisdom, makes it a study. He even uses the occupation as a way of reducing unsettled, worldly-minded men to obedience, and avails himself of it as a means productive of harmony and friendship. The amusement which His Majesty derives from the tumbling and flying of the pigeons reminds one of the ecstasy and transport of enthusiastic dervishes; he praises God for the wonders of creation. It is therefore from higher motives that he pays so much attention to this amusement.

The pigeons of the present age have reached a high state of perfection. Presents of pigeons are sent by the kings of Īrān and Tūrān; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

When His Majesty was very young, he was fond of this amusement; but afterwards, when he grew older and wiser, he discontinued pigeon-flying altogether. But since then, on mature consideration, he has again taken it up.

A well-trained pigeon of bluish colour, formerly belonging to the Khān-i

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[1] "In the beginning of 974 (July, 1566), the emperor returned (from Jaunpur) to Āgra, and passed his time in amusements. He went to *Nagarchīn*, a new town which he had built near Āgra, and enjoyed the *chaugān* game, dog-hunting, and pigeon-flying. He also invented a fire ball with which he could play at *chaugān* during dark nights." Bad. II, p. 48.

The town of *Nagarchīn* was subsequently deserted.

Aʿẓam Kokaltāsh (ʿAzīz, Akbar's foster-brother), fell into His Majesty's hands. From the care which was bestowed upon it by His Majesty, it has since become the chief of the imperial pigeons, and is known under the name of *Mohana.* From it descended several excellent pigeons as *Ashkī* (the weeper), *Parīzād* (the fairy), *Almās* (the diamond), and *Shāh ʿūdī* (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of ʿUmar Shay<u>kh</u> Mīrzā (father of Bābar), Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā (*vide* p. 107, note 6) into oblivion. Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Īrān and Tūrān, who had to learn the art from the beginning.

In former times pigeons of all kinds were allowed to couple; but His Majesty thinks equality in gracefulness and performance a necessary condition in coupling, and has thus bred choice pigeons. The custom is to keep a male and a female pigeon, if not acquainted with each other, for five or six days together, when they become so familiar that, even after a long separation, they will again recognize each other. The hen generally lays her eggs from eight to twelve days after coupling, or more if she be small or sickly. Pigeons couple in *Mihrmāh* (September–October), and separate in *Farwardīn* (February–March). A hen lays two eggs, but sometimes only one. The cock will sit upon the eggs by daytime, and the hen during the night, and thus they keep them warm and soft. In winter they hatch for twenty-one days; but if the air be warm, they only take seventeen or eighteen. For about six days, the pigeons feed their young ones with *falah*, which means grain reduced to pap in the crops of the old ones. Afterwards they feed them from the grain in their crops, which they bring up before it is fully digested. This they continue for about a month, and as soon as they see that the young ones can pick up their own grain, the old ones will go away. Eggs, or even young ones, are sometimes given to other pigeons to take care of. Home bred young ones are trained. Some are kept in a *tor* (?) till they get stronger, and get acquainted with the place. As soon as these two things have been attained, the pigeons only get one-third or one-fourth of their daily allowance of food. When they have got a little accustomed to hunger, they are gradually allowed to take flights. They take daily about forty *hawās* (air), i.e., forty flights. At this period the trainers pay no regard to what is called *char<u>kh</u>* and *bāzī* (*vide* below). Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (*<u>kh</u>wābānīdan*). After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong. They are then again let off. This is the best time

for showing their skill. As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the *bāzī* and the *charkh*, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. *Charkh* is a lusty movement ending with the pigeon throwing itself over in a full circle. If this circular turn be not completely carried out, the movement is called *kitf* (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. *Bāzī* is the same as *muʿallaq zadan* (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. *kalā*). Some thought that the two wings (*kitf*) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a *muʿallaq*; but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the *bāzī* and *charkh*, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called *gulūla*, and is disliked. Sometimes pigeons hurt themselves and fall down; but often they get all right again when they come near the ground; and taking courage and collecting their strength they fly up again. A pigeon of the *khāṣa* pigeon cots will perform fifteen *charkhs* and seventy *bāzīs*, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but nowadays they let off as many as one hundred and one. From the attention which His Majesty has bestowed upon pigeons, they are now so carefully trained as to be let fly at night, even to great heights.

At the time of departure and the breaking of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (*kahār*). Sometimes they will alight and take rest for a while, and then rise again.

It would be difficult to count the pigeons at Court; but there are more than twenty thousand. Five hundred of them are *khāṣa*. They have a great reputation, and remarkable stories are told of their skill.

Pigeon trainers of former times, in order to determine the value of a pigeon, used to twist the foot,[1] or looked to the slit of the eyes, or the openings on the top of the bill; but they failed to discover more signs of the value of a breed. His Majesty has discovered many more; and the fixing the value of a pigeon, in former times a matter of great difficulty, has now become very easy. *First*. His Majesty subdivided the three marks of former trainers as follows: the two eyes, and their upper and lower signs;[2] the eight claws; the two sides of the beak, above and below. The mutual comparison of these signs has led to many additional means of fixing the value of a pigeon. *Secondly*. His Majesty looks to the variety and the colour of the annular protuberances on the feet of pigeons. A book

[[1] *Bu-tāfun-i pā*. Can this mean the angle made by the feet?—P.]

[[2] *Du chashm bālā u pāʾīn*.—P.]

has been made in which the systematic order of these signs has been laid down. According to them, His Majesty distinguishes ten classes, for each of which separate aviaries have been constructed. The price of pigeons in the first house has not been limited. Many a poor man anxious to make his way has found in the training of superior pigeons a means of getting rich. A pair of second class pigeons has a value of 3 *R.*; third class, 2½ *R.*; fourth class, 2 *R.*; fifth class, 1½ *R.*; sixth class, 1 *R.*; seventh class, ⅘ *R.*; eighth class, ½ *R.*; ninth and tenth classes. ⅜ *R.*

When inspections are held, the stock of *Mohana* first pass in review; then the young ones of *Ashkī*. Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four *zirihī* pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hājī ʿAlī, of Samarqand, which coupled with an *ʿUdī* hen, of which I do not know the owner; their stock has become famous. The precedence of all other pigeons is determined by their age or the time they were bought.

The Colours of Khāṣa Pigeons.

Magasī (flea-bitten); *zirihī* (steelblue); *amīrī* (?); *zamīrī* (a colour between *sirihī* and *amīrī*; His Majesty invented this name); *chīnī* (porcelain blue); *nofṭī* (grey like naptha); *shafaqī* (violet); *ʿūdī* (aloe-wood coloured); *surmaī* (dark grey, like powder of antimony); *kishmishī*[1] (dark brown, like currants[1]); *ḥalwāʾī* (light-brown, like *halwā* sweetmeat); *ṣandalī* (light-brown, like sandalwood); *jigarī* (brown); *nabātī* (greyish white); *dūghī* (bluish-white, like sour milk); *wushkī* (of the same colour as the gum called *wushk*); *jīlānī* (*chīlānī* ?); *kūraʾī* (brown, like a new earthen pot ?); *nīlūfarī* (bluish-white); *azraq* (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); *ātashī* (black brown); *shaftālū* (peach coloured); *gul-i gaz* coloured (?), yellow; *kāghazī* (yellowish, like native paper); *zāgh* (grey like a crow); *agrī* (a colour between white and brown); *muḥarraqī* (a dirty black); *khiẓrī* (a colour between greenish and *ʿūdī*); *ābī* (water coloured);[2] *surmag* (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between *surmaʾī* and *magasī*).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as *gulsar* (whose head resembles a flower); *dumghāza* (stumptail); *yakrang* (of one colour); *ḥalqūm-safīd* (white throat); *parsafīd* (white wing); *kalla* (big head); *ghazghash* (wild chick); *māgh*[3] (name of an aquatic bird); *bābarī* (?); *ālpar* (red wing ?); *kalta par* (short wing); *māhdum*[4] (moontail);

[1 *Kishmish*, Sultana raisins.—P.]
[2 *Abī*, blue.—P.]
[3 *Māgh*, a cormorant ?—P.]
[4 *Māhdum*, with white on the tail.—P.]

ṭawqdār (ring-bearer); *marwārīd-sar* (pearl head); *mashʿala-dum* (torch-tail); etc.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours. His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as *bughur* (?), *qarapilk* (with black eyelids); *abyārī*; *palangnīgārī*; *rekhta pilk*.

There are also many pigeons which do not perform *charkhs* and *bāzīs*, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the *Kokah* [1] pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The *Bagha*, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning to wake up people. 3. The *Luqqan*,[2] which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The *Loṭan*.[3] They turn it about, and let it off on the ground, when it will go through all the motions which a half-killed fowl goes through. Some pigeons will do so when the keeper strikes his hand against the ground, and others will show the same restlessness when on leaving the cage their beak is made to touch the ground. 5. The *Khernī*. The cock shows a remarkable attachment to the hen. Though he fly up so high as to be no longer visible, if the hen be exposed in a cage, he will get restless and drop down instantly to join her. This is very remarkable. Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one; some close both; or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying. 6. The *Raṭh* pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The *Nishāwarī* pigeon will fly up, and follow its cage to whatever place it be taken. It will fly out of sight, and stay away for a day or two, when it comes down and remains in its cage. 8. The *parpā* (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (?) and act as if it sighed.

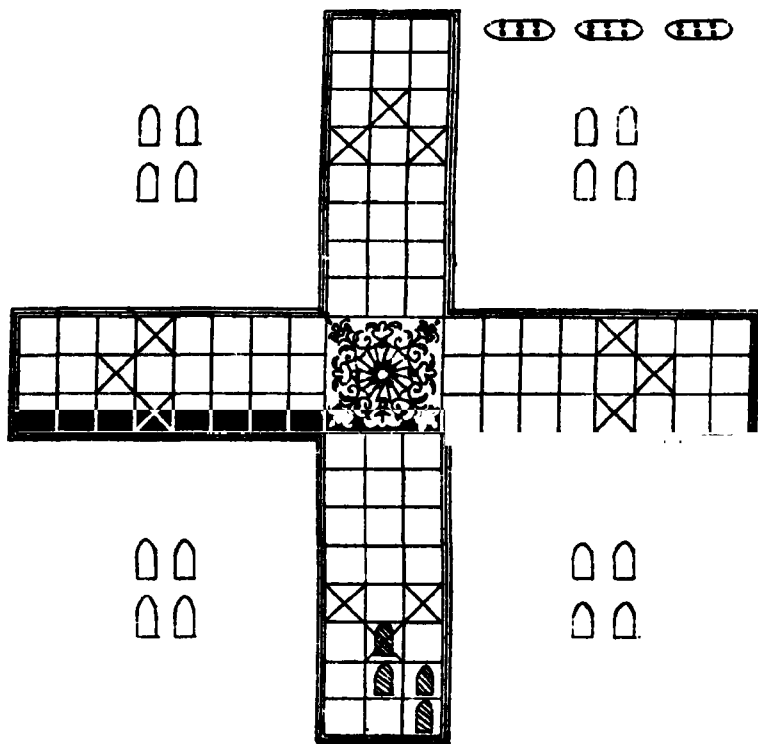
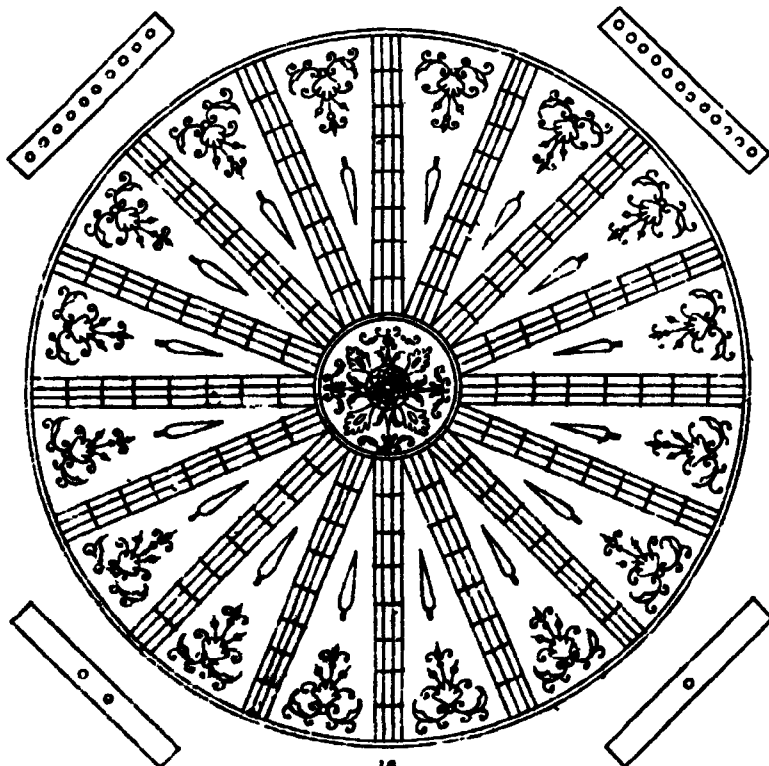
Some pigeons are merely kept for the beauty of their plumage, the colours of which receive peculiar names. Thus some are called *shīrāzī*, *shūstarī*, *kāshānī*, *jogiya*, *reza-dahan*, *magasī*, and *qumrī*.[4] Wild pigeons are called *gola*. If some of them are caught, they will be joined by a thousand others; they soon get domesticated. They return daily to the fields, and get on their return salt water to drink. This makes them vomit the grain which they had eaten on the fields. The grain is collected and given as food to other pigeons.

People say that pigeons will but rarely live above thirty years.

[[1] Can this be for *kokla*, a species of green pigeon which has a call like the human voice, *vide* Jerdon No. 778.—P.]

[[2] *Laqā*, *laqa*, etc., the fantail pigeon.—P.]

[[3] *Loṭan*, the ground-tumbler.—P.]

[[4] *Qumrī*, a white dove.—P.]

17
18

Four *sers* of grain will be sufficient for one hundred of such pigeons as are made to fly; but for other pigeons five *sers* are required; or seven and a half if they pair. But flying pigeons get millet, not mixed with other grain; the others get a mixture of the seven kinds of grain, viz., rice, *dāl* [1] *-i nuk͟hūd* (gram), *mūng dāl* [1] (millet), *karar, lahdara, juwār* (*vide* p. 66). Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and show much skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence, as *Qulʿ Alī* of Buk͟hārā, Mastī of Samarqand, Mullāzāda, Pūr-i Mullā Aḥmad Chand, Muqbil K͟hān Chela, K͟hwāja Ṣandal Chela, Mūmin of Harāt, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf of Buk͟hārā, Ḥājī Qāsim of Balk͟h, Ḥabīb of Shahrsabz, Sikandar Chela, Māltū, Maqṣūd of Samarqand, K͟hwāja Phūl, Chela Hīrānand.

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 *R.* to 48 *R. per mensem.*

The game of Chaupar.

From times of old, the people of Hindūstān have been fond of this game. It is played with sixteen pieces of the same shape; but every four of them must have the same colour. The pieces all move in the same direction. The players use three dice. Four of the six sides of each dice are greater than the remaining two, the four long sides being marked with one, two, five, and six dots respectively. The players draw two sets of two parallel lines, of which one set bisects the other at right angles. These parallel lines are of equal length. The small square which is formed by the intersection of the two sets in the centre of the figure is left as it is; but the four rectangles adjoining the sides of the square are each divided into twenty-four equal spaces in three rows, each of eight equal spaces, as shown in Pl. XVII, Fig. 17. The game is generally played by four players, of whom two play against the other two. Each player has four pieces, of which he puts two in the sixth and seventh spaces of the middle row of the parallellogram before him, and the other two in the seventh and eighth spaces of the right row. The left row remains empty. Each player moves his pieces, according to his throw, in the outer row, always keeping to the right, till he arrives at the outer left row of the parallelogram, from which he started; and from there he moves to the middle row. When arrived at the latter place, he is *puk͟hta* (ripe), and from here, he must throw for each of his pieces the exact number which will carry them to the empty square in the centre of the figure. He is now *rasīda*, or arrived.

When a player is *puk͟hta* or *rasīda*, he may commence to play from

[[1] Pulse of *mūng*.—P.]

the beginning, which leads to amusing combinations. As long as a player keeps two of his pieces together, the adversary cannot throw them out. If a player throws a double six, he can move two pieces over twelve spaces, provided the two pieces stand together on one field; but he is allowed to move them only six fields onwards should he prefer doing so. A similar rule holds for double fives, etc. A throw consisting of a six, a five, and a one, is called *khām* (raw); and in this case, two pieces, provided they are togdther on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too. Formerly the custom was that when a piece had come to the last row, and . . . [1] His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as *qāyim*, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are *pukhta*, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled to double the amount of the bet. Should any of the players leave the game for some reason he may appoint anyone to play for him; but he will have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute. Of all winnings, the substitute is entitled to two *per cent*; if a player loses a bet, his substitute has to pay one *per cent*. If a player drops one of his pieces, or any of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee. But a fine of a muhur is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces over too many fields, or tries to get two throws.

Formerly many grandees took part in this game; there were often as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months. If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of wine.

Superficially considered, all this is mere play; but His Majesty has higher aims; he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness.

The game of Chandal Mandal.

This game was invented by His Majesty. The figure, or board, which is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form

[1] The MSS. have *az khānayi hashtum pāyān shavad, hangām-i khān shudan amuda. gardad*, which words are not clear to me.

round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row; *vide* Pl. XVII, *Fig.* 18. The number of pieces is sixty-four, and four dice are used, of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively. The number of players is sixteen. Each gets four pieces, which are placed in the middle. As in Chaupar, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways; one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself. *Second* way, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has thus been thrown out, commences again from his starting point. *Third* way, at each throw two pieces are moved at a time, either with or without the permission of throwing out pieces. *Fourth* way, the preceding rule is applied to three or four pieces at a time. *Fifth* way, the dice are thrown four times, and four pieces are moved at each throw. These different ways may, moreover, be varied by some players playing to the right, others to the left, or all in the same direction. *Sixth* way, a player is out when he comes to the place from which the player opposite to him commenced to play, moving from the middle row of his opponent into the empty space in the centre of the board. Or the game ends when each player arrives at the place from which his left hand neighbour commenced to play. *Seventh* way, each player puts his pieces before himself, and has three throws. At the first throw, he moves two of his pieces; at the second, one of his own pieces and one belonging to his right hand neighbour; at the third throw, he moves any piece of his own, and allows his left hand neighbour to move one of his pieces. In this way of playing, no player throws out the pieces of his neighbours; and when the game is in full swing, he allows each piece which happens to come into the row in which he is, to move according to his own throw, as a sort of compliment to a guest. *Eighth* way, two pieces when together may throw out another set of two pieces; but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Ninth* way, four pieces together may throw out three together; three together, sets of two; and two together, single ones; but single pieces do not throw out each other. *Tenth* way, each player moves his pieces according to the number of points which he throws,

but at the same time, the player who sits opposite to him moves his pieces according to the number of points on the reverse side of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who threw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points to the right and left sides of the dice. *Eleventh* way, the players use five dice and four pieces. Each player, in his turn, throws the five dice, and moves his pieces according to the sum of the two highest points of his throw. The next highest point is taken by his *vis-à-vis*, and the two lowest points by his right and left hand neighbours. *Twelfth* way, the players have each five dice and five pieces. At every throw, he gives the points of one die to his right hand neighbour, and uses the others for himself. Sometimes the thrower mentions beforehand the names of four players to whom he wishes to give the points of four dice, he himself taking the points of the fifth die. And when a player requires only a few points, to get *pukhta*, he must give the remaining points to those near whom the dice fall.

The game may also be played by fifteen or less players, the figure being lessened accordingly. So also may the number of the dice be increased or decreased.

Cards.

This is a well-known game. His Majesty has made some alterations in the cards. Ancient sages took the number twelve as the basis, and made the suit to consist of twelve cards; but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve different kinds. His Majesty plays with the following suits of cards. 1*st*, *Ashwapatī*, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Dihlī, with the umbrella (*chatr*), the standard (*ʿalam*), and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represents a *vazīr* on horseback; and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten. 2*nd*, *Gajpati*, the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as the ruler of Oṛīsah. The other eleven cards represent, as before, the vazīr, and elephants from ten to one. 3*rd*, *Narpati*, a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bījāpūr. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the vazīr sits on a footstool (*ṣandalī*), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4*th*, *Gaḍhpati*. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī* over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5*th*, *Dhanpati*, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shows a

man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazīr sits upon a *ṣandalī*, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards show jars full of gold and silver, from one to ten. *6th, Dalpati*, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shows a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors on coats of mail. The vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī* and wears a *jayba* (breast armour); the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour. *7th, Nawāpati*, the lord of the fleet. The card shows a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazīr sits, as usual, on a *ṣandalī*, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten. *8th, Tīpati*, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shows a woman as *vazīr* on a *ṣandalī*, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. *9th, Surapati*, the king of the divinities (*deota*) also called *Indar*, on a throne. The vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī*, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. *10th, Asrpati*, the lord of genii (*deo*). The card represents Sulaymān, son of Dā'ūd, on the throne. The vazīr sits on a *ṣandali*, and the other ten cards have genii. *11th, Banpatī*, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (*sher*) with some other animals. The vazīr is drawn in the shape of a leopard (*palang*) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. *12th, Āhipati*, the king of snakes. The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazīr is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten.

The first six of these twelve suits are called *bīshbar* (powerful), and the six last, *kambar* (weak).

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards. Thus the *Dhanpati*, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money. The vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī*, and inspects the Treasury; but the ten other cards of this suit are representations of the ten classes of workmen employed in the Treasury, viz., the jeweller, the melter, the piece-cutter (*muṭallas-sāz*), the weighman, the coiner, the *muhr* counter, the *bitikchī* (writer) of *dhan* pieces (*vide* p. 31, No. 17), the *bitikchī* of *man* pieces (*vide* p. 31, No. 20), the dealer, the *qurṣgar* (*vide* p. 24, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects *farmāns*, grants, and the leaves of the *daftar* (*vide* p. 270); the vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī* with the *daftar* before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the *misṭar* maker (*vide* p. 55, note 1), the clerk who makes the entries in the *daftar*, the illuminator (*muṣawwir*), the *naqqāsh* (who ornaments the pages), the *jadwal-kash* (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the *farmān*

writer, the *mujallid* (bookbinder), the *rangrez*[1] (who stains the paper with different colours). The *Pādishāh-i qimāsh* also, or king of manufacturers is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks silk, silken stuffs. The vazīr sits near him on a *ṣandalī*, inquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the *Pādishāh-i Chang*, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music; the vazīr sits before him, inquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards. Next, the *Pādishāh-i zar i safīd*, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī*, and makes inquiries regarding donations. On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint. Then comes the *Pādishāh-i Shamsher*, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazīr sits upon a *ṣandalī*, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, etc. After him comes the *Pādishāh-i Tāj*,[2] or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the *ṣandalī* upon which the vazīr sits, is the last of the insignia. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, etc. Lastly, the *Pādishāh-i Ghulāmān*, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazīr on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, etc.

Besides these ordinary games of cards, His Majesty also plays chess, four-handed and two-handed. His chief object is to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow-feeling at Court.

Āʼīn 30.

THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE.[3]

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their

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[1] This is the Hindūstānī corruption of the Persian *rang-raz*. [*Rang-rīz* is the common word in modern Persian.—P.]

[2] *Tāj* is often translated by a *crown*; but *tāj* is a *cap* worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word *diadem* does not express the meaning of *tāj* either. [It apparently is also used of a *crown* as well as the cap worn by dervishes.—P.]

[3] From the fact that Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khusraw, (*vide* No. 4) who was born in 995, but not Prince Parwīz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 256, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993, and Abū 'l-Faẓl may have afterward added Khusraw's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parwīz and Shāhjahān, both of whom were born before the Āʼīn was completed.

Again, Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7) and Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn (No. 8) are mentioned as

qualities, and to say something of their experience. But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise; in fact, it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy, and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of. I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.

1. **Shāhzāda Sulṭān Salīm,** eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.

2. **Shāhzāda Sulṭan Murād,** second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.

3. **Shāhzāda Sulṭan Dānyāl,** third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had *five* sons:—

1. Ḥasan }
2. Ḥusayn } twins, born 3rd Rabī' I, 972. They only lived one month.
3. Sulṭān Salīm **[Jāhangīr].**
4. Sulṭān Murād.
5. Sulṭān Dānyāl.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(*a*) Shāhzāda Khānum, born three months after Salīm, in 977. (*b*) Shukr[u] 'n-Nisā Begum, who in 1001 was married to Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7, below, p. 326); and (*c*) Ārām Bānū Begum; both born after Sulṭān Dānyāl. Regarding the death of the last Begum, *vide* Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar's wives the following are mentioned[1].—1. Sulṭān Ruqayyah Begum (a daughter of Mīrzā Hindāl), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumāda I, 1035 (*Tuzuk*, p. 401). She was Akbar's first wife (*zan-i kalān*), but had no child by him. She tended Shāhjahān. Nūr Jahān (Jahāngīr's wife), also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkan. 2. Sulṭān Salīma Begum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (?) Begum[2] (a daughter of Bābar)

Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, i.e., a short time before the Ā'īn was completed.

The biographical notices which I have given after the names of the more illustrious grandees are chiefly taken from a MS. copy of the *Ma'āsir*[u] *'l-Umarā*[a] (No. 77 of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, *Badā,onī*, and the *Akbarnāma*. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a genealogical table of the House of Tīmūr, and would refer the reader to a more detailed article on the Chronology of Tīmūr and his Descendants published by me in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for August, 1869.

[1] *Vide* Additional notes.

[2] Regarding her, *vide Jour. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1869, p. 136, note.

and Mīrzā Nur[u] 'd-Dīn Muḥammad. Humāyūn had destined her for Bayrām Khān, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign. After the death of Bayrām, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zī Qa'da, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name *Makhfī* (concealed), and must not be confounded with *Zeb[u] 'n-Nisā*[1] (a daughter of Awrangzeb's) who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Rāja Bihārī Mal and sister of Rāja Bhagawān Dās. Akbar married her in 968, at Sāmbhar. 4. The beautiful wife of Abd[u] l-Wāsi, married in 970 (*vide* Bad. II, 61). 5. Bībī Dawlat Shād, mother of (*b*) and (*c*); *vide* Tuzuk, p. 16. 6. A daughter of 'Abd[u] 'llah Khān Mughul (964). 7. A daughter of Mīrān Mubarak Shāh of Khandes; *vide* p. 13, note 1.

Sulṭān Salīm. Title as Emperor, Jahāngīr. Title after death, *Jannatmakānī*. Born at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, on Wednesday, 17th Rabī' I, 997, or 18th Shahrīwar of the 14th year of Akbar's Era. He was called *Salīm* because he was born in the house of Shaykh Salīm-i Chishtī. Akbar used to call him *Shaykhū Bābā* (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, *vide* below, No. 4. Jahāngīr died on the 28th Ṣafar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Rājor on the Kashmīr frontier. *Vide* my article on Jahāngīr in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1869.

Sulṭān Murād, Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muḥarram, 978, and died of *delirium tremens* in 1006, at Jalnāpūr in Barār (Tuzuk, p. 15; Akbarnāma II, p. 443; Khāfī Khān, p. 212). He was nicknamed *Pahārī* (Bad. II, 378). He was *sabzrang* (of a livid[2] complexion), thin, and tall (*Tuzuk*). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr's son (*Tuzuk*, p. 38).

Sulṭān Dānyāl was born at Ajmīr, on the 10th Jumāda I, 979, and died of *delirium tremens*, A.H. 1013. Khāfī Khān, I, p. 232, says the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dānyāl in remembrance of Shaykh Dānyāl, a follower of Mu'īn-i Chishtī, to whose tomb at Ajmīr Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dānyāl married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Qulij Khān (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jānān Begum, a daughter of Mīrzā 'Abd[u] 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān (Khāfī Khān, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibrāhīm 'Ādlishāh of Bījāpūr; but he died before the marriage was consummated. He had three sons:—1. Ṭahmūras, who was married to Sulṭān Bahār Begum, a daughter of Jahāngīr. 2. Bāyasanghar (بایسنغر). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand

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[1] Her charming Dīwān was lithographed at Lucknow, A.H. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Awrangzeb, and was born in A.H. 1048.

[[2] Sallow?—P.]

Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusraw. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mīrzā Wālī (*Tuz.*, p. 272). Ṭahmūras and Hoshang were killed by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Janāngīr (*vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for August, 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bāyasanghar. *Vide Calcutta Review* for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is repreeented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindūstānī poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. **Sulṭan Khusraw**, eldest son of Prince Salīm [Jahāngīr].

Jahāngīr's wives (*Tuzuk*, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sulṭān[u] 'n-Niṣā Begum [*Khāfī Khān*, Sulṭān Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusraw. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusraw and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfī Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rāy Rāy Singh, son of Rāy Kalyan Mal of Bīkānīr, married 19th Rajab 994, Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the *Tuzuk* among Jahāngīr's wives. 3. A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Māldeo, married in 994. The *Tuzuk* (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosāyinī. She is the mother of Shāhjahān, and died in 1028 (*Tuzuk*, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka. She is the mother of Prince Parwīz. She died 15th Tīr, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rāja Keshū Dās Rāṭhor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīwar 998). 6 and 7. The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār. 8. A daughter of ʿAlī Rāy, ruler of little Thibet (*Bad.*, II, 376), married in 999 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). 10. Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afkan. On her marriage with Jahāngīr she received the title of Nūr Maḥall, and was later called Nūr Jahan (*Tuz.*, p. 156). Jahāngīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahān.

Jahāngīr's children. 1. Sulṭān Khusraw. 2. Sulṭān Parwīz. 3. Sulṭān Khurram (Shāhjahān). 4. Sulṭān Jahāndār. 5. Sulṭān Shahryār. Two daughters are mentioned :—(*a*) Sulṭān[u] 'n-Niṣa Begum ; (*b*) Sulṭān Bahār Bānū Begum. There were "several children" after Parwīz ; but the *Tuzuk* (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sulṭān Khusraw was born on the 24th Amurdād 995 (*Tuzuk*, Preface) ; but Khāfī Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of Aʿzam Khān

Koka. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, *Tuzuk*, p. 73. 2. Dāwar Bakhsh (also called *Bulāqī*),[1] whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshasp.

Khusraw died on the 18th Isfandiyārmuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr ; but at an order of Shāhjahān, he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Āṣaf Khān.

Sulṭān Parwīz, born 19th Ābān, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mīrzā Rustam-i Ṣafawī (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (*Tuz.*, p. 282). A daughter of Parwīz was married to Dārā Shikoh. Parwīz died of *delirium tremens* in 1036.

Sulṭān Khurram (Shāhjahān) was born at Lāhor on the 30th Rabīʿ I, 1000 A.H. Regarding his family, *vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal* for August, 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar's favourite.

Sulṭān Jahāndār had no children. He and *Sulṭān Shahryār* were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar's death (*Tuz.*, Preface, p. 17). Shahryār was married, in the 16th year of Jahāngīr, to Mihr^{u}'n-Nisā, the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (*Tuzuk*, p. 370). The *Iqbāl-nāma* (p. 306) calls her لاردلي بيگم. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname *Nāshudanī* (fit for nothing). Khusraw, Parwīz, and Jahāndār died before their father.

Shahryār, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān, proclaimed himself Emperor of Lāhor a few days after the death of Jahāngīr. He was killed either at the order of Dāwar Bakhsh or of Āṣaf Khān ; *vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal* for August, 1869, p. 218.

5. **Mīrzā Sulaymān,** son of Khān Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Abū Saʿīd.

6. **Mīrzā Ibrāhīm,** son of Mīrzā Sulaymān (No. 5).

Mīrzā Sulaymān was born in 920, and died at Lāhor in 997. He is generally called *Wālī-yi Badakhshān*. As grandson of Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, he is the sixth descendant from Tīmūr. Ābū Saʿīd killed Sulṭān Muḥammad of Badakhshān, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshān, which after his death fell to his son, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who had three sons, Bāyasanghar Mīrzā, ʿAlī Mīrzā,[2] Khān Mīrzā. When Maḥmūd died, Amīr Khusraw

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[1] The MSS. spell this name بلاقي and بولاقي.

[2] The *Maʿāṣir^{u} 'l-Umarā* calls the second son, Mīrzā Masʿūd.

Khān, one of his nobles, blinded Bāyasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bābar in 910. When Bābar took Qandahār, in 912, from Shāh Beg Arghūn, he sent Khān Mīrzā as governor to Badakhshān. .Mīrzā Sulaymān is the son of this Khān Mīrzā.[1]

After the death of Khān Mīrzā, Badakhshān was governed for Bābar by Prince Humāyūn, Sulṭān Uways (Mīrzā Sulaymān's father-in-law), Prince Hindāl, and lastly, by Mīrzā Sulaymān, who held Badakhshān till 17 Jumāda II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, to Prince Kāmrān. They were released by Humāyūn in 952. and took again possession of Badakhshān. When Humāyūn had taken Kābul, he made war upon and defeated Mīrzā Sulāymān who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kāmrān from Sind obliged Humāyūn to go to Kābul, he reinstated the Mīrzā, who held Badakhshān till 983. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, was killed in battle.[2]

In the eighth year when Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's (Akbar's brother) mother had been killed by Shāh Abū 'l-Maʿānī Mīrzā S. went to Kābul, and had Abū 'l-Maʿalī hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Ḥakīm, and appointed Umed ʿAlī, a Badakhshān noble, M. M. Ḥakīm's Vakīl (970) But M. M. Ḥakīm did not go on well with Mīrzā Sulaymān. who returned next year to Kābul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Hakīm fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mīrzā S., though he had taken Jalālābād, had to return to Badakhshān. He returned to Kābul in 973, when Akbar's troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mīrzā Sulaymān's wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchāk tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muḥtaram Khanum, the widow of Prince Kāmrān. M. Sulaymān wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, by whom she had a son, Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7). When Mīrzā Ibrāhīm fell in the war with Balkh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khānum to her father, Shāh Muḥammad of Kāshghar; but she refused to go. As soon as Shāhrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshī nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaymān. This he did,

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[1] The *Maʾāṣir* says Khān Mīrzā died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mīrzā Sulaymān was born in 920, the *Tārīkh* of his birth being the word يخشي.

[2] Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar's Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.

alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Shāhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshān which his father had held, and found so many adhreents, that M. Sulaymān, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshān for Kābul, and crossing the Nīlāb went to India (983). Khān Jahān, governor of the Panjāb, received orders to invade Badakhshān, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Munˁīm Khān had died and Mīrzā Sulaymān did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaymān then went to Ismāˁīl II of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (No. 8) at Qandahār, and then to M. M. Ḥakīm at Kābul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kābul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshān, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between *Tāqān* and the Hindū Kush. Soon after Muḥtaram Khānum died. Being again pressed by Shāhrukh, M. Sulaymān applied for help to 'Abdu 'llah Khān Uzbak, king of Tūrān, who had long wished to annex Badakhshān. He invaded and took the country in 992; Shāhrukh fled to Hundūstān, and M. Sulaymān to Kābul. As he could not recover Badakhshān, and being rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Ḥakīm, he followed the example of his grandson, and repaired to the court of Akbar, who made him a Commander of six thousand.

A few years later he died, at Lāhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. **Mīrzā Shāhurkh**, son of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.

Vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukru n'-Nisā Begum, and made him governor of Mālwa, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dakhin. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his *Manṣab* by Jahāngīr.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, *Kābulī Begum*, was a daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. She wanted to take his body to Madīnah, but was robbed by the Badawīs; and after handing over the body to some "scoundrels" she went to Baṣra, and then to Shīrāz. In 1022, Shāh ˁAbbās married her to Mīrzā Ṣulṭān ˁAlī, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Shāhrukh's Children.—1. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, twins. Ḥasan fled with Khusraw and was imprisoned by Jahāngīr. 2. Badīˁu 'z-Zamān (or Mīrzā Fatḥpūrī), "a bundle of wicked bones," murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrāt). 3. *Mīrzā Shujāˁ* rose to honours under Shāhjahān, who called him Najābat Khān. 4. Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān. He held

a town in Badakhshān, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mīrzā Sulṭān, a favourite of Jahāngīr. He had many wives, and Jahāngīr would have given him his own daughter in marriage if he had not perjured himself in trying to conceal the number of his wives. He fell into disgrace, and was appointed governor of Ghāzīpūr, where he died. 6. Mīrzā Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The *Tuzuk* (p. 65) says that after the death of Shāhrukh, Jahāngīr took charge of four of his sons and three of his daughters, "whom Akbar had not known." "Shāhrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindī."

8. **Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn**, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismāʿīl-i Ṣafawī.

In 965, Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahār, which was given, together with Dāwar and Garmsīr as far as the river Hīrmand, to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā,[1] his nephew. Sulṭān Ḥusayn M. died in 984, when Shāh Ismaʿīl II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Rustam Mīrzā, Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, and Sanjar Mīrzā. The first was killed by Shāh Ismaʿīl Īrān. The other four in Qandahār had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shāh saved their lives. The new Shāh Khudābanda, gave Qandahār to Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and Dāwar as far as the Hīrmand to Rustam Mīrzā, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakīl being Hamza Beg ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakīl caused Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrza to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muẓaffar had the Vakīl murdered. This led to fights between Muẓaffar and Mīrzā Rustam who, however, returned to Dāwar.

Not long after the invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbaks under Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān and Bāqī Sulṭān (a sister's son of ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān of Tūrān) took place, and the Qandahār territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most of the Qizilbāsh grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shāh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mīrzā Rustam who had gone to Hindūstān, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lāhor, and kept Qandahār in anxiety, and Muẓaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahār to Akbar, though ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān of Tūrān advised him not to join the Chaghatā'ī kings (the Mughuls of India) At that time Qarā Beg (an old servant of Muẓaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed *Farrāshbegī*

[[1] **Son of Bahrām Mīrzā** ***vide*** **95.—P.**]

by Akbar) returned to Qandahār, and prevailed upon Muẓaffar's mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahār to India.

Akbar sent Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn, Governor of Bangash, to take prompt possession of Qandahār, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muẓaffar wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khān in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of *Farzand* (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jāgīr, "which is worth more than all Qandahār."

But the ryots of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muẓaffar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muẓaffar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Muẓaffar then went to Makkah, but returned after reaching the first stage, which displeased Akbar so much, that he refused to have anything to do with him.

Muẓaffar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called *Qandahār Maḥall*, was in 1018 married to Shāhjahān, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawāb Parhez Bānū Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaydar Mīrzā (who rose to dignity under Shāhjahān, and died in 1041), and Ismāʿīl Mīrzā. The *Maʾāṡir* mentions two other sons, Alqās Mīrzā and Ṭahmās Mīrza.

Muẓaffar's younger brothers, Mīrzā Abū Saʿīd, and Mīrzā Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (*Vide* Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. **Mīrzā Rustam.**—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dāwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Maḥmūd, ruler of Sīstān. Muẓaffar Ḥusayn assisted him at first, but having married Malik Maḥmūd's daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lalla (guardian) Hamza Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahār, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbaks into Khurāsān, he conquered the town of Farāh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Maḥmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him and killed him, when Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn, Maḥmūd's son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that

his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dāwar, he quickly took the town of Qalāt. Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother, he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar. Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mīrzā, and his four sons Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan, and Ibrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a *Panjhazārī*, and gave him Multān as jāgīr, "which is more than Qandahār." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chītor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pathān as *tuyūl*, and sent him, together with Āṣaf Khān against Rāja Bāsū. But as they did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Rāysīn as jāgīr. He then served under Prince Dānyāl in the Dakhin. In 1021, Jahāngīr appointed him Governor of That'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghūns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr made him *Shashhazārī*, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān, whom Shāhjahān, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced ʿAbdᵘ 'llah to retire to Jhosī. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjahān at 120,000 Rs. *per annum*, and retired to Āgra. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dārā Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Āgra, 72 years old.

As a poet he is known under the *takhalluṣ* of *Fidāʾī*. He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age. All his sons held subsequently posts of distinction.

His first son *Murād* got from Jahāngīr the title of *Iltifāt Khān*. He was married to a daughter of ʿAbdᵘ r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān Murād's son, Mīrzā Mukarram Khān, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son *Mīrzā Ḥasan-i Ṣafawī*, a *Hazār o panṣadī* under Jahāngīr, was Governor of *Kūch*; died 1059. Ḥasan's son, *Mīrzā Ṣafshikan*, was Fawjdar of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. *Ṣafshikan's* son, *Sayfᵘ 'd-Dīn-i Ṣafawī*, accepted the title of Khān under Awrangzeb.

10. **Bayrām Khān**, the fifth in descent from Mīr ʿAlī Shukr Beg Bahārlū.

Bahārlū is the name of a principal clan of the Qaraqūilū Turks. During the time of their ascendency under Qarā Yūsuf, and his sons Qarā Sikandar and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh, rulers of ʿIrāq-i ʿArab and Āzarbāyjān, ʿAlī Shukr Beg held Daynūr, Hamadān, and Kurdistān, "which tracts are still called

the territory of ʿAlī Shukr." His son Pīr ʿAlī Beg stayed some time with Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shirāz, *but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.* Pīr ʿAlī Beg's son, in the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl-i Ṣafawī, left ʿIrāq, *settled* in Badakhshān, and entered the service of Amīr Khusraw Shāh (*vide* p. 324, last line) at Qunduz. He then joined, with his son Sayf ʿAlī Beg, Bābar's army, as Amīr Khusraw had been deposed. Sayf ʿAlī Beg is Bayrām's father.

Bayrām Khān was born at Badakhshān. After the death of his father he went to Balkh to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humāyūn's army, fought in the battle of Qanawj (10th Muḥarram, 947), and fled to the Rāja of Lakhnor (Sambhal). Sher Shāh met Bayrām in Mālwa, and tried to win him over. But Bayrām fled from Barhāmpūr with Abū 'l-Qāsim, governor of Gwāliyār, to Gujrāt. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Shāh who had just returned from Gujrāt. Abū 'l-Qasim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bayrām, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, "I am Bayrām." "No," said Abū 'l-Qāsim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off." Abū 'l-Qāsim was then killed, and Bayrām escaped to Sulṭan Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bayrām embarked at Sūrat for Sindh. He joined Humāyūn on the 7th Muḥarram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Rāja Māldeo, was pressed by the Arghūns at Jon. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khān. On Humāyūn's return, Bayrām was sent on a mission to Prince Kāmrān. When Humāyūn marched to Kābul, he took Qandahār by force and treachery from the Qizilbāshes, and making Bayrām governor of the district, he informed the Shāh that he had done so as Bayrām was "a faithful servant of both". Subsequently rumours regarding Bayrām's duplicity reached Humāyūn; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahār, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bayrām. He gained the battle of Māchhīwāra, and received Sambhal as jāgīr. In 963, he was appointed *atālīq* (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjāb against Sikandar Khān. On Akbar's accession (2nd Rabīʿ II, 963) at Kalānūr, he was appointed *Wakīl* and *Khān Khānān*, and received the title of *Khān Bābā.* On the second of Shawwāl, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mānkoṭ, when Akbar returned to Lāhor, an imperial elephant ran against Bayrām's tent, and Bayrām blamed Atgah Khān

(No. 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Lāhor, went with his whole family to Bayrām, and attested *his innocence by an oath upon the Qurʿān.*[1] *In* 965, Bayrām married Salīma Sulṭān Begum (p. 321, note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Badāonī (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bayrām to the ill-treatment of Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khān and his mother Māhum Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Ṣiddiq Muḥammad Khān, Shāhābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, etc., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jāgīrs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bayrām Khān's friends lived in affluence. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* says that no less than twenty-five of Bayrām's friends reached the dignity of Panjhazārīs—rather a proof of Bayrām's gift of selecting proper men. Bayrām's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd-i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amīr Chaubān." (Bad.)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bayrām left Āgra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewāt and Nāgor, from where he returned his *insignia*, which reached Akbar at Jhujhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjāb, which Bayrām, as it was said, wished to invade. The *insignia* were conferred on Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Bayrām's old *protégé*; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bayrām felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gujrāt occupied by Rāja Māldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bīkānir to his friend Kalyān Mal

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[1] So *Bad.* II, 19. The story in Elphinstone (fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbarnama says, Bayrām was on board a ship on the Jamna, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abū 'l-Faẓl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī* has a fine critical note on Abū 'l-Faẓl's account. I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of *all* the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī* the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Āmīr Ḥaydar of Belgrām from the Akbarnāma, the Tabaqāt, Badāonī, Firishta, *the Akbarnāma by Shaykh Ilāhdād of Sarhind* (poetically called *Fayẓī*; *vide* Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and *Abū 'l-Faẓl's letters*, of which the compiler had *four* books. The sources in *italics* have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details.

Belgrām was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the *literati* of the town *vide* the Taẕkira by Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, entitled *Sarw i Āzād*.

The author of the *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī* states that Abū 'l-Faẓl does not show much friendliness to Bayrām, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone, p. 495, note) represents Abū 'l-Faẓl as "Bayrām's warm panegyrist".

(No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son ʿAbḍu 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) to Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna, his adopted son and jāgīr holder of Tabarhinda, and broke out in open rebellion. At Dīpālpūr, on his way to the Panjāb, he heard that Dīwāna had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muẓaffar ʿAlī (whom Bayrām had dispatched to Dīwāna to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bayrām resolved to take Jālindhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bayrām had been defeated[1] by Atgah Khān (No. 15). Bayrām fled to Fort Tilwāra on the banks of the Biyāh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Jalāir was killed; and when his head was brought to Bayrām,[2] he was so sorry that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bayrām, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Munʿim Khān, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (*chandogh*). Hājī Muḥammad of Sīstān (No. 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nāgor to Patan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrāt, where he was hospitably received by Mūsa Khān Fūlādī, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumāda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayrām was stabbed by a Lohānī Afghān of the name of Mubārak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māchhīwara. "With an *Allāhu Akbar* on his lips, he died." The motive of Mubārak Khān is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmīrī wife of Salīm Shāh with her daughter had attached herself to Bayrām's suite, in order to go to Ḥijāz, and it had been settled that Bayrām's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afghāns. Some beggars lifted up Bayrām's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaykh Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mash.had.

Akbar took charge of ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm, Bayrām's son (*vide* No. 29), and married soon after Salīma Sulṭān Begum, Bayrām's widow.

For بیرام *Bayrām*, we often find the spelling بیرم *Bayram*. Firishta generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkmān. Bayrām was a Shīʿah, and a poet of no mean pretensions (*vide* Badāonī III, p. 190).

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[1] Near کرناجور (or کوناچور) in the Parganah دکهدار [Bad.; دکدار *Maʾāṡir*; دکدهار *Sawāniḥ*] near Jālindhar. For کوناجور, Bad. (II. 40) has کنور پهلور. Firishta says (Lucknow edit., p 249) the fight took place outside of Māchhīwāra.

[2] The *Maʾāṡir* mentions this fact without giving the source.

11. **Munʿim Khān, son of Bayrām[1] Beg.**

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Munʿim Khān was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court, as was also his brother Fazil Beg. When Humāyūn, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Thathah, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fazil Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humāyūn made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humāyūn to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governership of Qandahār, which was given to Bayrām Khān. In 961, he was appointed *atālīq* of Prince Akbar; and when Humāyūn invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kābul in charge of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, then about a year old. In Kābul M. remained till Bayrām fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zī Ḥijja, 967, at Lūdhiyāna, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bayrām. M. was then appointed *Khān Khānān* and *Vakīl*.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khān (No. 19) killed Atgah Khān (No. 15), Munʿim who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkār of Qanawj) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān of Bārha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honours.

Munʿim Khān's son, Ghanī Khān, whom his father had left in charge of Kābul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Māh Jūjak Begum, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother, advised by Fazil Beg and his son ʿAbdu 'l-Fatḥ, who hated Ghanī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghanī Khān was once temporarily absent at Fālīz. Ghanī Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Māh Jūjak Begum then appointed Fazil Beg as Vakīl and ʿAbdu 'l-Fatḥ as *Nāʾib*; but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Shāh Walī, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kābul. Thinking he could rely on the Kābulīs, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalālābād by Māh Jūjak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Shāh Walī and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Ḥaydar Qāsim Koh-bar, whom she had made *Vakīl*) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghakhars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Āgra.

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[1] Some MSS. read *Mīram*; but *Bayrām* is the preferable reading.

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jāgīrs in Jaunpūr (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymān Kararānī of Bengal, who promised to read the Khuṭba and strike coins in Akbar's name.

In 982, Akbar, at M.'s request, went with a flotilla from Āgra to Bihār, and took Ḥājīpūr and Paṭna from Dāʿūd, Sulaymān's son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihār, and was ordered to follow Dāʿūd into Bengal. M. moved to Ṭānḍa (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Ṭoḍar Mal, left Ṭānḍa, and followed up Dāʿūd, who after his defeat at تکروه submitted at Katak. In Ṣafar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpūr was built by Munʿim Khān in 981. Its *tārīkh* is صراط المستقیم. M.'s son Ghanī Khān went to ʿĀdilshāh of Bījāpūr, where he died.

12. **Tardī Beg Khān**, of Turkistān.

A noble of Humāyūn's Court. After the conquest of Gujrāt, he was made Governor of Champānīr (Pāwangaṛh). On Mīrza ʿAskarī's defeat by Sulṭān Bahādur, Tardī Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humāyūn. During the emperor's flight from India, Tardī Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless[1] companions. When passing through the territory of Rāja Māldeo, he even refused Humāyūn a horse, and at Amarkoṭ, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Rāy Parsād advised H. to imprison some of his nobles and take away part of their property by force. H., however, returned afterwards most of it. In Qandahār, Tardī Beg left the emperor and joined Mīrzā ʿAskarī. But Mīrzā ʿAskarī put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tardī Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humāyūn's return from ʿIrāq, Tardī Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg, son of Mīrzā Sulṭān, to Dāwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewāt as

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[1] Elphinstone, p. 452, note, says Tardī Beg was one of the most *faithful* followers of Humāyūn, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.

jāgīr. In 963, when Humāyūn died (7th Rabīʿ I), T. read the *khuṭba* in Akbar's name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abū 'l-Qāsim, son of Prince Kāmrān, to Akbar in the Panjāb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dihlī. T. drove away Ḥājī Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, from Narnaul. On Hemū's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dihlī, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bayrām Khān, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar "a sort of permission" (Bad. II, 14) had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bayrām's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghatā'ī nobles looked upon him. Tardī Beg was a Sunnī.

13. **Khān Zamān-i Shaybānī.**

His father Ḥaydar Sulṭān Uzbak-i Shaybānī had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāshes. When Humāyūn returned from Persia, Ḥaydar joined him, together with his two sons ʿAlī Qulī Khān [Khān Zamān] and Bahādur Khān (No. 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahār. On the march to Kābul, an epidemic broke out in Humāyūn's camp, during which Ḥaydar Sulṭān died.

ʿAlī Qulī Khān distinguished himself in Kābul and in the conquest of Hindūstān, was made Āmīr and sent to the Du,āb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns. At the time of Akbar's accession, ʿAlī Qulī Khān fought with Shādī Khān, an Afghān noble; but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dihlī, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before ʿAlī Qulī arrived at Dihlī, Tardī Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. ʿAlī Qulī was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemū near Pānīpat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bayrām were near, they took no part in this battle. ʿAlī Qulī received the title of *Khān Zamān*. Next to Bayrām, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khān Zamān then got Sambhal again as jāgīr, cleared the whole north of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghāns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpūr as *Qāʾim maqām* for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mānkeṭ. In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zamān's *tuyūl's*, which led him to rebel. Bayrām from generosity did not interfere; but when Pīr Muḥammad, Khān Zamān's enemy, had been appointed Vakīl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his

maḥalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afghāns who threatened the Jaunpūr District. Pīr Muḥammad had also Burj ʿAlī thrown from the walls of Fīrūzābād, whom Khān Zamān had sent to him to settle matters. Khān Zamān now thought it was high time to send away Shāham Beg, went to Jaunpūr, and drove away the Afghāns. Upon the fall of Bayrām, they appeared again under Sher Shāh, son of ʿĀdlī,[1] with a large army and 500 elephants. Khān Zamān, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpūr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Ẕī Qaʿda of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Karah (on the Ganges) Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpūr. Soon after, he defeated the Afghāns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khān Zamān rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyūldārs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghāzīpūr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpūr sent Munʿim Khān against him. Being a friend of Khān Zamān, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Muʿizzu 'l-Mulk and Rāja Ṭodar Mal, having been defeated by Bahādur and Iskandar Uzbak (No. 48), the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation. Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khān Zamān was left in possession of his jāgīrs, and Akbar returned to Āgra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumāda I, 974, marched against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Khān Zamān rebelled again, read the *Khuṭba* at Jaunpūr in M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's name, and marched against Shergaṛh (Qanawj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjāb, 12th Ramaẓān 974, and Āgra on the 26th Shawwāl. At Sakīt, east of Āgra, Akbar heard that Khān Zamān had fled from Shergaṛh to Mānikpūr where Bahādur was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had bridged the river near the frontier of Singror (Nawābganj, between Mānikpūr and Allāhābād). Akbar sent a detachment of 6,000 troopers under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Ṭodar Mal to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khān Uzbak, and marched over Rāy Barelī to Mānikpūr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khān Zamān's camp, who must have gone from Nawābganj back again on the right side of the river to Karah. Next morning, 1st Ẕī

[[1] *Mubāriz Khān ʿĀdlī*.—B.]

Ḥijja, 974, Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khān Zamān. Bahādur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been dispatched, when Khān Zamān's head was brought in. He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Somnāt, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a muhr for every Mughul's head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place *dar ʿarṣa-yi Sakrāwal* (in Badā,onī, *Mungarwāl*), "which place has since been called *Fatḥpūr*." The Trig. S. maps show a small village Fatḥpūr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Karah, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Allāhābād.

Khān Zamān as a poet styled himself Sulṭān (*vide Proceedings Asiatic Society*, September, 1868). *Zamāniyā* (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbak, Khān Zamān, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shīʿah. Khān Zamān must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. **ʿAbd^u 'llah Khān Uzbak.**

A noble of Humāyūn's Court. After the defeat of Hemū, he received the title of Shujāʿat Khān, got Kālpī as *tuyūl*, and served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Gujrāt. When Bāz Bahādur, after the death of Pīr Muḥammad, had taken possession of Mālwa, ʿAbd^u 'llah was made a *Panjhazārī*, and was sent to Mālwa with almost unlimited authority. He re-conquered the province, and "reigned in Mandū like a king". Akbar found it necessary to move against him. ʿAbd^u 'llah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujrāt, pursued by Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changīz Khān, an officer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Ḥakīm ʿAyn^u 'l-Mulk was dispatched to Changīz with the request to deliver up ʿAbd^u 'llah, or to dismiss him. Changīz Khān did the latter. ʿAbd^u 'llah again appeared in Mālwa, and was hotly pursued by Shahāb^u 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān (No. 26), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

15. **Shams^u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Khān.**

Son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, a simple farmer. Shams^u 'd-Dīn, when about twenty years old, once dreamed that he held the moon under his arm, which dream was justified by the unparalleled luck which he owed to a little deed of kindness. Shams^u 'd-Dīn entered

Prince Kāmrān's service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanawj (10th Muḥarram, 947). Humāyūn, after the defeat, crossed the river "on an elephant", and dismounted on the other side, where a soldier who had escaped death in the current, stretched out his hand to assist the emperor to jump on the high bank. This soldier was Shams[u] 'd-Dīn. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*angā*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkoṭ, conferring upon her the title of *Jī Jī Anaga*. Shams[u] 'd-Dīn remained with the young prince whilst Humāyūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor's restoration the title of *Atga* (foster father) *Khān*. Humāyūn sent him to Ḥiṣār, which Sirkār had been set aside for Prince Akbar's maintenance.

After Akbar's accession, Atga Khān was dispatched to Kābul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankoṭ to Lāhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under *Bayrām Khān*, p. 331. He held Khushāb in the Panjāb as jāgīr, and received, after Bayrām's fall, the *insignia* of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bayrām Khān near Jālindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of Aʿẓam Khān. In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as Vakīl either in supersession of Munʿim Khān or by "usurpation", at which Akbar connived. Munʿim Khān and Shahāb Khān (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (*vide* No. 19) to kill Atga Khān,[1] 12th Ramaẓān, 969.

For Atga Khān's brothers *vide* Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories *Atga Khāyl*[2] "the foster father battalion."

16. **Khān-i Kalān Mīr Muḥammad**, elder brother of Atga Khān.

He served under Kāmrān and Humāyūn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar Whilst Governor of the Panjāb, where most of the *Atgas* (*Atga Khayl*) had jāgīrs, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sulṭān Ādam, and in keeping down Kamāl Khān. In the ninth year he assisted Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm against Mīrzā Sulaymān (No. 5), restored him to the throne of Kābul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under

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[1] He stabbed at the *Atga*, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. *Badā,onī* (p. 52) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1) say that Adham himself killed Atga.

[[2] *Khayl*, troop, tribe, etc.—P.]

his brother Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter *Atālīq* of the Prince. But Khān-i Kalān did not get on well with M. M. Ḥakīm, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrᵘ 'n-Nisā Begum (a daughter of Humāyūn by Jūjak Begum, and widow of Mīr Shāh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Maʿālī) to Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khān-i Kalān left Kābul one night and returned to Lāhor.

In the 13th year (976) the *Atga Khayl* was removed from the Panjāb, and ordered to repair to Āgra Khān-i Kalān received Sambhal as jāgīr, whilst Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjāb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrāt (*Bad.* II, 165). On the march, near Sarohī (Ajmīr), he was wounded by a Rājpūt, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwāla). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of "Ghaznawī", in allusion to his birthplace. Badā,onī (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fāẓil Khān (No. 156), was a *Hazārī*, and was killed when Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) was shut up in Aḥmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khān (No. 232) was a *Panṣadī*. Nothing else is known of him.

17. **Mīrzā Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn**, son of Khwāja Muʿīn.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khāwja Muʿīn, was the son of Khāwand Maḥmūd, second son of Khwāja Kalān (known as Khwājagān Khwāja), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwāja Nāṣirᵘ 'd-Dīn ʿUbaydᵘ 'llah Aḥrār. Hence Mīrzā Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn is generally called *Aḥrārī*.

His grandfather, Khāwand Maḥmūd, went to India, was honorably received by Humāyūn, and died at Kābul.

His father, Khwāja Muʿīn, was a rich but avaricious man; he held the tract of land called "Rūdkhāna-yi Nasheb", and served under ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān, ruler of Kāshghar. He was married to Kījak Begum, daughter of Mīr ʿAlāʾᵘ 'l-Mulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahān Begum, daugnter of Sulṭān Abū Saʿid Mīrzā. "Hence the blood of Tīmūr also flowed in the veins of Mīrzā Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn." As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Māhum, Akbar's nurse, and Adham Khān, her son (No. 19), Mīrzā Sharaf was appointed *Panjhazārī*. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshī Bānū Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmīr and Nāgor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmīr, Mīrzā Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege

of Mairtha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devīdās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mīrzā Sharaf's father came to Āgra, and was received with great honours by Akbar. In the same year, Mīrzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Āgra over the frontier, pursued by Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24), and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Ḥijāz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which was his body, foundered. Mīrzā Sharaf stayed for some time with Changīz Khān, a Gujrāt noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mīrzās. When Gujrāt was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamīndār of the place, who after the conquest of Sūrat handed him over to Akbar. To frighten him, Akbar ordered him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant, and after having kept him for some time imprisoned, he sent him to Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jāgīr, should be find that the Mīrzā showed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muẓaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mīr Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī rebelled in Bihār. Joined by Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, the rebels besieged Muẓaffar Khān in Ṭānḍa and overpowered him. Mīrzā Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muẓaffar. But subsequently he became Maʿṣūm's enemy. Each was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Maʿṣūm at last bribed a boy of the name of Maḥmūd, whom Mīrzā Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mīrzā Sharaf's death took place in 988. He is wrongly called *Siefuddeen* in Stewart's History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. **Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān**, eldest son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was Akbar's foster brother (*koka* or *kūkaltāsh*). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bayrām (p. 332, l. 9), and was made Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān (No. 19) Akbar took care of him and his younger brother ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. *Bad.* II, p. 84.

19. **Adham Khān**,[1] son of Māhum Anga.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.

[1] Generally called in European histories Ādam Khān; but his name is ادهم, not آدم.

His mother Māhum was one of Akbar's nurses (*angā*),[1] and attended on Akbar "from the cradle till after his accession". She appears to have had unbounded influence in the Harem and over Akbar himself, and Mun'im Khān (No. 11), who after Bayrām's fall had been appointed *Vakīl*, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bayrām's fall; *Bad.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khān was a *Panjhazārī*, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mānkoṭ.[2] Bayrām Khān, in the third year, gave him Hatkānth,[3] South-East of Āgra, as jāgīr, to check the rebels of the Bhadauriya clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayrām of partiality in bestowing bad jāgīrs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyas. After Bayrām's fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pīr Muḥammad Khān to Mālwah, defeated Bāz Bahādur near Sārangpūr, and took possession of Bahādur's treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Āgra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Māhum Anga found means to bring her son to his senses. Akbar left after four days. On his departure, Adham prevailed on his mother to send back two beautiful dancing girls; but when Akbar heard of it, Adham turned them away. They were captured, and killed by Māhum's orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Āgra, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pīr Muḥammad governor of Mālwah.

At Court, Adham met again Atga Khān, whom both he and Mun'im Khān envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazān 969, when Mun'im Khān, Atga Khān, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khān with some followers, suddenly

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[1] This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghatāi Dictionary. Misled by the printed editions of Badā,onī, Firishta, Khāfī Khān, etc., I put on p. 223 of my text edition of the Āʿīn. *Māhum Atgah*, as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* Khāfī Khān I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

[2] The *Maʿāsir* gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbarnāma.

[3] Hatkānth was held by Rājpūts of the Bhadauriya clan. *Vide* Beames's edition of Elliot's Glossary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word لهاور is doubtful, though it is certainly not *Lahore*; for the old spelling "Luhāwar" for "Lāhor" had ceased when the author of the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* wrote. Besides, a place in Gwāliār is meant, not far from the Sindh river. For لهاور the two editions of Badā,onī have لهار; Dorn has بهایر Behair; Briggs has *Yehar*; the Lucknow edition of Firishta has یهار. There is a town and Pargana of the name of لهار in Sirkār Rantanbhūr.

The passage in the Akbarnāma regarding Adham Khān quoted by Elliot may be found among the events of the *third* year.

Another nest of robbers was the eight villages, called Āthgah, near Sakīt, in the Sirkār of Qanawj.

entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atga with his dagger, and told one of his companions (*vide* p. 338) to kill him. He then went with the dagger in his hand towards the sleeping apartments of Akbar, who had been awakened by the noise in the state hall. Looking out from a window, he saw what had happened, rushed forward sword in hand, and met Adham on a high archway (*aywān*) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?" (*bachcha-yi lāda*), cried Akbar. "Stop a moment, Majesty," replied Adham, seizing Akbar's arms, "first inquire." Akbar drew away his hands and struck Adham a blow in the face, which sent him "spinning" to the ground. "Why are you standing here gaping?" said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farḥat K͟hān; "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham K͟hān was twice thrown down from the dais (*ṣuffa*) of the *Aywān* to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihlī.

Māhum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihlī to Āgra. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Māhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihlī in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham's brother, *vide* No. 60.

20. **Pīr Muḥammad K͟hān** of Shīrwān.[1]

Nothing is known of his father. Pīr Muḥammad was a Mullā, and attached himself to Bayrām in Qandahār. Through Bayrām's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amīr on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemū, and received subsequently the title of Nāṣir^u 'l-Mulk. His pride offended the Chag͟hatā'ī nobles, and, at last, Bayrām himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bayrām subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shayk͟h Gadā'ī (*vide* p. 282) to the Fort of Biyāna, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujrāt, Pīr Muḥammad received letters from Adham K͟hān (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhūr; but being pursued by Bayrām's men, he continued his journey to Gujrāt. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bayrām's fall. Whilst in Gujrāt, P. M. heard of

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[1] In my text edition, p. 223, No. 20, *dele* پسر. Shīrwān is also the birth-place of K͟hāqānī. The spelling *Sharwān* given in the Muʿjam does not appear to be usual.

Bayrām's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mālwah, of which he was made sole governor after Adham's recall. In 969, he defeated Bāz Bahādur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bījāgaṛh from Iʿtimād Khān, Bāz Bahādur's general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, sacked the capital Burhānpūr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Bāz Bahādur and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Narbaddah, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.

21. **Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka,** son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

His mother was Jī Jī Anaga (*vide* p. 338). He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him; he used to say, " Between me and ʿAzīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

On the removal of the *Atga Khayl* (p. 338) from the Panjāb, he retained Dīpālpūr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Farīd-i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pāk Patan, or Patan-i Panjāb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Aḥmadābād, Mīrzā ʿAzīz was appointed governor of Gujrāt as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Sūrat. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, joined by Sher Khān Fūlādī, thereupon beseiged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mīrzā ʿAzīz and Qulbᵘ 'd-Dīn. ʿAzīz then returned to Aḥmadābād. When Akbar, on the 2nd Ṣafar 981, returned to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, Ikhtiyārᵘ 'l-Mulk, a Gujrātī noble, occupied Īdar, and then moved against ʿAzīz in Aḥmadabād. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā also came from the Dakhin, and after attacking Kambhāyit (Cambay), they besieged Aḥmadābād. ʿAzīz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels[1] near Patan. During the fight Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Ikhtiyārᵘ 'l Mulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. ʿAzīz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyārᵘ 'l-Mulk.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the *Dāgh* (Āʾīn 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amīrs. Mīrzā ʿAzīz especially

[1] Akbar left Āgra on the 4th Rabīʿ I, and attacked the Mīrzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Āgra and Patan being 400 *kos*, Akbar's forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241. [This differs from the Akbar-nama.—B.]

showed himself so disobedient that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. ˁAzīz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (*vide* Muẓaffar K͟hān, No. 37). ˁAzīz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aˁẓam K͟hān, and was dispatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. During ˁAzīz's absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Ḥājīpūr, opposite Patna; and ˁAzīz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyūldārs of Ilāhābād, Audh, and Bihār, he occupied Gaṛhī, the "key" of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Maˁṣūm-i Kābulī, and Majnūn K͟hān Qāqshāl, ˁAzīz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maˁṣūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qutlū, a Lohānī Afg͟hān, who during these disturbances had occupied Oṛīsā and a portion of Bengal. ˁAzīz, however, took this ill, and handing over the command to Shāhbāz K͟hān-i Kambū, returned to his lands in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Ilāhābād, and was transferred to Gaṛha and Rāisīn. (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. ˁAzīz was appointed to the Dakhin; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shahābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) and other grandees, ˁAzīz withdrew, plundered Ilichpūr in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrāt, where the K͟hān K͟hānān was (Briggs, II, 257).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married a daughter of M. ˁAzīz. Towards the end of the 34th year, ˁAzīz was appointed Governor of Gujrāt in succession to the K͟hān K͟hānān. In the 36th year, he moved against Sulṭān Muẓaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamindārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgaṛh also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (5th Ẕī Qaˁda 999), and Miyān K͟hān and Tāj K͟hān, sons of Dawlat K͟hān ibn i Amīn K͟hān-i G͟horī, joined the Mug͟hals. ˁAzīz gave both of them jāgīrs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamīndār of Dwārkā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muẓaffar fled to Kachh, followed by ˁAzīz. There also the Zamīndārs submitted, and soon after delivered Sulṭān Muẓaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought

to the Mīrzā than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor.

In the 39th year Akbar recalled M. ʿAzīz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mīrzā dreading the religious innovations at Court,[1] marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the "Farangī" and embarked for Ḥijāz at Balāwal, a harbour town near Somnāt, accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf, Murtaẓā, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Ghafūr), six daughters, and about one hundred attendants. Akbar felt sorry for his sudden departure, and with his usual magnanimity, promoted the two eldest sons of the Mīrzā (M. Shamsī and M. Shādmān).

M. ʿAzīz spent a great deal of money in Makkah, in fact he was so "fleeced", that his attachment to Islām was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balāwal, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the "Divine Faith" (*vide* p. 217, l. 33), was appointed Governor of Bihār, was made *Vakīl* in 1004, and received Multān as Jāgīr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Āsīr. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mīrzā, Bahādur Khan, ruler of Khandes, ceded Āsīr to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusraw married one of ʿĀzīz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mān Singh and M. ʿAzīz were anxious to proclaim Khusraw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī and others had proclaimed Jahāngīr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mān Singh left the Fort of Āgra with Khusraw, in order to go to Bengal. ʿAzīz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rāja, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusraw's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salīma Sulṭān Begum and other princesses of Akbar's harem. Not long after, Khwāja Abū 'l-Ḥasan laid before Jahāngīr a letter written some years ago by ʿAzīz to Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khandes, in which ʿAzīz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahāngīr gave ʿAzīz the letter and asked him to read it before

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[1] M. ʿAzīz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the "Divine Faith". He used to call Fayẓī and Abū 'l-Faẓl, ʿUsmān and ʿ*Alī*. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahāngīr, as related below.

the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahāngīr deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017), M. ʿAzīz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrāt, his eldest son, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, being his *nāʾib*. In the 5th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dakhin, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahāngīr went to Ajmīr, and appointed, at the request of ʿAzīz, Shāhjahān to the command of the Dakhin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shāhjahān did not like M. ʿAzīz on account of his partiality for Khusraw, and Mahābat Khān was dispatched from Court to accompany ʿAzīz from Udaipūr to Āgra. In the 9th year, ʿAzīz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Āṣaf Khān in the Fort of Gwāliyār (*Tuzuk*, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed *Atālīq* to Prince Dāwar Bakhsh, who had been made Governor of Gujrāt. M. ʿAzīz died in the 19th year (1033) at Aḥmadābād.

ʿAzīz was remarkable for ease of address, intelligence, and his knowledge of history. He also wrote poems. Historians quote the following aphorism from his "pithy" sayings. "A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khurāsānī woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Māwarānnahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three." *Vide* Ibqālnāma, p. 230.

Koka means "foster brother", and is the same as the Turkish *Kūkaldāsh* or *Kūkaltāsh*.

Mīrzā ʿAzīz's sons. 1. *Mīrzā Shamsī* (No. 163). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān.

2. *Mīrzā Shādmān* (No. 233). He received the title of Shād Khān. *Tuzuk*, p. 99.

3. *Mīrzā Khurrum* (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jūnāgaṛh in Gujrāt, received the title of Kāmil Khān under Jahāngīr, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) to the Dakhin.

4. *Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'llah* (No. 257) received under Jahāngīr the title of Sardār Khān. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwāliyār.

5. *Mīrzā Anwar* (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commanderships of Five and Two Thousands. ʿAzīz's other sons have been mentioned above.

A sister of M. ʿAzīz, Māh Bānū, was married to ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. (No. 29).

22. **Bahādur Khān-i Shaybānī,** (younger) brother of Khān Zamān. (No. 13).

His real name is Muḥammad Saʿīd. Humāyūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahār, which was commanded by Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qalāt (No. 95). The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humāyūn to send him assistance. A party of Qizilbāshes attacked Bahādur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mānkoṭ, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khān, was pardoned, and received Multān as jāgīr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Mālwa. After Bayrām's fall, through the influence of Māhum Anga (*vide* p. 340), he was made *Vakīl*, and was soon after appointed to Itāwa (Sirkār of Āgra).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (*vide* p. 336). After his capture, Shāhbāz Khān i-Kambū (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad. III. 239).

23. **Rāja Bihārī Mal,** son of Prithirāj Kachhwāha.

In some historical MSS. he is called *Bihārā Mal*. There were two kinds of Kachhwāha, Rājāwat and Shaykhāwat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Ṣūba of Ajmīr. Though not so extensive as Marwār, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājpūt that joined Akbar's Court. The flight [1] of Humāyūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Ḥājī Khān, a servant of Sher Khān, had attacked Nārnaul, the jāgīr of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rāja's. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnūn Khān, after the defeat of Hemū (963), brought Bihārī Mal's services to the notice of the emperor. The Rāja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign. At the interview Akbar was seated on a wild (*mast*)[2] elephant,

[1] The "flight" of Humāyūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul historians. Abū 'l-Faḍl generally uses euphemisms, as *ān wāqiʿa-yi nāguzir*, "that unavoidable event," or *riḥlat* (departure); or *āmadan-i Sher Khān*, the coming of Sher Khān (*not* Sher Shāh), etc.

[2] *Mast*, in rut; furious.—P.]

and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihārī Mal's Rājpūt attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm.

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muᶜīn-i Chishtī at Ajmīr, and at Kalālī, Chaghtā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17), Governor of Mālwa, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojā, son of Pūran Mal, elder brother of the Rāja. Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn had also got hold of Jagnāth (No. 69), son of the Rāja, Rāj Singh (No. 174), son of Askaran, and Kangār, son of Jagmal (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Deosa, 40 miles east of Jaipūr, Jaima, son of Rūpsī (No. 118), Bihārī Mal's brother, who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rūpsī. At Sangānīr, at last, Bihārī Mal with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance, was granted. On his return from Ajmīr, Akbar received the Rāja's daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Rāja himself, and his son Bhagawant Dās, and his grandson Kūwar Mān Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Āgra, where Bihārī Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after Bihārī Mal returned to Amber. He died at Āgra (Ṭabaqāt).

Amber is said to have been founded A.D. 967 by Dholā Rāy, son of Sorā, of whom Bihārī Mal was the 18th descendant.[1]

The Akbernāma mentions the names of four brothers of Bihārī Mal. 1. Pūran Mal; 2. Rūpsī (No. 118); 3. Askaran (*vide* No. 174); 4. Jagmal (No. 134). Bihārī Mal is said to have been younger than Pūran Mal, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihārī Mal were in Akbar's service—1. Bhagwān Dās (No. 27); 2. Jagannāth (No. 69); and 3. Salhadī (No. 267).

24. **Khān Jahān Ḥusayn Qulī Khān,**[2] son of Walī Beg Ẕū 'l-Qadr.

He is the son of Bayrām Khān's sister. His father Walī Beg Ẕū 'l-Qadr was much attached to Bayrām, and was captured in the fight in the Pargana of جالندر (Jālindhar, *vide* p. 332, l. 5), but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bayrām's rebellion, and ordered his head to

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[1] The present Mahārāja of Jaipūr is the 34th descendant; *vide* Selections Government of India. No, LXV, 1868. Amber was deserted in 1728, when Jai Singh II founded the modern Jaipūr.

[2] Ḥusayn Qulī Beg. *Maᵃāṣir.*

be cut off, which was sent all over Hindūstān. When it was brought to Iṭāwa, Bahādur Khān (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (*tawāchīs*) that carried it. Khān Jahān had brought Bayrām's *insignia* from Mewāt to Akbar, and as he was a near relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Āṣaf Khān ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd, Commander of Dihlī. When Bayrām had been pardoned, Khān Jahān was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971) he was made a Khān and received orders to follow up Sharafu 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17). Ajmīr and Nāgor were given him as *tuyūl*. He took the Fort of Jodhpūr from Chandar Sen, son of Rāy Māldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udai Singh during the siege of Chītor.

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjāb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantanbhūr.

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkoṭ, which had belonged to Rāja Jai Chand. Badā,onī says (II, p. 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bīr Baṛ with a jāgīr. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budī[1] Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khān Jahān, on his way, conquered Fort Kotla, reached Nagarkoṭ in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Masʿūd Mīrzā had invaded the Panjāb. Khān Jahān therefore accepted a payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a *Masjid* in front of Jai Chand's palace in the Fort, and to have read the *Khuṭba* in Akbar's name (Friday, middle of Shawwāl 980).

Accompanied by Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān-i Riẓawī (No. 35), Khān Jahān marched against the Mīrzās, surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 *kos* from Multān, and defeated them. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā escaped to Multān, but Masʿūd Ḥusayn and several other Mīrzās of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujrāt, he invited his Amīrs to meet him, and Khān Jahān also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelids sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious

[[1] General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidhi (Sansk. Vriddhi), not Budī, *vide* Index.—B.]

general received the title of Khān Jahān, "a title in reputation next to that of Khān Khānān." About the same time Sulaymān, ruler of Badakhshān (p. 326) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Shāhrukh (No.7), and Khān Jahān was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Munᶜim Khān Khānān died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khān Jahān was recalled from the Panjāb, before he had moved into Badakhshān, and was appointed to Bengal, Rāja Ṭoḍaṛ Mal being second in command. At Bhāgalpūr, Khān Jahān was met by the Amīrs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtā•ī nobles, he had, as Qizilbāsh, to contend with the same difficulties as Bayrām Khān had had. He repulsed the Afghāns who had come up as far as Gaṛhī and Ṭānḍa; but he met with more decided opposition at Āg Maḥal, where Dā•ūd Khān had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghāns. Khān Jahān complained of the wilful neglect of his Amīrs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwāja ᶜAbdu 'llah Naqshbandī, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bihār (No. 37) to collect his Jāgīrdārs and join Khān Jahān (984). The fights near Āg Maḥal were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd-i Kararānī, Dā•ūd's uncle,[1] which led to a general battle (15th Rabīᶜ II, 984). The right wing of the Afghāns, commanded by Kālā Pahāṛ, gave way when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dā•ūd was defeated by Khān Jahān. Dā•ūd himself was captured and brought to Khān Jahān, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khān Jahān dispatched Ṭoḍaṛ Mal to Court, and moved to Sātgāw (Hūglī) where Dā•ūd's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dā•ūd's adherents under Jamshed and Mittī, and reannexed Sātgāw, which since the days of old had been called *Bulghākkhāna*,[2] to the Mughul empire. Dā•ūd's mother came to Khān Jahān as a suppliant.

Soon after Malkū Sā,ī,[3] Rāja of Kūch Bihār sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khān Jahān dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dā•ūd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhāṭī,[4] where the Afghāns had

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[1] The Ed. Bibl. Indica of *Badā,onī* (II, 238) has by mistake 'uncle'. Badā,onī says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalgāw).

[2] This nickname of Sātgāw is evidently old. Even the word *bulghāk* (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.

[[3] Bāl Gosā,ī.—B.]

[4] For *Bhāṭī*, *vide* below under No. 32.

collected under Karīm Dād, Ibrāhīm, and the rich Zamīndār ʿĪsā (عیسیٰ). With great difficulties Khān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghāns who had joined him together with Dāʾūd's mother at Go,ās; and returned to Ṣihhatpūr, a town which he had founded near Ṭanḍa. Soon after, he felt ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwāl, 986).

Abū 'l-Faẓl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khān Jahān in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khān Jāhān's son, Riẓā Qulī (No. 274) is mentioned below among the Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year he was made a Commander of Five Hundred with a contingent of 300 troopers. Another son, Raḥīm Qulī, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No. 333). For Khān Jahān's brother, *vide* No. 46.

25. **Saʿīd Khan**, son of Yaʿqūb Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Jābūq.

He is also called Saʿīd Khān-i Chaghtāʾī. His family had long been serving under the Tīmūrides. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Beg was an Amīr of Humāyūn's, and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His son, Yūsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān (i.e., Salīm Shāh), and killed. His other son also, Yaʿqūb, Saʿīd's father, distinguished himself under Humāyūn. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Qulī Beg, governor of Bengal under Humāyūn.

Saʿīd rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, *atālīq* of Prince Dānyāl. Some time after, he was made Ṣūbahdār of the Panjāb, in supercession to Shāh Qulī Muḥrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained. Saʿīd again was succeeded in the governorship by Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), and received Sambhal as *tuyūl*. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Ḥājīpūr (Patna) as successor to Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Saʿīd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of *Panjhazārī*. In the 40th year, Mān Singh (No. 30) being appointed to Bengal, he returned to Court, and was, in the following year, again made Governor of Bihār. In the 48th year (1001), when Mīrzā Ghāzī rebelled in Thatha after the death of his father, Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), Saʿīd was appointed to Multān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of

the Panjāb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (*Tuzuk*, p. 6, l. 2.) He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried " in the garden of Sarhind ".

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindū of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Saʿīd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200.[1] One of these Khwājasarās, Hilāl, joined afterwards Jahāngīr's service; he built Hilālābād, six *kos* N.W. from Āgra, near Rankaṭṭa,[2] regarding which the *Maʾāṣir* tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ikhtiyār Khān, was his Vakīl, and another, Iʿtibār Khān, the Fawjdār of his jāgīr. For Saʿīd's brother, *vide* No. 70.

26. **Shihāb Khān**, a Sayyid of Nīshāpūr.

His full name is Shihābu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. He was a relation and friend of Māhum Anga (p. 341), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayrām's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dihlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhum, turned from Sikandarābād to Dihlī to see his sick mother, Shihāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayrām Khān, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bayrām's friends; and the Chaghtāʾī nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayrām's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 337, Shihāb served in Mālwah against ʿAbdu 'llah-Khan.

In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Mālwah, and was ordered to drive the Mīrzās from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) had too much to do with financial matters.

In the 21st year, he was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, and was again appointed to Mālwah; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrāt, as Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Iʿtimād Khān (No. 119), and intended to go to Court; but no sooner had he left Aḥmadābad than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sulṭān Muẓaffar. The events of the Gujrāt rebellion are known from the histories. When Mīrzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihāb was attached to Qulij

[1] If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Silhaṭ were renowned; for interesting passages *vide* below, Third Book, Ṣūba of Bengal, and *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 72, 328.

[2] Sikandra (or Bihishtābād), where Akbar's tomb is, lies halfway between Āgra and Rankaṭṭā.

Khān (Mālwah Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as *tuyūl.* In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwa, in succession to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

Shihāb died in Mālwah (Ujain, *Ṭabaqāt*) in 999. His wife, Bābā Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dihlī, he repaired the canal which Fīrūz Shāh had cut from the Parganah of Khizrābād to Safīdūn; and called it *Nahr-i Shihāb.* This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shāhjahān, by the renowned Makramat Khān, and called فیض نہر, *Fayẓ Nahr*, (20th year of Shāhjahān). During the reign of Awrangzeb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (*Āsāru 's-ṣanādīd.*)

27. **Rāja Bhagwān Dās,** son of Rāja Bihārī Mal.

In the histories we find the spellings *Bhagwant, Bhagwānt, and Bhagwān.* He joined Akbar's service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā near Sarnāl (*Briggs*, Sartāl), he saved Akbar's life. He also distinguished himself against the Rānā of Īdar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwāhas had their tuyūls transferred to the Panjāb, Rāja Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.'s daughter was married to Prince Salīm, of which marriage Prince Khusraw was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander of Five Thousand and Governor of Zābulistān, as Mān Singh was sent against the Yūsufza.īs. But Akbar, for some reason, detained him In Khayrābād, Bh. D. had a fit of madness, and wounded himself with a dagger; but he recovered soon after in the hands of the Court Doctors. In the 32nd year, the jāgīrs of the Rāja and his family were transferred to Bihār, Mān Singh taking the command of the province.

Rāja Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Lāhor, a short time after Rāja Ṭodar Mal (No. 39). People say that on returning from Ṭodar Mal's funeral, he had an attack of stranguary, of which he died. He had the title of *Amīru 'l-ʿUmarā.*

The Jāmi ʿMasjid of Lāhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, *vide* Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. **Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Khān,** youngest brother of Atga Khān (15).

As he belonged to the *Atga Khayl* (*vide* p. 338), his *tuyūl* was in the Panjāb. He founded several mosques, etc., at Lāhor.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kābul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznīn, his birth-place. On the transfer of the

" Atga Khayl " from the Panjāb, Q. was appointed to Mālwa. After the conquest of Gujrāt, he received as jāgīr the Sirkār of Bahrōch (Broach), " which lies south of Aḥmadābād, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddā near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a Commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Salīm, received a *dāgū*,[1] and the title of *Beglar Begī*. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salīm on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahrōch " as far as Nazrbār ". In the 28th year (991), Muẓaffar of Gujrāt tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity he was attacked and defeated by Muẓaffar near Baroda. Q.'s servants even joined Muẓaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muẓaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamīndār, Muẓaffar went to Bahrōch, occupied the fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 *krors* of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muẓaffar had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khān, served under Mīrzā Khān Khānan (No. 29) in Gujrāt (992), received a jāgīr in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrāt. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jūnāgaṛh.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a *Haftṣadī* (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. Aʿẓam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a *tuyūl* in Gujrāt.

29. **Khān Khānān Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm**, son of Bayrām Khān.

His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.[2] In 961, when Humāyūn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamīndārs of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, he asked Bayrām Khān to marry the younger one.

M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm was born at Lāhor, 14th Ṣafar 964. When Bayrām Khān was murdered at Patan in Gujrāt (p. 332), his camp was plundered

[1] A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Tīmūrides.

[2] He was the nephew of Ḥasan Khān of Mewāt (*Bad*. I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the Āʾīn, ʿAbū'l-Faẓl says that the Khānzādas of Mewāt were chiefly converted Janūha Rājpūts.

by some Afghāns; but Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna and Bābā Zambūr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder and bring them to Aḥmadābād, fighting on the road with the Afghān robbers. From Aḥmadābād, M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm was taken to Akbar (969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers, took charge of him. He gave him the title of *Mīrzā Khān*, and married him subsequently to Mah Bānū, sister of M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

In 981, M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 343). In 984 M. ʿA. was appointed to Gujrāt, Vazīr Khān having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made *Mīr ʿArẓ*, and three years later, *atālīq* to Prince Salīm. Soon after, he was sent against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujrāt. Muẓaffar, during the first Gujrātī war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was committed to the charge of Munʿim Khān (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Shāh Manṣūr the Dīwān (No. 122). But Muẓaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kāthīs of Jūnāgarh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when Iʿtimād Khān was sent to Gujrāt to relieve Shihābᵘ d-Dīn (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muẓaffar, and the Gujrāt rebellion commenced. Muẓaffar took Aḥmadābād, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (*vide* Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij Khān and the Mālwa contingent, Dawlat Khān Lodī (No. 309), M. ʿA.'s *Mīr Shamsher*, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khān Khānānship. M. ʿA. then attacked Muẓaffar, and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkich, three *kos* from Aḥmadābād. On the arrival of the Mālwa contingent, M. ʿA. defeated Muẓaffar a second time near Nādot. Muẓaffar concealed himself in Rajpīpla.

For these two victories Akbar made M. ʿA. a Commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khān Khānān. For this reason historians generally call him Mīrzā Khān Khānan.

When Gujrāt was finally conquered, M. Khān Khānān gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkstand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrāt being settled, Qulij Khān was left in the province, and M. ʿA. rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Bābar's Chaghtā,ī Memoirs (*Wāqiʿāt-i Bābarī*).[1]

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[1] *Vide* p. 105, last line.

Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed *Vakīl* and received Jaunpūr as *tuyūl*; but in 999 his jāgīr was transferred to Multān, and he received orders to take Thatha (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwān,[1] he took the Fort of Lakhī, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gaḍhī is in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmīr." After a great deal of fighting Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M. ˁA., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwān was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jānī Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mīrzā Īrich, M. ˁA.'s eldest son, was to marry Jānī Beg's daughter. But as M. Jānī Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M. ˁA. moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jānī Beg submitted and accompanied M. ˁA. to Court.[2] Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sulṭān Murād assembled at Bahrōch (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakhin, Akbar dispatched M. ˁA. to his assistance, giving him Bhīlsā as jāgīr. After delaying there for some time, M. ˁA. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M. ˁA. wrote him that Rāja ˁAlī Khān,[3] of Khāndes was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M. ˁA. at last joined head-quarters at Fort Chāndor, 30 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar, he was slighted by the Prince; and, in consequence of it, he hesitated to take an active part in the operations, leaving the command of his detachment chiefly in the hands of M. Shāhrukh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murād's departure from Aḥmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Muˁtamidu 'd-Dawla Suhayl Khān (Briggs II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murād, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. ˁA., Rāja ˁAlī Khān, and M. Shāhrukh, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumāda II, 1005, from Shāhpūr, M. ˁA. met Suhayl near the town of Ashtī, 12 *kos* from Pathrī. The fight was unusually severe. Rāja ˁAlī Khān with five or six of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs IV, 324). The night put an end to the engagement; but each party, believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M. ˁA.'s troopers went to the river [near Sūpā, *Firishta*] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Dawlat Khān, who commanded

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[1] Also called Siwastān, on the right bank of the Indus. Lakhī (Lukkee) lies a little south of Sahwān.

[2] The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Maṣnawī by Mullā Shikebī, whom Abū'l-Faẓl mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age.

[3] Khāfī Khān calls him *Rājī* ˁAlī Khān.

M. ʿA.'s avantguard, said to him, "It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds." "Do you forget Dihlī?", asked M. ʿA. "If we keep up," replied Dáwlat Khān, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihlīs; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qāsim of Bārha[1] and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M. ʿA.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindūstānis, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khān Khānān what he means to do." Dawlat Khān returned, and said to M. ʿA. "Their numbers are immense, and victory rests with heaven; point out a place where we can find you, should we be defeated." "Under the corpses," said M. ʿA. Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them. After this signal victory, M. ʿA. distributed 75 lacs of rupees among his soldiers. At the request of the Prince, M. ʿA. was soon after recalled (1006).

In the same year Mah Bānū, M. ʿA.'s wife, died.

In the 44th year Prince Dānyāl was appointed to the Dakhin, and M. ʿA. was ordered to join the Prince, and besiege Aḥmadnagar. The town, as is known from the histories, was taken after a siege of 4 months and 4 days.[2] M. ʿA. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahādur ibn-i Ibrāhīm, who had been set up as Niẓām Shāh. Dānyāl was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar *Dāndes*,[3] and married to Jānā Begum, M. ʿA.'s daughter The Khān Khānān was also ordered to repair to Aḥmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shāh ʿAlī, uncle of Murtaẓā, Niẓām Shāh.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dakhin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahāngīr (1017), M. ʿA. promised to bring the war to a close in two years if he received a sufficient number of troops. Shāhzāda Parwīz, under the *Atāliq*-ship of Āṣaf Khān, Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodī, and others, were appointed to assist M. ʿA. He took the Prince in the rains from Burhānpūr to Bālāghāt; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amīrs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M. ʿA. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonourable for Jahāngīr, who appointed

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[1] The Sayyids of Bārha considered it their privilege to fight in the *Harāwal* or van. Vide No. 75.

[2] Abū'l-Faẓl and the Lucknow edition of Firishta call the eunuch who murdered Chānd Bībī [illegible] or [illegible]. Briggs has Hamid Khān. For *Nihang Khān*, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnāma and the Maʿāsir have *Athang Khān*. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishta has *Ahang Khān*. The differences, moreover, between Abū 'l-Faẓl and Firishta in details are very remarkable.

[3] A combination of the words *Dānyāl* and *Khāndes*.

Khān Jahān Lodī as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M. ʿA.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M. ʿA. received Kālpī and Qanawj as *tuyūl*, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (*vide* p. 341, note). Some time afterwards, M. ʿA. was again sent to the Dakhin, as matters there had not improved ; but he did not gain any advantage either.

In the 11th year (1025) Jahāngīr, at last, dispatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Shāh.[1] Jahāngīr himself fixed his residence at Māndū in Mālwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurram selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān, M. ʿA.'s son. ʿĀdil Shāh and Quṭbᵘ 'l-Mulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngīr bestowed upon ʿĀdil Shāh the title of *Farzand* (son) ; and ʿAmbar Malik handed over the keys of Aḥmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghāt, which he had conquered. Shāh Khurram then appointed M. ʿA. Ṣūbahdār of Khāndes, Barār, and Aḥmadnagar, whilst Shāhnawāz Khān was appointed to Bālāghāt. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhin, Shāh Khurram joined his father at Māndū, where new honours awaited him.[2]

In the 15th year, Malik ʿAmbar "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānadārs of the Mughuls. Dārāb Khān, M. ʿA.'s second son, retreated from Bālāghāt to Bālāpūr ; and driven from there, he went to Burhānpūr, where he and his father were besieged. On Shāhjahān's approach, the besiegers dispersed.

In the 17th year (1031) Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia attacked Qandahār, and Shāhjahān and ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm were called to Court to take command against the Persians ; but before they joined, Prince Parwīz, through Nūr Jahān's influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahābat Khān had been raised to the dignity of *Khān Khānān*. Shāhjahān rebelled, returned with M. ʿA. to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāhjahān intercepted a letter which M. ʿA. had secretly

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[1] "Since the time of Tīmūr no Prince had received this title." *Maʾāṣir*. *Shāh Khurram* received subsequently the title of *Shāhjahān*, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of *Ṣāḥib Qirān-i Ṣānī* and *Aʿlā Ḥazrat* (اعلیٰ حضرت). The last title had also been used by Sulaymān-i Kararānī, King of Bengal. Awrangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of *Aʿlā Khāqān*.

[2] He received the title of *Shāhjahān* and was made a *Sīhazārī*, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (*az aṣl wa iẓāfa*, i.e., his former contingent *plus* an increase in troops). He was also allowed a *Ṣandalī* (*vide* p. 318), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Tīmūr. Jahāngīr even came down from the *Jharoka* (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Agra and Fatḥpūr Sīkrī), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahān's head, distributing the whole (as *niṣār*) among the Amirs.

written to Mahābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dārāb Khān, and sent him to Fort Āsīr, but released them soon after on *parole*. Parwīz and Mahābat Khān had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbadda to capture Shāhjahān. Bayrām Beg, an officer of Shāhjahān's, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperials from crossing. At M. ʿA.'s advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. ʿA. swear upon the Qurʾān not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwīz. Mahābat Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M. ʿA., forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwīz, and did not return to Shāhjahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingāna to Orīsa and Bengal. Mahābat and M. ʿA. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptī. M. ʿA. wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Dawlatshāhī party, to tell Shāhjahān, that he (M. ʿA.) would do everything in his power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rāja Bhīm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M. ʿA.'s sons should it come to a fight. Shāhjahān then moved into Bengal and Bihār, of which he made Dārāb Khān, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahābat Khān had in the meantime returned to Ilāhābād to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M. ʿA., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahāngīr ordered Mahābat Khān to send M. ʿA. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jāgīr at Lāhor, when Mahābat Khān followed him and sent him back to Dihlī. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahāngīr's person, and the return of the monarch from Kābul, Mahābat Khān had to fly. Nūr Jahān now appointed M. ʿA. to follow up Mahābat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M. ʿA. fell ill at Lāhor, and on his arrival at Dihlī, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahāngīr's 21st year (1036). The words *Khān Sipahsālār kū* (where is the Khān Commander?) are the *tārīkh* of his death.

M. ʿA.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrāt and Sind and the defeat of Suhayl Khān of Bījāpūr. During Jahāngīr's reign, he did nothing remarkable; nor was he treated with the respect which he had enjoyed during the lifetime of Akbar, though he was allowed to retain his rank. For nearly thirty years he had been serving in the Dakhin.

Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dakhin, and ʿAbd 'l-Faẓl, on one occasion, gave his *fatwa* that M. ʿA. was a rebel. Under Jahāngīr, he was the open friend of Malik ʿAmbar; and Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik ʿAmbar's correspondence in the possession of ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M. ʿA. Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this; but ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. ʿA.'s *motto* was, "people should hurt their enemies under the mask of friendship," and all seem to have been inclined to blame him for maliciousness and faithlessness. He used to get daily reports from his newswriters whom he had posted at various stations. He read their reports at night, and tore them up. But he was also proverbial for his liberality and love of letters. The *Māʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī*[1] is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shows that he was the Mœcenas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mīr ʿAlī Sher (*vide* p. 107, note 6). M. ʿA. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindī with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of *Raḥīm*.

Though his father had been a Shīʿah, M. ʿA. was a Sunnī; but people said he was a Shīʿah, but practised *taqiyya*.[2]

M. ʿA.'s most faithful servant was Miyān Fahīm. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rājpūt. He grew up with M. ʿA.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Fīrūz Khān and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahābat Khān, who had imprisoned his master. M. ʿA. built him a tomb in Dihlī, which is now called *Nīla Burj*, near Humāyūn's tomb. (*Āṣāru 'ṣ-ṣanādīd.*)

M. ʿA. outlived his four sons.

1. *Mīrzā Īrich* (or *Īrij*), *Shahnawāz Khān Bahādur* (No. 255). When young he used to be called *Khān Khānān-i jawān*. He distinguished himself by his courage. In the 40th year of Akbar he was made a Commander of 400. In the 47th year, after a fight[3] with Malik ʿAmbar who got wounded, he received the title of *Bahādur*. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was called Shahnawāz Khān (*vide* Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028, from excessive drinking. (*Vide* Tuzuk, p. 270.)

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[1] Called *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* in allusion to his name M. ʿAbdu-'r-Raḥīm. *Vide* Elliot's Index (1st edition), p 377.

[2] Wherever Shīʿahs are in the minority, they practise, if necessary, *taqiyya* (تقية, fear, caution), i.e., they do as if they were Sunnis. A Shīʿha may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.

[[3] Near Nānder.—B.]

Two of his sons are mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma*. 1. Mīrzā Khān. He was Fawjdār of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabīʿ II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (*Pādishāhnāma* II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkarshikan Khān. He got in 1047 a present of 4,000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawāz Khān generally *Shahnawāz Khān-i Jahāngīrī*, to distinguish him from Shahnawāz Khān-i Ṣafawī, a grandee of Shāhjahān.

2. *Mīrzā Dārāb Dārāb-Khān*. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Shāhjahān made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawāz Khān as hostages (*yarghamāl*). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dakhin, he wrote to Dārāb Khān to move to Gaḍhī (N.W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dārāb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamīndārs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parwīz and Mahābat Khān, and as Jahāngīr had "no objections", Mahābat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M. ʿA. as a present of a "melon". A short time before ʿAbduʿ 'llah Khān had killed Dārāb's son and a son of Shahnawāz Khān.

3. *Mīrzā Raḥmān Dād*. His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkoṭ. Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father. He died, at Bālāpūr, about the same time as his eldest brother. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 315. No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous saint Ḥaẓrat ʿIsā of Sindh to M. ʿA. on a visit of condolence.

4. *Mīrzā Amru 'llah*. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. **Rāja Mān Singh,** son of Bhagwān Das.

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27). European historians say that he was the adopted son of Rāja Bh. D., but Muhammadan historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindūs make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of *Mirzā Rāja*, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand* (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihārī Mal (p. 329). In 984 he was appointed against Rānā Kīkā, and gained, in 985,[1] the great battle near Goganda.[2]

[[1] Corrected in No. 109.—B.]

[2] The best account of this battle is to be found in Badā,onī, who was an eye-witness. *Bad.* II, 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.

Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwāliyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the *melée* was wounded by Mān Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and so recalled him.

When Bhagwān Dās was appointed governor of the Panjāb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm died, and M. S. was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's sons (M. Afrāsyāb and M. Kayqubād); but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Raushānīs who, like other Afghān tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rāja Bīr Baṛ, in the war with the Yūsufzāʾīs, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kābul, in supercession of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34) and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ. He was also put in charge of Zābulistān, as Bhagwān Dās had a fit of madness (p. 358). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rājpūts and M. S.'s indifference to the Kābulīs, and was appointed Governor of Bihār, to which province the *tuyūls* of the Kachhwāhas had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwān Dās in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of *Kūwar*, received from Akbar the title of Rāja and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihār he punished several refractory Zamindārs, as Pūrān Mal and Rāja Sangrām, and received their tribute.

The principal events in Mān Singh's life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart's History of Bengal (pp. 114 to 121).[1] In the 35th year, M. S. invaded Oṛīsa by way of Jhārkand (Chuttiā Nāgpūr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūrī. In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja ʿUṣmān attacked Pūrī, M. S. again invaded Oṛīsa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihlī empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bhāṭī (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagar, or Rājmaḥall, at a place which Sher Shāh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salīmnagar, the Fort of Sherpūr Murcha (Mymensing). The whole of Eastern Bengal on the right side of the Brahmaputra was likewise annexed. In the 41st year, M. S. married the sister of Lachmī Narāʿin, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, who had

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[1] The name of "*Sayyid*" Khān (سید خان) which occurs several times in Stewart, *l.c.*, should be corrected to Saʿīd Khān (سعید خان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 351). Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Oṛīsa should make use of the Akbarnāma, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart.

declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. fell dangerously ill at Ghorāghāt, when the Afghāns attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M. S.'s sons,[1] into the Sundarban. In the 42nd year, M. S. had to send a detachment under Ḥijāz Khān into Kūch Bihār for the protection of Lachmī Narā'in. In the 44th year M. S., at Akbar's request, joined the Dakhin war. Thinking that the Afghāns, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich ʿĪsa of Ghorāghāt, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salīm at Ajmīr. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahā Singh, a grandson of M. S. The Afghāns under ʿUsman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperials near Bhadrak in Oṛīsa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtās, and defeated the Afghāns near Sherpūr ʿAṭāī, a town of the Sirkār of Sharīfābād, which extended from Bardwān to Fatḥ Singh, S. of Murshibābād. After this victory, which obliged ʿUsmān to retreat to Oṛīsa, M. S. paid a visit to the emperor, who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand. Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising M. S. to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindū above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shāhrukh (*vide* p. 326) and M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21), were raised to the same dignity.

M. S. remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital. The part which he played at the time of Akbar's death is known from the histories. Jahāngīr thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Rāja had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rohtās (Bihār), after which he joined the Emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) in the Dakhin war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign, whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bhā,o Singh, regarding whose succession to the title, *vide* Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 130.

The ground on which the Tāj at Āgra stands, belonged to Mān Singh.

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[1] He died in 1005.

31. **Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās**, a descendant of the Barmaqs (?).[1]

He served under Humāyūn, and held Multān as *jāgīr*. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he conveyed, together with Shams^u 'd-Dīn Atga (No. 15) the princesses from Kābul to India. His *tuyūl* was subsequently transferred to Nāgor. For a short time he was also Governor of Mālwa.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khān Uzbak (*vide* No. 48) in Audh. After the death of Khān Zamān, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muḥammad Qulī Khān as *jāgīr*.

He subsequently served under Munʿim Khān in Bihār and Bengal. In the 19th year when Dāʾūd had withdrawn to Sātgāw (Hūglī) Munʿim Khān dispatched M. Q. Kh. to follow up the Afghāns, whilst he remained with Rāja Ṭoḍar Mal in Ṭānḍa to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khān arrived at Sātgāw Dāʾūd withdrew to Oṛīsa, to which country neither M. Q. Khān nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sātgāw M. Q. Khān invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), where Ṣarmadī, a friend of Dāʾūd's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sātgāw. Munʿim Khān at last ordered Ṭoḍar Mal to join M. G. Khān, and subsequently both moved into Oṛīsa. Soon after passing the frontier M. Q. Khān died at Mednīpūr (Midnapore), Ramaẓān, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play.

His son, *Mīrzā Farīdūn Barlās* (No. 227). He served under M. ʿAbd^u 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jānī Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a Commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahāngīr, he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rānā Amr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mihr ʿAlī Barlās was made by Jahāngīr a Commander of One Thousand.

32. **Tarson Khān**, sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Sayf^u 'l-Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muḥammad Khān. Sayf^u 'l-Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharjistān (a part of Khurāsān); but he had to submit to Ṭahmasp (A.H. 940).

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[1] So in the MSS.: but the name *Barmaq* is very doubtful. Being a "Barlās", he belonged to that Chaghtā,i tribe which traced its descent to برد مجی or ایرد مجی—the MSS. have various forms for this name—who is the 8th ancestor of Tīmūr. If برد مجی be the correct form, the substitution of برمق, a renowned name in Muhammadan history, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the *Maʾāsir* have *Baranlaq* برنلق. In the beginning of the Akbarnāma, Abū 'l-Faẓl says that this 8th ancestor of Tīmūr was the first that held the title of *barlās*, which means the same as شجاع *shujāʿ*, brave. Another Barlās had been mentioned above on p. 216. An Amīr Chākū Barlās served with distinction under Tīmūr.

Tarson K͟hān was in the service of Bayrām K͟hān (No. 10), and joined Akbar when Bayrām fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him, together with Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī (No. 55), to see Bayrām on his way to Makkah, as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the empire. T. K͟h. was subsequently promoted to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar (*vide* No. 107), and then of Patan in Gujrāt. In the 21st year he served in Rājpūtānā, *vide* No. 44. In the 23rd year he was made Fawjdār of Jaunpūr, at the same time that Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī (*vide* p. 198) was appointed Qāẓiyᵘ 'l-Quẓāt and Ṣadr of the Sirkār. When the Jaunpūr Rebellion broke out, T. K͟h with other faithful Amīrs moved to Bihār against Bahādur K͟hān and ʿArab K͟hān, who were joined by Maʿṣūm K͟hān Farank͟hūdī (No. 157). In the 27th year he served under M. ʿAzīz Koka in Bihār. When the Qāqshāls (No. 50) left Maʿṣūm K͟hān and joined the Imperialists, M. ʿAzīz sent T. K͟h. to Ghorāghāt, where most of the Qāqshāls had jāgīrs. T. K͟h. stayed at Tājpūr (Dinagepore), settling matters, when Maʿṣūm K͟hān came with a large army from Bhāṭī (بهاتی),[1] and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tānda ; he also sent a detachment against T. K͟h., who was besieged in the fort of Tājpūr. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shāhbāz K͟hān-i Kambū (No. 80) from Patna, and T. K͟h. was thus enabled to join Shāhbāz and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal. Maʿṣūm fled again to Bhāṭī, and Shāhbāz and T. K͟h. planned an expedition against ʿĪṣā, who had afforded Maʿṣūm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at K͟hizrpūr, which stands on the frontier of Bhāṭī, took Sunnārgāw, plundered Baktarāpūr (?), where ʿĪṣā used to live, and nearly caught Maʿṣūm. At this juncture, ʿĪṣā returned from an expedition to Kūch Bihār, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowāl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

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[1] Abū 'l-Faẓl gives this spelling in the Akbarnāma, and says it means *lowland* (from the Hindūstani بهاتی *down the river*), and extends nearly 400 *kos* from east to west, and 300 *kos* from N.S., from Thibet to the ocean. It would thus include the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 260, note, defines *Bhāṭī* as comprising the Sunderban and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hijlī, overflowed by the tide.

ʿĪṣā's father, according to Abū 'l-Faẓl, was a Rājpūt of the Bais clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salīm Khān and Tāj K͟hān of Bengal, was killed ; and his two sons, ʿĪṣā and Ismāʿīl, were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn Khān, ʿĪṣā's uncle, to Tūrān, and brought back. ʿĪṣā soon became the chief of Bhāṭī, and had twelve great zamīndārs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abū 'l-Faẓl *Marzbān-i Bhāṭī*, ruler of *Bhāṭī*. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with ʿĪṣa, the Vakīl of Qutlū K͟hān of Orīsā, who ceded *Pūrī* to Mān Singh.

near the Brahmaputra, and the fighting was continued for a long time both by land and on the river. At one time T. Kh. with a small detachment came too near a position held by the enemy, and was attacked by Maʿṣūm Khān and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Maʿṣūm (992). For a relation of his, *vide* No. 400.

33. Qiyā Khān Gung.

Qiyā is a Turkish word and means *zeb*, ornament. *Gung*, if it is the Persian word, means "dumb". He served under Humāyūn, and held Kol Jalālī. On the approach of Hemū, he joined Tardī Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, and retreated with him. After Hemū's defeat, Qiyā was sent to Āgra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand. Several parganas in Gwāliār having been given to him as *tuyūl*, Qiyā Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwāliyār, which was held by Bhīl Khān, a general of Salīm Shāh, during whose reign Gwāliyār had been the capital of the empire. Bhīl Khān, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished [1] to hand it over for a consideration to Rāja Rāmsāh, whose ancestors had held Gwāliār, when Qiyā Khān arrived, and after defeating the Rāja, prepared himself to besiege Bhīl Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Āgra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyā, and Bhīl Khān submitted.

He was a friend of Bayrām, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyā Khān joined Khān Zamān's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Munʿim Khān.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Oṛisa, to settle matters. He remained in Oṛisa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutlū Khān seized upon Oṛisa, and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989).[2]

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[1] So the *Maʾāṣir*. The *Sawāniḥ* says that Rāja Rāmsāh with a large force of Rājpūts, had come to besiege Gwāliyār. Firishta instead of Bhīl Khān (Akbarnāma, Sawāniḥ, Badāonī) has Suhayl Khān (?), and Iqbāl Khān (?) for *Qiyā Khān*, *vide* Briggs, II, p. 194. The change from بهيل to سهيل is not remarkable; but the alteration of قيا to اقبال is more violent, as we have an additional *alif* and *lām*.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are may be seen from Khāfī Khān's List of Commanders of Five Thousand under Akbar (*Ed. Bibl. Indica* I, p. 237), where the native editors have given three wrong names among twelve, viz.:—

P. 237, last line, for *Amīn Khān Kokā*, read *Zayn Khān Koka* (No. 34).

P. 238, l. 1, for *Shujāʿ Khān*, read *Shujāʿat Khān* (No. 14).

P. 238, l. 2, for *Rasūl Khān*, read *Tarson Khān* (No. 32).

Moreover Khāfī Khān's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjhazārīs given in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Several copies of the *Ṭabaqāt* which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died in 984 (?).

Tardī Khān (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dānyāl to the Dakhin, but fell later in disgrace. In the 49th year he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of 5 lacs of Rupees.

V. *Commanders of Four Thousand Five Hundred.*

34. **Zayn Khān,**[1] son of Khwāja Maqṣūd of Harāt.

His father, Khwāja Maqṣūd ʿAlī, was a servant of Akbar's mother. The name of his mother was Pīcha Jān Anaga; she was one of Akbar's nurses. On Humāyūn's flight to Persia, Maqṣūd was always near the howdah of Akbar's mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwāja Ḥasan (Zayn Khān's uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salīm. She is the mother of Prince Parwīz.

In 993, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zābulistān. Zayn Khān was at that time a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yūsufzā,is. This tribe, says ʿAbu 'l-Faẓl, had formerly been in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kābul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghānāt, and subsequently at Ishtaghar. For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor,[2] and were notorious robbers. In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sulṭāni. who traced their descent to a daughter of Sulṭān Sikandar. The Yūsufzāʾīs deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sulṭānīdes, however, remained in Bājor from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the chiefs of the Yūsufzāʾīs submitted, and one of them, Kālū, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn Khāfī (No. 159) near Aṭak, and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zayn Khān moved into the District of Bajor[2] (north of Pashāwar), and punished the Yūsufzāʾīs. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdara, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask

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[1] As he was Akbar's foster brother; he is generally called in histories, Zayn Khān Koka.

[[2] Or Bijūr (?).—P.]

for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bīr Baṛ and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ with some troops. Zayn Khān asked them to attack the Afghāns whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district. But Bīr Baṛ and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ, who were no friends of Zayn Khān, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzā'īs together and then go back. Z. Kh. said it would not do to return without better results from a country which had cost so many sacrifices; else, the best thing they could do, was to return the same way they had come. But to this they would not listen, and returned by another road (over کراکر). Z. Kh. paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at Court. As soon as the Afghāns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewa[1] Balandrī (گریوہ بلندری), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear (*chandāwal*), was so severely attacked that he had to face them. Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the Imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran into the train of elephants. Many lives were lost. Z. Kh., unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afghāns seeking death, when Jānish Bahādur (No. 235) got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the *melée*. In the greatest disorder the Imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afghāns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghāns. Their enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bīr Baṛ with 500 officers fell (*vide* p. 214).

In the 31st year (994), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghorīs near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Rawshānī had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zābulistān *vice* Mān Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzā'īs. After eight months' fighting they submitted, but Z. Kh. insisted on occupying their territory. He followed the same policy as before, and erected a large Fort on the banks of the river Pajkora[2] (پنجکوره), where their district commences. During the festival of the ʿĪd-i Qurbānī (Baqr ʿĪd, in Ẕī Ḥijjah), he surprised the Afghāns and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

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[1] *Girewa means a hill.*

[2] Or Panjkora.

he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers [1] (*Vide* No. 46.)

In the 35th year he was sent to punish several rebellious zamīndārs in the Himālayas. Most of them, as Rāja Budī (Badhī) Chand of Nagarkoṭ (*vide* p. 349), Rāy Pertāb of Mānkoṭ, Rāja Parisrām of Mount Jamū, Rāja Bāsū of Mau, Rāy Baldhadr of Lakhinpūr, etc., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers.

After having been made, in the 36th year, a Commander of Four Thousand, Z. Kh. was allowed an *ʿalam* and a *naqqāra* (*vide* p. 52), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindūkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and governor of Kābul, *vice* Qulij Khān. In the same year, Prince Salīm fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (*vide* p. 288, l. 1, from below). With the death of Jalāl Khān Rawshānī the disturbances in Zābulistān came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Lāhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhānpūr, called him to Āgra.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) for his eunuchs, and Qulij Khān (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

A son of his, Shukr[u] 'Ullah (No. 373), *vide* below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The *Maʿāṣir* mentions another son, Mughul Khān, who served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān (*vide* Pādishāhn. II, p. 641) and died 19th Ramaẓān, 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odgīr in the Dakhin, where the author of the *Maʿāṣir* later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, *vide* p. 346.

For Zayn Khān's brother, *vide* No. 38.

35. **Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān,** son of Mīr Aḥmad-i Raẓawī.

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar. In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

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[1] Such forts were called *Thānas*, now the common word for a police station.

"*Thāna* means a corps of cavalry, matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the *Thāna*, and to dispatch provisions (*rasad*) to the next *Thāna*." *Pādishāhnāma*, I, p. 167.

How old the use of the word *Thāna* is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribenī and Sātgāw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.

When Shāhbāz Khān left Bihār for Bengal, M. Yūsuf Khān was sent from Audh to keep Bihār. In the 32nd year (995), when Qāsim Khān (No. 59) resigned, M. Y. was sent to Kashmīr as ruler. He was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shams Chak, the claimant to the throne, and sent him to Court. In the 34th year (997), Akbar visited Kashmīr, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country. In the districts of Mararāj and Kamrāj, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixed the taxes at one-fourth.

In Kashmīr every piece of ground is called *patta*, though a *patta* originally is equal to 1 Bīgha, 1 Biswa (*Ilāhī*) of Akbar. Two and a half *pattas* and a little more are equal to 1 *Kashmīrī* Bīgha. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmīr, and each village is assessed at some *kharwārs* of *shālī*. A *kharwār* is equal to 3 *mans*, 8 *sers* of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmīr is the *tark*, which is equal to 8 *sers* of Akbar (*vide* p. 90, note 2). At the time of the *Rabīʿ* crop, they take 2 *tarks* from each *patta* of wheat and vetches (*māsh*). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs *kharwārs*, which was 2 lacs more than before, the *kharwār* being reckoned at 16 *dāms*. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmīr to M. Y. Kh.

In the 36th year, one of M. Y. Kh.'s Mutaṣaddīs (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 *per cent* (*dah-pānzdah*) higher, and the *kharwār* should be valued at 29 *dāms*. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qāẓī Nurᵘ 'llah and Qāẓī ʿĀlī to Kashmīr to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Khān's people assumed a threatening attitude, Nūrᵘ 'llah returned, and Akbar sent Ḥasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmarī (No. 167) to Kashmīr. On his arrival, some of M. Y. Kh.'s people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malcontents of the country, who collected under Yādgār, the son of M. Y. Kh.'s uncle. The disturbances became so serious that Qāẓī ʿĀlī and Ḥasan Beg returned to Hindūstān; but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qāẓī ʿĀlī. Ḥasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yādgār then read the *khuṭba* in his name, and had dies prepared for striking coins. Several bad omens foreshadowed his speedy ruin. Without having any knowledge of this rebellion, Akbar revisited Kashmīr; but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M. Y. Kh. under the charge of Abū 'l-Faẓl. Yādgār in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srīnagar to Hīrāpūr, where some of M. Y. Kh.'s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yādgār fled outside of the camp,

accompanied by a servant of the name of Yūsuf. His camp was plundered and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yūsuf, who had returned to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yādgār was. Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M. Y. Kh. refused to remain in charge of Kashmīr under the increased revenue, the country was made *khāliṣa*, and Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khāfī (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salīm's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dārogha of the Topkhāna, and received Jaunpūr as *tuyūl*, *vice* Qulij Khān (1002); but in the 41st year his *jāgīr* was transferred to Gujrāt, to enable him to serve in the Dakhin. In the following year, when Ṣādiq of Harāt (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Murād, whom he joined in Bālāpūr (Barār). After the death of Prince Murād (p. 322), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself, together with Abū 'l-Faẓl, in the Dakhin wars, and later, under Prince Dānyāl, in the conquest of Aḥmadābād, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhānpūr, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dānyāl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abū 'l-Faẓl and the Khān-Khānān at Bālāghāt. But soon after, he died of an abscess at Jalnāpūr,[1] in Jumāḍa II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mash,had.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sulṭānpūr, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohīlas, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. *Mīrzā Lashkarī Ṣafshikan Khān* (No. 375). He was under Akbar Thānadār of Bīr (East of Aḥmadnagar), and got from Jahāngīr the title of Ṣafdar Khān, and a *tuyūl* in Bihār. In the 5th year (of Jahāngīr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Ṣūbadār of Kashmīr. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahābat Khān had fled, he was sent towards Dihlī to intercept Mahābat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was made a Commander of 2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Ṣafshikan Khān, and was

[1] My copy of the *Tabaqāt*, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—"*At the time he was appointed to operate against Rājū, he died at Jannatābad in the Dak'hin, which is generally called Jalnāpūr.*" It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, which was finished in A.H. 1001, or nine years before M. Y. Khān's death.

again sent to Bīr, where he remained for a long time. He withdrew at last from public life, got a pension of Rs. 12,000 *per annum*, and lived at Lāhor. He died in 1055.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Manṣabdārs of Kābul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahāngīr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. *Mīrzā ʿIvaẓ* (عوض). He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled *Chaman*.

3. *Mīrzā Aflāṭūn*. "He lived with his brother." He was subsequently made Mutawallī of Sikandra (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, was under Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharūr, E. of Bīr, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shāhjahān.

VI. *Commanders of Four Thousand.*

36. Mahdī Qāsim Khān.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served under M. ʿAskarī, Bābar's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghaẓanfar Koka[1] (غضنفر). Humāyūn, after the conquest of Gujrāt, had appointed ʿAskarī to Aḥmadābād. One night, when half drunk, M. ʿAskarī said, "I am king and the shadow of God"; when Ghaẓanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. ʿAskarī got enraged, and imprisoned Ghaẓanfar; but he escaped, went to Sulṭān Bahādur, king of Gujrāt, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of ʿAskarī. Bahādur thereupon collected an army, marched to Aḥmadābād and drove the Prince away (*vide* No. 12).

Mahdī Qāsim Khān joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khān Zamān (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Gaṛha (Jabalpūr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Gaṛha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpūr to Āgra, and was ordered to capture ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Majīd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived

[1] *Ghaẓanfar* means *a lion*. *Badā,onī* (II. p. 125, l. 8) calls him *Ghaẓanfar Beg*. The Ed. Bibl. Indica Edition has, by mistake, *Ghanaẓfar*.

at Gaṛha, ʿAbd^u 'l-Majīd fled to Khān Zamān; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh. so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Gaṛha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahār, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantanbhūr (which Akbar besieged), and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present. Akbar pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lakhnau as *tuyūl*.

"Nothing else is known of him" (*Maʿāṣir*). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the *Ṭabaqāt* was completed. Ḥusayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lāhor, which was called *Bāgh-i Mahdī Qāsim Khān*, *vide* Badāonī II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahāngīr's Death).

37. **Muẓaffar Khān-i Turbatī.**

Turbat is the name of a tribe (*ulūs*) in Khurāsān. His full name is Khwāja Muẓaffar ʿAlī Khān-i Turbatī. He was Bayrām's Dīwān. Bayrām delegated him from Dīpālpūr to Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna (p. 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muẓaffar, he pardoned him, and made him *ʿĀmil* (Collector) of the Pargana of Parsaror. Subsequently Akbar made him *Dīvān-i Buyūtāt* (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last Dīvān of the Empire, with the title of Muẓaffar Khān (971). Rāja Ṭodar Mal was then under him. According to Badā,onī, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rāja was a better financier than Muẓaffar, whose accession to office was honoured by the short *tārīkh* ظالم, *ẓālim* (= 971), or "Tyrant".

In the 11th year he abolished the *Jamʿ-i Raqmī*. This is the name of the assessment of the Dihlī empire, which had existed since the time of Bayrām; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; "for, on account of the number of men (*kaṣrat-i mardum*, i.e. Jāgīr-holders) and the unsettled state (*qalb-i wilāyat*) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (*ba-nām afzūda*) for the sake of mere show (*barā-yi mazīd-i iʿtibār*)." This *Jamʿ-i Raqmī* was now abolished (*vide* Third Book, *Āʾīn-i Dahsāla*), and Muẓaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of *Qānūngos*. The new rent roll was called *Jamʿ-i Ḥāṣil-i Ḥāl*, or the roll of the present actual income (*vide* p. 352). As the *Dāgh* law (pp 265, 266, and p. 252) did not then exist, Muẓaffar Khān fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the *Amīrs* and the *Mulāzims* (friends

of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.[1]

In the 12th year it was reported that Muẓaffar loved a boy of the name of Quṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muẓaffar assumed the garb of a Faqīr, and went into the forest. Akbar was thus obliged to recall him, and restored the beloved.

In the 17th year a mania for *Chaupar* (p. 315) had seized Akbar's Court. Muẓaffar lost not only his gold muhurs, but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much that he was told to go to Makkah. But he was recalled, and joined the Court at Sūrat, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Sārangpūr in Mālwa, he was appointed *Vakīl* of the Empire, with the title of *Jumlat*ᵘ *'l-Mulk*. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from Patna, from where he had dispatched a corps to take Rahtās in South Bihār, he ordered Muẓaffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (*vide* Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwāja Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn Khāfī (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Ḥājīpūr, of which the Afghāns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bihār, from Chausā to Gaṛhī. Soon after the taking of Ḥājīpūr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afghāns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghandak.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Shāh Manṣūr (No. 122) and Rāja Ṭoḍaṛ Mal continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal.

In the 25th year (988), Shāh Manṣūr subjected the Amīrs of Bihar and Bengal to strict inquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his

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[1] The *Maʾāṣir* says, he allowed the *first* class 48,000 *dāms*, the second 32,000 *d.*, and the third 24,000 *d. per annum*. These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with p. 241. But what was the value of a *dām* in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced :—

Mughul, Afghān, or Hindī	
Sih-aspas .	1,000 *d. per mensem.*
Du-aspas .	800 *d.* ,,
Yak-aspas .	600 *d.* ,,
1st Class Rājputs	800 *d.* ,,
2nd ditto ditto	600 *d.* ,,

(Akbarnāma). But at that time 40 *dāms* were equal to 1 Akbarshāhī Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.

demands, Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī and several other grandees that held jāgīrs in Bihār, rebelled. Muẓaffar imitated Shāh Manṣūr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and other Jāgīrdārs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihār rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muẓaffar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Orīsā, had not Muẓaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Ṭānḍa, which, according to Badā,onī, consisted of nothing but four old walls. The rebels thus emboldened demanded full pardon, permission to go to Makkah, and restoration of one-third of their property. At this juncture, Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17) escaped from Muẓaffar's custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.'s miserable condition. They moved, therefore, against Ṭānḍa, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabīʿ I, 988).[1]

The Jāmiʿ Masjid in Āgra was built by Muẓaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins, which still go by the name of *Nawāb Muẓaffar Khān kī Masjid* or *Kālī Masjid*. The *Maʾāṣir* says it stood in the *Katra Miyān Raqīq*, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jāmiʿ Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1058, by Jahān Ārā Begum, Shāhjahān's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the *Mirʾatᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam*, his youngest daughter was married to Shāh Fatḥᵘ 'llah of Shīrāz.

38. **Sayf Khān Koka**, elder brother of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Sayf Khān, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar's mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; "besides," said he, "it shall be this time a fine boy." The mother looked upon Prince Akbar's words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Sayf Khān was born.

Akbar was very fond of Sayf Khān, and made him, though quite young, a Commander of Four Thousand. He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Sūrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Āgra to Aḥmadābād (p. 343), and was killed bravely fighting with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

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[1] According to Badā,onī (II, p. 282), Muẓaffar capitulated, left the fort, and was then captured and slain.

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Sayf Khān was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Āgra, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amānu 'llah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

39. **Rāja Ṭoḍar Mal**, a Khatrī.

He was born at Lāhor. The *Ma'āṣir*u *'l-Umarā* does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar's reign; but T. M. appears to have entered Akbar's service at a very early period. In 971, he was employed under Muẓaffar (*Bad.* II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (*vide* No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrāt he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an ʿ*alam* and a *naqqāra* (Āʾīn 19), and was ordered to accompany Munʿim Khān to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dāʾūd Khān-i Kararānī, when Khān ʿĀlam (*vide* No. 58) had been killed, and Munʿim Khān's horse had run away, the Rāja held his ground bravely, and "not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory". "What harm," said Ṭoḍar Mal, "if Khān ʿĀlam is dead; what fear, if the Khān Khānān has run away, the empire is ours!" After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Oṛīsā, Ṭoḍar Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Ṭoḍar Mal was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dāʾūd. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 300 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrāt, *vice* Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Aḥmadābād matters with Vazīr Khān, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, at the instigation of Mihr ʿAlī Kolābī, rebelled. Vazīr Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Ṭoḍar Mal was ready to fight, and defeated Muẓaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 *kos* from Aḥmadābād. Vazīr Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Ṭoḍar Mal had not come to his assistance. Muẓaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jūnāgaṛh.

In the same year Ṭoḍar Mal was appointed *Vazīr*. When Akbar left Ajmīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Rāja were lost, as mentioned on p. 33, note.

When the news of Muẓaffar's death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Ṭoḍar Mal, Ṣādiq Khān, Tarson Khān, etc., from Fatḥpūr Sīkrī to Bihār. Muḥibb ʿAlī (No. 107), Governor of Rahtās and Muḥammad Maʿṣūm

Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) were appointed *kumakīs*, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rāja with 3,000 well-equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Ṭoḍar Mal managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī, the Qāqshāls, and Mīrzā Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungīr, and Ṭoḍar Mal, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungīr, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humāyūn Farmilī and Tarkhān Dīwāna, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Ṭoḍar Mal held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl died, and Jabārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī went to South Bihār, and ʿArab Bahādur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Pahāṛ Khān (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Maʿṣūm-i Farankhūdī to Patna, to assist Pahāṛ Khān, Ṭoḍar Mal, and Ṣādiq Khān followed Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī to Bihār. Maʿṣūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Ṣādiq Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with ʿĪṣā Khān, Zamīndār of Orīsā. Ṭoḍar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Gaṛhī, was re-annexed to the Dihlī empire.

In the 27th year (990) Ṭoḍar Mal was made Dīvān, or rather *Vakīl*. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the Āʾīn contains his new rent-roll, or *Aṣl-i Jamʿ-i Ṭūmār*, which superseded Muẓaffar's assessment (p. 373). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akbarnāma.

The most important reform introduced by Ṭoḍar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindī by Hindū *Muḥarrirs*. Ṭoḍar Mal ordered that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers—a circumstance which may well compare to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Ṭoḍar Mal's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Mān Singh[1] was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, *first*, that before

[[1] Or Mahā Singh?—P.]

the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; *secondly*, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the *Urdū*, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Ṭoḍar Mal's order or to Akbar's policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honoured him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khatrī, from private hatred, wounded Ṭ. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bīr Baṛ (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yūsufzāʾīs, Ṭ. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmīr, Ṭ. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go ; but he recalled him from Hardwār, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. Ṭ. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (*vide* No. 27, p. 353).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Ṭoḍar Mal's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees ; together with Abū 'l-Faẓl and Mān Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhārū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name *Ṭoḍaṛ Mal* is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindī *Ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ṛ*, which explains the spelling " Torel Mall ", which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjahān also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name " Ṭoḍaṛ Mal ".

The *Tafrīḥu 'l-ʿImārat*[1] says Ṭoḍar Mal's father died when Ṭ. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. Ṭ. M., at an early

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[1] This is the title of a Persian MS. preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was composed by Sīl Chand, of the Government College of Āgra, and treats of the antiquities of that town. The book gives many valuable and interesting particulars. In the preface an English gentleman is praised, whose Christian names are James Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in *gton*, and may be Babington or some other similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.

age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honours.

40. **Muḥammed Qâsim Khân**, of Nīshāpūr.

The *Maʿāṣir* calls him Qāsim Muḥammad Khān, and has put his name under the letter *Q*; but Abū 'l-Faẓl, Badā,onī, and the *Ṭabaqāt* give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nīshāpūr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bayrām Khān. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as *Harāwal*, or leader of the van, under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the battle with Hemū. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was sent against Ḥājī Khān, who had defeated Rānā Udai Sing of Maiwār, and taken possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr. Ḥājī Khān was an old servant of Sher Khān, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Ḥājī Khān's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrāt. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr, which for a long time remained the south-western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bayrām's party, and joined the Chaghtāʾi nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shams[u] 'd-Dīn Atga's corps in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated (p. 332) After the victory, he received Multān as jāgīr.

He was next sent to Sārangpūr in Mālwa, where, in the 9th year, he was visited by Akbar on his sudden hunting expedition to that province, the object of which was to get hold of ʿAbd[u] 'llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sārangpūr.

41. **Vazīr Khân**, brother of ʿAbd[u] 'l-Majīd-i Āṣaf Khān (I), of Harāt (No. 49).

When Vazīr Khān escaped with his brother (*vide* below, No. 49) from Bahādur Khān (No. 21), he fled to Kaṛa, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37), free pardon for himself and Āṣaf Khān.

In the 21st year, when ʿAzīz Koka (p. 344) had incurred Akbar's displeasure. V. Kh. was sent to Gujrāt to govern in ʿAzīz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (*sipahsālār*) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Ṭoḍar Mal (No. 39) to Gujrāt, to take the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the

same time, Mihr ʿAlī Gulābī, a friend of M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm's young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhin. As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Ṭoḍar Mal's bravery. When the Rāja left, Mihr ʿAlī appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Aḥmadābād. In one of the assaults, Mihr ʿAlī was killed by a bullet, and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, from timidity, raised the siege. Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrāt did not improve, and oppressions became so numerous, that Akbar deposed V. Kh. and called him to Court.

In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him *vazīr* in the place of Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz (No. 122), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. ʿAzīz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihār, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Maʿṣūm Khān sickness obliged ʿAzīz to return to Bihār, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Ṣūbadār should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlū Khān, ruler of Orīsā, whom he defeated (*vide* p. 356). Qutlū, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orīsā. V. Kh. returned to Ṭānḍa, and applied himself, with the assistance of Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) and Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each ṣūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amīrs, and Vazīr Khān was appointed Ṣūbadār of Bengal, with Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shāhbāz Khān, who was Bakhshī of Bengal, allowed Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Ṣāliḥ showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mīr Murād (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fatḥpūr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mīr Murād imprisoned him with the assistance of the jāgīrdārs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qulij Khān.

He is called *Andajānī*, from Andajān, a province of *Farghāna*, south of the Sayḥūn. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Tīmūrides. His grandfather was a noble at Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqrā's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sūrat, the "iron fort", which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abū 'l-Faẓl

says that the Fort had been built in 947 (A.D. 1540–41), by Ṣafar Āghā, *alias* Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. The *tarīkh* of its construction is characteristic (metre *long Ramal*).

سد بود برسینه وجان فرنگی این بنای

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firingī."[1]

Qulij Khān died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramaẓān 1022 (end of A.D. 1613),[2] at Peshāwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

The *Ma*ᵃ*āṣir* and Badā,onī (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of جانی قربانی *Jānī Qurbanī* (?); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as *Qurbānī Farbānī*, *Faryānī*, etc.

The *Ma*ᵃ*āṣir* copies from the *Zakhīrat*ᵘ *lkhawānīn* the following story which is said to have taken place in A.H. 1000, when Jaunpūr was Q.'s jāgīr. "Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one *man*. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Rām Chandr's *avatār* (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sītā; whether Krishnā's *avatār* had taken place at Mathurā; and, lastly, whether Muḥammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadans. In sleep and

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[1] The numbers added give 947. The last *yā*, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

[2] So according to the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad, p. 123, l. 1).

Misled by bad MSS., I mentioned on p. 35, note, the year 1035 as the year of his death. The *Mir*ᵃ*ātu 'l-*ʿ*Alam* and the *Ma*ʿ*āṣir* give as *tārīkh* of his death the Arabic words, *Almaut*ᵘ *jasr*ᵘⁿ *yuṣil*ᵘ *al-ḥabību ilą al-ḥābīb*ⁱ; "Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the Beloved;" but the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the *Tuzuk*.

For *Ḥusayn* in the last line of the note on p. 35, which is given in inferior MSS., better copies have *Chīn Qulij*, which is to be substituted for it.

His *takhalluṣ* "Ulfatī" has been mentioned above. The *Tabaqāt* says that another poet of the same *takhalluṣ* was in the service of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), and Badā,onī (III, 188, 189) mentions two other poets of the same *takhalluṣ*.

Qulij, properly *qīlij*, means in Turkish *a sword*, and "Qulij Khān" is the same as *Shamsher Khān*. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels and a final *ch*.

eating he differed from other men; he spoke to no one, and died after six months."

Qulij Khān's sons. 1. Mīrzā Sayf[u] 'llah (No. 292). 2. Mīrzā Chīn Qulij (No. 293), regarding whom *vide* below.

43. **Ṣādiq Khān**, son of Bāqir of Harāt.

Other historians call him Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān.[1] His father, Muḥammad Bāqir, had been *vazīr* to Qarā Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurāsān. Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Ṭadmāsp, and fled to India. Ṣādiq entered Bayrām's service as *Rikābdār* (spur-holder),[2] and got soon after a *manṣab*, and was made, after Bayrām's death, an Amīr. *Badā,onī* (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humāyūn in Qandahār, and the *Ṭabaqāt* says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpūr. *On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished* through Ṣ.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jāgīr, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Ghorā, or Banda-Rewa), to get another elephant. After passing over "the heights and the low places" of fortune, Ṣādiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 100 elephants, and was restored to favour. He was made governor of *Gaṛha, vice* Rāi Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Ṣ., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rāja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Ṣ. saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Karharā (کرهرا), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthārā, close to which Ūndchha lay, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rām Sāh. Another son of his, Hoṛal Deo (*Ma'āṣir*, Hoṛal Rāo), and about 200 Rājpūts were killed. Ṣ. remained encamped in the Rāja's territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rām Chand (No. 248), a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahīra, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramaẓān, 986, Ṣādiq with the penitent Rāja arrived at Court.

Soon after Ṣ.'s *aqṭā*ʿ were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal. In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of ʿAzīz Koka

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[1] Akbar disliked the names *Muḥammad* and *Aḥmad*; hence we find that Abū'l-Faẓl leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Munʿim Khān (No. 11), Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21), for Muḥammad Munʿim and M. Muḥammad ʿAzīz; or, Shihāb Khān (No. 26), for Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. More examples will be found below.

[[2] *Rikābdār* "stirrup-holder, one that runs at the stirrup of a great man, retinue." The pointed corner of the plate that forms the foot-rest of the Indian stirrup is used as a spur.—P.]

(No. 21), Ṣādiq and Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān (No. 107), defeated Khabiṭa,[1] one of Maʿṣūm's officers, on the Ghandak near Ḥājīpūr, and sent his head to Akbar. In the beginning of the 28th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mīrzā Koka, who had again left for Bihār.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who at a place six *kos* from Bardwān was treating with Qutlū.[2] Through Ṣ.'s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlū in the possession of Orīsā. Ṣ. then returned to his *tuyūl* at Patna.

When Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bhāṭī, the *tuyūldārs* of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him. Ṣ., however, was no friend of Shāhbāz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ṣ.'s elephant ran against Shāhbāz, who believed the accident premeditated: and Akbar sent Khwāja Sulaymān (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihār; but Ṣ., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shāhbāz went from Bihār to Bengal, Ṣ. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān.

When the Rawshānīs in the District of Mount Terāh (تیراه), "which lies west of Pashāwar, and is 32 *kos* long, and 12 *kos* broad," commenced disturbances, Ṣ., in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zayn Khān (No. 34) from Bijor, Ṣ. was sent there, to subjugate the Yūsafzā,īs.

In the 36th year, Prince Mūrad was sent from Mālwa to Gūjrāt, and as Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as *Vakīl*, Ṣ. was appointed *atālīq* to the Prince,[3] whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakhin. Shāhbāz Khān, being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmadnagar had been raised, Ṣ. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barār.

In the beginning of the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Sarāwar Khān, and made much

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[1] Khabīṭa (خبیطه) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Maʿṣum-i Kābulī from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In *Badā,onī* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 310), he is called Khabīṭa Bahādur (خبیطه) and *Khasta* (خسته) in my MS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

[2] The spelling *Qutlū* is perhaps preferable to *Qatlū* if this name is a shortened form of Qutlugh.

[3] From several passages in the *Akbarnāma* it is clear that *atālīq* (pr. a tutor) means the same as *Vakīl* or *Vazīr*. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their *Vazīrs*, their *Dīwāns*, *Bakhshīs*, etc. The appointment of the *Vakīl*, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.

booty. He was then made governor of Shāhpūr, which town Prince Murād had founded six *kos* from Bālāpūr.

Ṣādiq died at Shāhpūr in the beginning of 1005. At Dholpūr, which "lies 20 *kos* from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river," Ṣ. had erected splendid buildings and a mausoleum. He had also done much for the cultivation of the surrounding country.

He was one of the best officers Akbar had.

His sons. 1. Zāhid Khān (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year, he was made a *Khān*, and, on the accession of Jahāngīr, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Dost Muḥammad (No. 287). 3. Yār Muḥammad (No. 288). "Neither of them was alive at the time of Shāhjahān." *Maʿāṣir*.

44. **Rāy Rāysingh,** son of Rāy Kalyān Mal (No. 93).

Rāy Singh belonged to the Rāṭhors of Bīkānīr, and is the fourth descendant from Rāy Māldeo. His father, Kalyān Mal, was a friend of Bayrām (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmīr, when he together with his son entered the emperor's service. He also sent his brother's daughter to Akbar's harem. Kalyān Mal was in the 40th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rāy Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gujrāt, occupied Jodhpūr, the old seat of Māl Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dihlī territory; but Ibrāhīm, after his defeat at Sarnāl, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nāgor, which at that time was the *tuyūl* of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khān (p. 339). R. came to his relief, and the Mīrzā had not only to raise the siege, but was pursued and defeated by R. In the following year also, R. distinguished himself in the engagement with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 343).

In the 19th year, R. and Shāh Qulī Maḥram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Sen, son of Rāja Māl Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwāna, Chandr Sen's stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.'s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarson Muḥammad Khān (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamīndārs of Jālor and Sarohī; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Hāshim of Bārha (No. 143) garrisoned Nādot to watch the Rānā of Udaipūr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltān Deoda, the zamīndār of Sarohī, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarohī and besieged it. During the siege,

R. called his family to his camp; but Saltān Deoda fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abūgaṛh.[1] R. in the meantime took Sarohī, and hastened to Abūgaṛh, which Saltān surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltān to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murād. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Āgra, R. and several others were sent as *tuyūldārs* to the Panjāb. In the 28th year he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year R. and Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (*vide* No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balūchīs. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.'s daughter was married to Prince Salīm. In the 35th year he went for some time to Bīkānīr, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindh under M. ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29).

In the 38th year Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rāja Rāmchand Baghela of Bāndhū died suddenly on his way to Bāndhū, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rāja had married a daughter of R. Akbar interceded for their young children, and prevented R.'s daughter from burning herself. Soon after, R. stayed away from Court for some reason, during which time one of his servants complained of him to Akbar. The emperor called the man to Court; but R. concealed him, and gave out he had run away. Akbar was annoyed, and excluded R. for some time from the darbārs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Sūrat, with the order to assist in the Dakhin wars. R., however, delayed in Bīkānīr, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Sūrat. Akbar advised him to be obedient; but seeing that he would not go, called him to Court, but without allowing him to attend the darbārs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abū 'l-Faẓl to Nāsik; but as his son Dalpat[2] (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bīkānīr

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[1] "Abūgaṛh is a fort near Sarohi, and not far from the frontier between Gujrāt and Ajmīr." Abū 'l-Faẓl says in the Akbarnāma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abūgaṛh was *Arbudā Achal*, *Arbudā* being the name of a spirit, who, disguised as a female, shows wanderers the way, and *achal* meaning *mountain*. The fort on the top of this high mountain was difficult of access; it could, moreover, hold out for a long time, as there were several springs and fields within it. My copies of the *Sawāniḥ* and the *Akbarnāma* have *Sulṭān Deora* (سلطان دیوره) for Saltān Deoda (سلطان دیوده) of the *Maʿāṣir*.

[2] *For Dalpat*, the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (pp. 36, 106, and 126) has wrongly *Dalīp*. The *Tuzuk* and the *second* volume of the *Pādishāhnāma* (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 635) have *Sūraj* Singh, for Sūr Singh. But the *Maʿāṣir* and the *first* volume of the *Pādishāhnāma* have *Sūr* Singh (pp. 297, 302, at the end of the first decade.)

(*vide* p. 386), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to Court. In the 48th year he served under Prince Salīm against the Rānā of Udaipūr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahāngīr, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjāb to pursue Khusraw, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bīkānīr. In the second year, when Jahāngīr returned from Kābul, R., at the advice of Sharīf Khān, presented himself before the emperor with a *fūṭa* round his neck, to show his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned. He died in 1021.

His sons. 1. *Dalpat* (No. 252). He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sindh war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dakhin, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, in consequence of his differences with Khwājagī Fath[u] 'llah had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bīkānīr and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court.

In the third year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khān Jahān Lodī he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dakhin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of *Rāy*, although his younger brother (by another mother), Sūr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Rāy Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Sūr Singh, however, disgusted Jahāngīr by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam-i Ṣafawī (No. 8), the governor of Sindh. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahāngīr that Sūr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Ḥiṣār. Hāshim, the Fawjdār of the Sarkār, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat's son, Mahes Dās, and grandson, Ratan, *vide* Pādishāhnāma, pp. 635, 723; 684, 729.

2. *Sūr Singh.* After the death of his brother he rose to favour. In Histories he is generally called *Rāo* Sūr Singh, a title which he received from Shāhjahān He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sāl, the former of whom inherited the title of *Rāo* (*vide* Pādishāhnāma II, p. 727).

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. **Shāh Qulī Maḥram-i** Bahārlū.

He was in Bayrām's service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū. It was Shāh Qulī that attacked Hemū's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemū, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar.[1] Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh. Q. served with Muḥammad Qāsim Khān (No. 40) against Ḥājī Khān in Nāgor and Ajmīr.

In the third year, it was brought to Akbar's notice, that Sh. Q. was passionately attached to a dancing boy of the name of Qabūl Khān; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,[2] Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogī, and went into the forests. Bayrām traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bābā Zambūr, he remained faithful to Bayrām to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwāra (p. 332).

After Bayrām's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amīr. In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān (No. 24) was sent from the Panjāb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjāb, rising higher and higher in Akbar's favour.

It is said that the Emperor, from goodwill towards him, admitted him to his female apartments. After the first time he had been allowed to enter the Harem, he went home, and had his testicles removed (*majbūb*). From the circumstances, he was everywhere called *Maḥram*,[3] i.e., one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zābulistān, crossed the Bahat (Jhelum) near Rasūlpūr, and encamped at Hailān. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a *mast* male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out. The Rājpūts of Shaykhāwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewāt to Rewārī; and in the

[1] "Before the end of the first year, Pīr Muḥammad was dispatched against Ḥājī Khān in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sarkār of Alwar as far as Deoli Sājāri (or *Sāchāri*), the birth-place of Hemū, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemū's father alive, and brought him to Pīr Muḥammad, who asked him to embrace Islām. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pīr M. returned to Akbar." *Sawāniḥ from the Akbarnāma.*

[2] For similar examples, *vide* p. 335, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 374.

[3] Or *Maḥrim*.

35th year, Akbar had to send Sh. Q. against them. He soon restored order.

In the 41st year, he was made a commander of Four Thousand, and soon after of Five Thousand. The *Ṭabaqāt* says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Āgra in 1010. At Nārnaul, where he chiefly lived, he erected splendid buildings, and dug large tanks. When he felt death approaching, he gave the soldiers of his contingent two years' pay in advance, and left, besides, many legacies. As he had no heirs, his remaining property lapsed to the state (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

46. **Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān**, brother of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jālindhar (p. 317). He joined Akbar's service with his brother, under whom he mostly served. When his brother had died in Bengal, he came with the immense property he had left behind him to Court, and was favourably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balūchīs (*vide* No. 44). On his arrival in Balūchistān the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajhiya and Ibrāhīm Khān, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zābulistān, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah. He begged hard to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yūsufzāʾīs.

At that time epidemics were raging in Bijor, and the chiefs of the Yūsufzāʾīs came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zayn Khān (No. 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalāla Rawshānī, who had left Terāh and entered Bijor. Zayn Khān therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalāla, annoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Ṭhānadār of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalāla to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrāt. In the 36th year, when Prince Murād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I. Q. was appointed his *atāliq* or Vakīl; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Ṣādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead.

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kālpī, to look after his jāgīr. In the 42nd year (1005), he was made a Commander of Four Thousand.

He was given to luxury, and spent large sums on carpets, vessels, dress, etc. He kept 1,200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night drawers. The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him.

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1. Ibrāhīm Qulī (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Salīm Qulī (No. 357), and 3, Khalīl Qulī (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

VII. *Commanders of Three Thousand.*

47. **Mīrzā Jānī Beg**, ruler of Thatha.

He belonged to the *Arghūn* clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khān. Abū'l-Faẓl in the Akbarnāma gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khān
|
Tūlī Khān.
|
Hulāgū Khān (the brother of Mangū Qāān).
|
Abāgh (or, Abāghā) Khān, d. 663.
|
Arghūn Khān, d. 690.
|
Four generations intervening.
|
Atkū Tīmūr
|
Shankal Beg Tarkhān
|
Several generations not known.
|
ʿAbdu 'l-Khāliq Tarkhān
|
Mīrzā ʿAbdu 'l-ʿAlī Tarkhān.
|

Of his ancestors Atkū Tīmūr had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khān, and the Emperor Tīmūr took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a *Tarkhān* (*vide* the note at the end of this biography).

Mīrzā ʿAbdu'l ʿAlī, fourth ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of M. Abū Saʿīd, and received the government of Bukhārā. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaybānī Khān Uzbak; only his sixth son, M. Muḥammad ʿIsā escaped. The Arghūn clan in Bukhārā, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurāsān, where they attached themselves to Mīr Zū 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn, who was the Amīru 'l-Umarā and Sipahsālār of Sulṭan Husain Myrzā. He also was *atālīq* and father-in-law to Prince Badīʿu 'z-Zamān Mīrzā, and held Qandahār as

M. Muḥammad ᶜI'ṣā [Tarkhān, *d.* 975.
|
M. Muḥammad Bāqī [Tarkhān, *d.* 993.
|
Mīrzā Pāyanda Muḥammad Tarkhān.
|
Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān.
|
Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān.

jāgīr. When the prince's career ended, his two sons, Badīᶜᵘ 'z-Zamān and Muẓaffar Mīrzā, proclaimed themselves kings of Khurāsān. Anarchy prevailed; and matters grew worse, when Shaybān Khān invaded the country. Ẕu 'l-Nūn Beg fell in battle against him.

Shujāᶜ Beg, better known as Shāh Beg, Ẕū 'l-Nūn's son, held Qandahār during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jām Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn (generally called in Histories *Jām Nandā*), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abū 'l-Faẓl below in the Third Book, (Ṣūba of Sindh), and managed, at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahār, which had been occupied by Bābar. A short time before his death, which took place in 930,[1] he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the *Langāhs*.

Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, who took Multān from Sulṭān Ḥusayn Langāh (*vide* Third Book, Ṣūba of Multān). M. Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus. He therefore used to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards for the remaining portion. On one occasion, he went towards Bhakkar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mīrzā Muḥammad ᶜIsạ, third ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, as their chief. M. Shāh Ḥusayn, assisted by his foster brother, Sulṭān Maḥamūd, Governor of Bkakhar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sindh to M. ᶜIsạ. On Shāh Ḥusayn's death, in 963, the whole country fell to ᶜIsạ.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of Thatha.

ᶜIsạ died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muḥammad Bāqī, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Jān Bābā. M. Bāqī, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as his son, M. Pāyanda Muḥammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M. Jānī Beg, the son of M. Pāyanda.

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[1] Shāh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bābar. He wrote a Commentary to the well-known Arabic grammar *Kāfiya* (شرح کافیه), and commentaries to the *Maṭāliᶜ* (شرح مطالع) and the ᶜAqāᵉid-i Nasafī (شرح عقاید نسفی).

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjāb, M. Jānī Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khān Khānān was ordered to invade Qandahār, he was told to send some one to M. J. B., and draw his attention to this neglect; if no heed was paid, he was to invade Sindh on his return. Multān and Bhakkar being the *tuyūl* of the Khān Khānān, he did not move into Qandahār by way of Ghaznīn and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jāgīr. In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khān Khānān set out at once for Sindh (*vide* p. 356, and Brigg's *Firishta*). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khān Khānān, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lāhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Ṣūba of Multān as *tuyūl*, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Shāhrukh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghūn clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new *tuyūl*, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Lāharī Bandar, however, became *khāliṣa*, and the Sarkār of Siwistān which had formerly paid *pīshkash*, was parcelled out among several grandees.

In the 42nd year, M. J. B. was promoted to a command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. He was much liked by Akbar for his character, religious views (*vide* p. 218–9), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abū 'l-Faẓl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses: his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (*sarsām*), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhānpūr in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Āsīr.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Āsīr, he would have held it for a hundred years.

M. J. B. was fond of poetry; he was himself a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Ḥalīmī*.[1]

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[1] Here follows in the *Ma*ʿ*āṣir*u *'l-Umarā*, a description of Sindh taken from the Third Book of the Āʾīn, concluding with the following remark :—

"At present (when the author of the *Ma*ʿ*āṣir* wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudā Yār Khān Latī (لتی). From a long time he had farmed (*ijāra kard*) the Ṣūba of Thathah, and the Sarkārs of Siwistān and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the district on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nādir Shāh, Khudā Yār Khān administered them for Nādir Shāh."

Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, son of M. Jānī Beg. At the death of his father, he was only 17 years old; and though not at Court, Akbar conferred Sindh on him. He was opposed by Mīrzā ʿĪsa Tarkhān, son of Mīrzā Jān Bābā (brother of M. Muḥammad Bāqī, grandfather of M. Jānu Beg); but Khusraw Khān Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghūns and *Vakīl* to his father, espoused his cause, and M. ʿĪsa Tarkhān fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghāzī Beg and Khusraw Khān had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) and his son Saʿdᵘ 'llāh [1] to Bhakkar, and M. Ghāzī Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, M. Ghāzī Beg received Multān in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahār (*Tuzuk*, pp. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Harāt. He also received the title of *Farzand* (son). Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several *khiʿlats*.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018,[2] the word *Ghāzī* being the *Tārīkh* of his death. Suspicion attaches to Luṭfᵘ 'llah, his *Vakīl* and son of Khusraw Khān Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghāzī does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Vaqārī*, which he had bought of a Qandahār poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Ṭālibī of Āmul, Mullā Murshid-i Yazdjirdī, Mīr Niʿmatᵘ 'llāh Vacili, Mullā Asad Qiṣṣa-khwān, and especially Fughfūrī of Gīlān enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for *dakhl* (*vide* p. 108, note 8). In his private life, M. Ghāzī was dissolute. Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin; girls from all places were brought to him, and the

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[1] Saʿdᵘ 'llāh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 351. He received the title of *Nawāzish Khān* in 1020; *vide Tuzuk*, pp. 34, 96.

[2] So the *Maʾāsir*. The *Tuzuk* (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghāzī in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1021.

After M. Ghāzī Beg's death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (*vide* p. 314).

Khusraw Chirgis tried to set up some ʿAbdᵘ 'l-ʿAlī Tarkhan, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahāngīr bestowed his favours on Mīrzā ʿĪsa Tarkhān, son of M. Jān Bābā (uncle of M. Jānī Beg). He rose to the highest honours under Shāhjahān, and died more than a hundred years old, in 1062, at Sāmbhar. He had *four* sons—1. Mīrzā ʿInāyatᵘ, who died in the 21st year of Shāhjahān; 2. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who played some part during Awrangzeb's war with Dārā Shikoh; 3. Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, 4. M. ʿĀqil. Mīrzā Bihrūz, M. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Shāhjahān.

women of the town of Thatha are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mīrzā.

Note on the meaning of the title of "Tarkhān".

Abū 'l-Faẓl, in the Akbarnāma (38th year) has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingīz Khān conferred it on Qishliq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court *taklīf-i bār*).[1] Chingīz Khān, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Tīmūr, a Tarkhān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number *nine*.[2]

Some say, a Tarkhān had *seven* distinctions and privileges—1. a *ṭabl*; 2, a *tūmāntogh*; 3, a *naqqāra*; 4, he can confer on two of his men a *qushūn togh*, or *chatr togh*;[3] 5, his *Qur* (p. 116) was carried (*qūr-i ū nīz bardārand*). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (*qurq*) a forest as his private hunting ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty. 7. He was looked upon as the head of the clan to which he belonged. In the state hall the Amīrs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (*kamānwār*).

When Tughluq Tīmūr conferred this title upon an Amīr,[4] he put all financial matters (*dād o sitad*) as far as a Hazārī (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarkhān had to answer for blood shed by him (*pādāsh-i khūn*), he was placed on a silver-white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Barlās clan (*vide* p. 364 note), and the

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[1 *Taklīf* duty.—P.]

[2] *Nine* was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received nine presents, or the present consisted of *nine* pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghtāʿī *tuquz* (or *tūquz* or *tuqūz*), nine came to mean *a present*, in which sense it occurs in the *Pādishāhnāma* and the ʿ*Ālamgīr-nāma*, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as *haft tuquz pārcha*, "a present of seven pieces of cloth."

[3] *Vide* p. 52.

[4] The MSS. call him ترلغی or یرلغی, with every variety of diacritical points.

sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkīwat (اركيوت) clan. His neck vein was then opened, the two chiefs remaining at his side, and watching over him till he was dead. The king was then led forth from the palace, and sat down to mourn over him.

Khizr Khwāja in making Mīr Khudādād a *Tarkhān*, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (*tūī*), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the *yasāwal* (chief mace-bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the *Tarkhān* also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhān from the left. 3. The Tarkhān's seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abū 'l-Fazl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough; he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes; but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations.

48. **Iskandar Khān**, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humāyūn, who on his return to India made him a *Khān*. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Āgra. On Hemū's approach, he left Āgra, and joined Tardī Beg at Dihlī. Both opposed Hemū, Iskandar commanding the left wing (*jūranghār*). His wing defeated the right wing (*burunghār*) and the van (*harāwal*) of Hemū, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists, when Hemū with his whole force broke upon Tardī Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū, and received after the battle for his bravery, the title of *Khān ʿĀlam*.

As Khizr Khwāja Khān,[1] the Governor of the Panjāb, had retreated

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[1] Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulistān; but according to the *Tabaqāt* from the kings of *Kāshghar*. He was a grandee of Humāyūn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. ʿAskarī in Qandahār, when Humāyūn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwāja threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humāyūn's tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favour, was made *Amīr^u 'l-Umarā*, and married Gulbadan Begam, H.'s sister. When Akbar marched against Hemū. Khizr Khān was made Governor of the Pānjāb and ordered to operate against Sikandar. Sūr, who during Humāyūn's lifetime had retreated to the Sawāliks. Leaving Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī in Lāhor, Khizr Khān moved against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. جمباری. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre; but Sikandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Lāhor. Sikandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself had to move against him. Finding Akbar's army too strong, Sikandar shut himself up in Mānkot. After a siege of six months, Sikandar bribed Shams^u 'd-Dīn Atgah (No. 15) and Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20) who prevailed

before Sikandar Khān Sūr, and fortified himself in Lāhor, leaving the country to the Afghāns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkot and assist Khizr Khwāja.

Afterwards he received Audh as *tuyūl*. "From want of occupation," he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khān (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khān Zamān (No. 13). Together with Bahādur Khān (No. 22), he occupied Khāyrābād (Audh), and attacked Mīr Muʿizzu 'l-Mulk (No. 61). Bahādur ultimately defeated the Imperialists; but Isk. had in the first fight been defeated and fled to the north of Audh.

When in the 12th year Khān Zamān and Bahādur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khān Zamān and Bahādar had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorākhpūr, which then belonged to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bāyazīd, Sulaymān's son, over Jhārkand to Oṛisā. After Sulaymān's return from the conquest of Oṛisā,[1] Isk.'s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaymān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghāns waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Munʿim Khān, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sarkār of Lakʿhnau as *tuyūl*, and died there in the following year (980).

49. **Āṣaf Khān ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd** (of Hirāt), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī.

His brother Vazīr Khān has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaykh Zaynu 'd-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī[2] was a saint (*ṣāḥib kamāl*) at the time of Tīmūr. When Tīmūr, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirāt, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiyāṣu 'd-Dīn, he sent, on his arrival at

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upon Akbar to pardon him. Sikandar sent his son ʿAbdu 'r-Rahmān with some elephants as *pishkash*, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihār as *tuyūl* (*vide* p. 335). Mānkot surrendered on the 27th Ramaẓān 964. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abu'l-Faẓl had not entered Khizr Khān in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the *Tabaqāt*. Similarly Khwāja Muʿaẓẓim and Mīr Shāh ʿAbdu 'l-Maʿālī are left out. For Kh.'s son, *vide* No. 153.

[1] On Sulaymān's return from Oṛisā, he appointed Khān Jahān Lodhi, his Amīr-ul-Umarā, Governor of Oṛisā. Qutlū Khān, who subsequently made himself king of Oṛisā, was then Governor of Pūrī (Jagganath) Bad. II, 174.

[2] He died A.H. 791. His biography is given in Jāmī's *Nafhātu 'l-Uns*. Taybād belongs to Jām-i Khurāsān.

Tāybād, a messenger to the Shaykh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. "What have I," replied the Shaykh, "to do with Tīmūr?" Tīmūr, struck with this answer, went himself to the Shaykh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghiyās. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaykh, "but he would not listen, and God has now appointed you over him. However, I now advise you, too, to be just, and if you likewise do not listen, God will appoint another over you." Tīmūr afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaykh Abū Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd was a Grandee of Humāyūn, whom he served as Dīwān. On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjāb, to crush Bayrām's rebellion, ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd received the title of *Āṣaf Khān*, regarding which *vide* the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Āṣaf was appointed Governor of Dihlī, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattū, a servant of ʿAdlī, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanāḍh (Chunar), Ā., in concert with Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawṣ, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaṛa-Mānikpūr on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī, an Afghān noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamīndārs against Akbar. Ā., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhath, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rāja prepared for resistance. Ā. marched against the Rāja, defeated him, and executed Ghāzī Khān. The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū,[1] but obtained Abbar's pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rāja's at Court. Ā. then left the Rāja in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (*vide* p. 251, l. 29), made him desirous of further warfare and he planned the famous expedition against Gaḍha-Katangah,[2]

[1] Abū 'l-Faẓl in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnāma, says that ʿAlāʾu 'd-Dīn-i-Khiljī besieged Bāndhū in vain.

[2] Gaḍha (Gurh, Gurhah, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpūr in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jubalpūr below lat. 22, as on the map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, pl. lvii; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpūr and Gaḍha, about lat. 23° 30′, as on the map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Malwa; but both are called on the maps *Katangi*. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gaḍha-Katangah. Abū 'l-Faẓl says, it had an extent of 150 *kos* by 80 *kos*, and there were in ancient times 80,000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindūs as very low.
The Rājas of Gaḍha-Katangah are generally called the Gaḍha-Mandlā Rājas. Mandlā lies S.E. of Jabalpūr, on the right side of the Narbaddah.

or Gondwānah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgāwatī,[1] the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bīr Sāh, at the conquest of Chaurāgaḍh (about 70 miles west of Jabalpūr) are well-known. The immense spoils which Ā. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1,000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khān Zamān (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnūn Qāqshāl (No. 50) in Mānikpūr, Ā. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khān Zamān, and handed over the remainder of the Gaḍha spoils. He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture the imperial Mutaṣaddīs, whom Ā. before had handsomely bribed, reported, from envy, his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth. Hypocritical friends mentioned this to Ā.; and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gaḍha (Ṣafar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) to Gaḍhā. Ā. then left Central India "with a sorrowful heart", and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khān Zamān at Jaunpūr. But he soon saw that Khān Zamān only wanted his wealth and watched for a favourable moment to kill him. Ā. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khān Zamān had sent his brother Bahādur (No. 22) against the Afghāns, and Ā. was to accompany him. Vazīr Khān, whom Khān Zamān had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mānikpūr, which Ā. had appointed as place of rendezvous. No sooner had Ā. escaped than Bahādūr followed him up, defeated his men, and took Ā. prisoner. Bahādur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazīr Khān fell over Bahādur. Bahādur made some one a sign to kill Ā., who sat fettered on an elephant, and Ā. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazīr in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Kaṛah, and asked Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muẓaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjāb, he took Vazīr with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. Ā. was ordered to join Majnūn Qāqshāl at Kaṛa-Mānikpūr. His bravery in the last struggle with Khān Zamān induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyāg as *tuyūl*, *vice* Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against

[1] Capt. Sleeman in his "History of the Gurha Mandala Rājas", Journal A.S. Bengal, vol. vi, p. 627, spells her name *Durghoutee*. He calls her son *Bīr Narain*. *Vide* also *Badā,onī*, ii, 66.

Rānā Udai Singh. Ā. was sent in advance (*manqalā*). In the middle of Rabīʿ I, 975, Akbar left Āgra for Chītor. The Rānā had commissioned Jay Mal, who had formerly been in Mīrtha, to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains. During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days, Ā. distinguished himself, and when, on the 25th Shaʿbān 975, the fort fell Ā. was made Governor of Chītor.

Neither the *Maʾāṣir*, nor the *Tabaqāt*, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āṣaf Khān was bestowed upon another noble.[1]

Note on the Title of "Āṣaf Khān".

Āṣaf was the name of the Vazīr of Sulaymān (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badā,onī, to avoid confusion, numbers them Āṣaf Khān I, II, and III. They are :—

ʿAbd^{u} 'l-Majīd, Āṣaf Khān I, *d.* before 981 (No. 49).
Khwāja Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ^{u} 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān II, *d.* 989 (No. 126).
Mīrzā Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98).

The three Āṣafs were Dīwāns or Mīr Bakhshīs. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will show :—

Āghā Mullā Dawātdār.

1. Ghiyāṣ^{u} 'd-Dīn ʿAli, Beg. *Āṣaf Khān II.*
    - Mīrzā Nūr^{u} 'd-Dīn.
    - A daughter
        - Mumtāz Maḥall, (Shāhjahān's wife).
2. Mīrzā Badīʿ^{u}-z-Zamān
    - Mīrzā Jaʿfar Beg, *Āṣaf Khān III.*
3. Mīrzā Aḥmad

Jahāngīr conferred the title of "Āṣaf Khān" (IV) on Abū 'l-Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and father of Mumtāz Maḥall (or Tāj Bībī, Shāhjahān's wife), whose mother was a daughter of Āṣaf Khān II. During the reign of Shāhjahān when titles containing the word *Dawla*[2] were

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[1] Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, ʿAbd^{u} 'l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān officiated in 1013 for Mān Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farīd^{u} 'd-Dīn Bukhārī [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahāngīr.

[2] They had been in use among the Khalīfas and the Ghaznawīs. Thus *Yamīn^{u} 'd-Dawla* which title Shāhjahān bestowed on Abū 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān IV, had also been the title of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī when prince. The kings of the Dakhin occasionally conferred titles

revived, *Āṣaf Khān* was changed to *Āṣaf*[u] *'d-Dawla*, and this title was conferred on Āṣaf[u] 'd-Dawla Jumlat[u] 'l-Mulk Asadjang (Shāhjahān-Awrang-zeb), a relation of Āṣaf Khān IV. Under Aḥmad Shāh, lastly, we find Āsaf[u] 'd-Dawla Amīr[u] 'l-Mamālik, whose name like that of his father, Niẓām[u] 'l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. **Majnūn Khān-i Qāqshāl.**[1]

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and held Nārnaul as *jāgīr*. When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Ḥājī Khān besieged Nārnaul, but allowed Majnūn Khān to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rāja Bihārī Mal, who, at that time, was with Ḥājī Khān (*vide* p. 347).

On Akbar's accession, he was made Jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kālinjar. This fort was in the hands of Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Bhath, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bijlī Khān, the adopted son of Pahār Khān. When, during the siege, the Rāja heard of the fall of Chītor and Rantanbhūr, he surrendered Kālinjar to M. (29th Ṣafar, 997). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Munʿim Khān (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorakhpūr. At the same time the Gujrātī war had commenced, and as Bābā Khān Qāqshāl[2] had words with Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), the Mīr Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Munʿim's army that Bābā Khān Jabārī (Majnūn's son), Mīrzā Muḥammad, and other Qāqshāls, had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and joined the rebellion of the Mīrzās in Gujrāt; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Munʿim to imprison Majnūn. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Munʿim, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but

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with *Dawla*. This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Āzād[u] 'd-Dawla on Mīr Fatḥ[u] 'llah of Shīrāz, who had come from the Dakhin.

The title *Malik*, so common among the Pathāns, was never conferred by the Mughūl (Chaghtāī) Kings of Delhi.

Titles with *Jang*, as *Fīrūzjang*, *Nuṣratjang*, etc., came into fashion with Jahāngīr.

[1] Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbaks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnūn Khān was certainly the best of them.

[2] *Bābā Khān Qāqshāl* also was a grandee of Akbar, but Abū 'l-Faẓl has left him out in this list. Like Majnūn he distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān and the Mīrzās. During Munʿim's expedition to Bengal, the Qāqshāls received extensive jāgīrs in Ghorāghāt. Bābā Khān was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnūn's death. He rebelled with Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī, partly in consequence of Mūzaffar Khān's (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khān Khānān. He died in the same year in which Muẓaffar died, of cancer in the face (*Khāra*), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[*Khara* chancre ?—P.]

when M. soon after heard that Bābā Khān and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrāti war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Munˁim who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpūr.

M. accompanied Munˁim on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dā,ūd, retired to Oṛīsā, and Kālā Pahār,[1] Sulaymān Manklī and Bābū Manklī had gone to Ghorāghāt, Munˁim sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaymān Manklī, the acknowledged ruler of Ghorāghāt, a great number of the principal Afghān nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaymān Manklī to his son Jabārī. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan. But Bābū Manklī and Kālā Pahāṛ had taken refuge in Kūch Bihār, and when Munˁim was in Kaṭak, they were joined by the sons of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Sūr, and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Ṭānḍa, and waited for Munˁim, who, on his return from Oṛīsā, sent them with reinforcements to Ghorāghāt. The Qāqshāls re-occupied the district. Majnūn died soon after at Ghorāghāt.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand, and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabārī,[2] distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the *Dāgh* law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabārī then assumed the title of *Khān Jahān*. When the Qāshāls left Maˁṣūm (p. 344), Jabārī went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

51. Shujāˁat Khān, Muqīm-i ˁArab.

He is the son of Tardī Beg's sister (No. 12). Hūmāyūn made Muqīm-a *Khān*. On the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mīrzā ˁAskarī. When Humāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muqīm, like most old nobles,

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[1] The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Pūrī in S. Oṛīsā. *Vide* below Third Book, Ṣūbas of Bengal and Oṛīsā. A minute description of his conquest is given in the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* and by Stirling in his Account of Orissa, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. But Stirling's account, taken as it is from the Pūrī Vynsavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Pūrī) differs considerably from the Akbarnāma. Kālā Pahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Maˁṣūm and Qutlū *of* Oṛīsā, and ˁAzīz Koka (*vide* p. 344) which, in 990, took place between Khalgāw (Colgong) and Gadhī (near Rajmahall).

Bābū Manklī subsequently entered Akbar's service (*vide* No. 202). European historians generally spell his name Bābū *Mangalī*, as if it came from the Hindī *mangal*, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But *manklī* is perhaps preferable. Two of Tīmūr's ancestors had the same name. The Turkish *manklī* means *خالدار*, *khāldār*, spotted.

[2] The best MSS. of the Akbarnāma, Badā,onī, and the Maᵃāsir have جباري. Stewart (p. 100) calls him *Jebbaburdy* (?).

presented himself before the emperor with a sword hanging from his neck, and was for a short time confined. After his release, he remained with Mun'im Khān (No. 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Mun'im to take Bayrām's place.

In the 9th year, Muqīm distinguished himself in the pursuit of 'Abdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14), "the king of Mandū," and received the title of *Shujā'at Khān*, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious 'Abdu 'llāh.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Aḥmadābād (p. 343). Once he slandered Mun'im, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānān to do with him what he liked; but Mun'im generously forgave him, and had him restored.

In the 22nd year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mālwah.

In 988, when troubles in Bihār and Bengal had broken out, Shujā'at Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sārangpūr for Fatḥpūr (*Badā,onī* II, 284). At the first stage, 'Iwaẓ Beg Barlās who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Ḥājī Shihāb Khān leader, fell upon Shujā'at's tent, and killed his son Qawīm Khān.[1] Shujā'at himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sārangpūr. Though Sh. had expired before they reached the town, they did not spread the news of his death, and thus kept the greater part of the soldiers together, and joined Akbar in Sārangpūr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 294, Akbar once saved Shujā'at's life in the jungles.

From Badā,onī (II, 284), we learn that Qawīm Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqīm Khān (No. 386) is Shujā'at Khān's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qā'im Khān was the son of Muqīm Khān. Qā'im's son, Abdu 'r-Rāḥīm, was under Jahāngīr a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made in the 5th year, Fawjdār of Alwar. Qā'im's daughter, *Ṣāliḥa Bānū*, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngīr in his harem, and went by the title of *Pādishāh Maḥall*. She adopted *Miyān Joh*, son of the above, Abdu 'r-Raḥīm. Miyān Joh was

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[1] So the Ma'āṣir and the Akbarnāma. Badā,onī (ii, 284) has Qā'im Khān; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. Indica.

killed by Mahābat Khān when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngīr's person.

No. 52. **Shāh Budāgh Khān**, a descendant of Uymāqs[1] of Miyānkāl, Samarqand.

The Turkish *Budāgh* means "a branch of a tree". He distinguished himself under Humāyūn and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year he accompanied Mīr Muʿizzᵘ 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against Bahādur (No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shihābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) against Mīrzās in Mālwah, received Sārangpūr as *tuyūl*, fought under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramaẓān 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandū, where he died. The *Ṭabaqāt* says, he had the title of *Amīrᵘ 'l-Umarā*. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohinī.

Inside Fort Mandū, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of *Nīlkānth*, regarding the inscriptions on which the *Maʾāṣir* gives a few interesting particulars.

53. **Ḥusayn Khān** (Ṭukṛiya), sister's son of Mandī Qāsim Khān (No. 36.)

"He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign." In his *jihāds* he was *sans peur*, and his private life *sans reproche*; he surpassed all grandees by his faithfulness and attachment to his masters, but his contingent was never in order; he was always poor, though his servants, in consequence of his liberality, lived in affluence. He slept on the ground, because his Prophet had enjoyed no greater luxuries; and his motto in fight was "death or victory"; and when people asked him why he did not invert the order and say "victory or death", he would reply, "O! I so long to be with the saints that have gone before."

He was the patron of the historian Badā,onī,[2] who served Ḥusayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsābād and Patyālī).

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[1] There were two tribes of the Qarā Turks called أیماق or أویماق *üymāq*. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence أیماق as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians, means *a kind of superior cavalry*; *vide* Tuzuk, p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may be seen from p. 57, l. 1 of the second volume of my Aʾīn text, where Abū 'l-Faẓl applies the word to Rājpūt cavalry of the Rāṭhor clan. The word is pronounced *aimāq* in India.

The meaning of *Miyān Kāl* is still unclear to me. To judge from Abū 'l-Faẓl's phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective *Miyān Kālā* occurs frequently. Two Miyān Kālīs may be found below among the list of learned men (Qāẓī ʿAbdᵘ 's-Samīʿ) and the poets (Qāsim-i Kāhī).

[2] *Vide* my Essay on Badā,onī and his Works in J.A.S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 120.

Ḥusayn Khān was not only sister's son, but also son-in-law to Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36). He was in Bayrām's service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mānkoṭ, Akbar made him Governor of Lāhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar in Ṣafar 965, marched to Dihlī, he appointed Ḥ. Kh. Governor of the Panjāb. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunnī. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindūs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. *ṭukrā*) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of *Ṭukriya* "Patcher".

Like Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram (No. 45), he stuck to Bayrām to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhūjhar; but after Bayrām had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdī Qāsim Khān, from dislike to Gaḍha, went by way of the Dakhin to Makkah, Ḥ. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwās in Mālwah, when the rebellion of the Mīrzās broke out, and in concert with Muqarrib Khān, the *tuyūldār* of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwās. But Maqarrib lost heart and fled; and Ḥ. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā for an interview. Though urged to join the Mīrzā, Ḥ. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khān Zamān, Ḥ. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jāgīr was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Badā,onī had been for about a year, to Kānto Gola.[1] His exacting behaviour towards Hindūs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihār, Ḥ. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Ḥājīpūr, he confiscated Ḥ.'s jāgīr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jāgīr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His *mania*, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpūr in Kamā,on, which was proverbially rich, and got wounded by a bullet in the shoulder. Akbar was almost convinced that he had gone into rebellion, and sent Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. Ḥ. Kh. therefore left Gaṛh Muktesar, with the view of going to Munʿim Khān, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bārha, and was taken to Faṭhpūr Sīkrī, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

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[1] Elliot (Index, p. 235, First Edition) has by mistake *Lakhner* (on the Rāmganga) instead of *Lakhnau* (in Audh), and he calls Ḥusayn Khān a *Kashmīrī*. This must be an oversight.

The Ṭabaqāt says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnāma, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yūsuf Khān, was a grandee of Jahāngīr. He served in the Dakhin in the corps of ʿAzīz Kokā (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwīz, the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khān Khānān (*Tuzuk* p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (*vide* pp. 344 and 357). Yūsuf's son, ʿIzzat Khān, served under Shāhjahān, (*Pādishāhn.* II, 121).

54. **Murād Khān**, son of Amīr Khān Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muḥammad Murād Khān. In the 9th year he served under Āṣaf Khān (No. 48) in Gaḍha Katanga. In the 12th year, he got a jāgīr in Mālwa, and fought under Shihābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad against the Mīrzās. After the Mīrzās had returned to Gujrāt, M. got Ujjain as *tuyūl.*

In the 13th year, the Mīrzās invaded Mālwa from Khandesh, and Murād Khān, together with Mīr ʿAzīzᵘ 'llah, the Dīwān of Mālwah, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Qulij Khān (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mīrzās retreated to Mandū. Followed up by Qulij and Murād they retreated at last across the Narbaddah.

In the 17th year, the Mīrzās broke out in Gujrāt, and the jāgīrdārs of Mālwah assembled under the command of M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). Murād held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramaẓān, 980).

In 982, he was attached to Munʿim's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Faṭhābād, Sarkār Boglā (S.E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellasore) in Oṛīsā, after Dā*ūd had made peace with Munʿim.

When in 983, after Munʿim's death, Dā*ūd fell upon Naẓar Bahādur, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Oṛīsā), and treacherously killed him, Murād wisely retreated to Ṭānḍa.[1]

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fatḥābād, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murād at Fatḥābād Qiyā Khān in

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[1] As Munʿim left T'hānahdārs in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dā*ūd must have been restricted to Kaṭak proper. Munʿim's invasion of Oṛīsā was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Kaṭak, I may here state that the name "Aṭak" (Attock, in the Panjāb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because *it rhymes with Kaṭak.* The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. *Akbarnāma.*

Oṛīsā, Mirzā Najāt at Sātgāw, were almost the only officers of Akbar's Bengal corps that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiyā was killed by Qutlū (p. 366), and Murād died at Fatḥābād immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988, "before the veil of his loyalty was rent".

After his death, Mukand, the principal Zamīndār of Fatḥābād, invited Murād's sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

Vide No. 369.

55. **Ḥājī Muḥammed Khān** of Sīstān.

He was in the service of Bayrām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bayrām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humāyūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bayrām innocent, he went back, taking Ḥājī Muḥammad with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion.[1]

After the conquest of Hindūstān, Ḥ. M. at Bayrām's request, was made a Khān, and was rapidly promoted.

In the 1st year of Akbar's reign, Ḥ. M. was ordered to accompany Khizr Khwāja'n (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tardī Beg's (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor's cause; and Mullā ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk who, though in Akbar's service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afghān's, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sawāliks. As related above Khizr Khwāja moved against Sikandar, leaving Ḥ. M. in charge at Lāhor. Being convinced of Makhdūm's treason, Ḥ. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bayrām fell out with Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to Ḥ. M. When Bayrām fell into disgrace, he sent Ḥ. M. with several other Amīrs to Dihlī with expressions of his humility and desire to be pardoned. But Ḥ. M. soon saw that all was lost. He did not receive permission to go back to Bayrām. After Bayrām had been pardoned (p. 318) Ḥ. M. and Muḥammad Tarsō Khān (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Ḥijāz as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bayrām charged Ḥ. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

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[1] Ḥājī Muḥammad is the same to whom Erskine's remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470 note.

Ḥ. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of *Sih-hazārī*. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chitor, he sent Ḥ. M. and Shibābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) from Gāgrūn against the sons of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Mālwah. Ḥ. M. then received the Sarkār of Mandū as *jāgīr*.

In the 20th year, Ḥ. M. accompanied Munʿim Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Oṛīsā, and got wounded in the battle of Takaroī (20th Ẕī Qaʿda, 982). He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Gaur, where soon after Munʿim's death he, too, died of malaria (983).

Note on the Battle of Takaroī, or Mughulmārī, in Oṛīsā.

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals. It crushed the Afghāns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Oṛīsā. The MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Maʾāṣir* have تکروهی *Takarohī*, and تکروئی *Takaroī*. My copy of the Sawāniḥ has the former spelling. A few copies of the *Akbarnāma* have نکروهی *Nakrohī*. In *Badā,onī* and the *Ṭabaqāt* the battle of Takaroī is called the battle of بجهوره (*vide* p. 334) which may be *Bajhorah*, *Bachhorah*, *Bajhorh*, or *Bachhorh*. Stewart's account of Munʿim's Oṛīsā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the *Akbarnāma* and the Ṭabaqāt. He places the battle in the environs of Kaṭak, which is impossible, and his "Bukhtore" is a blunder for بچتوا *ba-chittū,ā*, "in Chittuā," the final *alif* having assumed the shape of a ر *re*, and the چ that of خ. The Lucknow lithograph of the *Akbarnāma*, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has *ba-chitor*, "in Chitor."

The *Akbarnāma*, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Toḍar Mal moved from Bardwān over Madāran[1] into the Pargana of Chittuā (چتوه), where he was subsequently joined by Munʿim. Dāʾūd had taken up a strong position at هرپور, Harpūr or Haripūr, "which lies intermediate (*barzakhe*) between Bengal and Oṛīsā." The same phrase (*barzakhe*), in other passages of the *Akbarnāma*, is applied to Chittuā itself. Dāʾūd's object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Oṛīsā into which led but few other roads; "but Ilyās Khān Langāh

[1] Madāran lies in Jahānābād, a Pargana of the Hūglī district, between Bardwān and Mednīpūr (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town, *vide* my "Places of Historical Interest in the Hūglī District", in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal for 1870.

showed the victorious army an easier road," and Munʿim entered the country, and thus turned Dāʾūd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Ẕī Qaʿda, 982, or A.D., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Todar Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Munʿim to come and join him, as Dāʾūd had collected his troops near Kaṭak, and the whole army moves to Kaṭak. where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dāʾūd in the possession of Kaṭak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuā, which lies a little E.E.N. of Midnipūr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rāja Todar Mal, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasore), and probably north of it, as Abū 'l-Faẓl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Oṛīsā lately published, I found on the road from Midnipūr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmaree [1] (Mughulmārī, i.e., Mughul's Fight) and about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmārī and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroe.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmārī is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the تکروئی, *Takaroī*, of the *Akbarnāma*.

The battle extended over a large ground Badā,onī (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of *three. four kos*, *i.e.* about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroī from Mughulmārī is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name بجهور, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqāt and Badā,onī (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word *chaur* which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badā,onī (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196) and the *Ṭabaqāt*, it is said that Todar Mal on his pursuit reached کل کل گها *Kalkalghāṭ* (?), not Bhadrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Oṛīsā, at Gaur, of malaria.

1. Munʿim Khān, Khān Khānān, (18th Rājab). *Vide* p. 334.
2. Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī (No. 55).
3. Ḥaydar Khān (No. 66).

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[1] Another "Mughulmārī" lies in the Bardwān district between Bardwān and Jahānābād (Hūglī district) on the old high road from Bardwān over Madāran to Midnipūr.

4. Mīrzā Qulī Khān, his brother.
5. Ashraf Khān (No. 74).
6. Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 128).
7. Laʿl Khān (No. 209).
8. Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān (No. 224).
9. Shāh Ṭāhir (No. 236).
10. Hāshim Khān.
11. Muḥsin Khān.
12. Qunduz Khān.
13. Abū'l-Ḥusayn.
14. Shāh Khalīl.

56. **Afẓal Khān, Khāwja Sulṭān ʿAlī [1] -yi Turbatī.**

Regarding *Turbatī vide* No. 37. He was *Mushrif* (accountant) of Humāyūn's Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of *Mushrif-i Buyūtāt* (store accountant). In 957, when Mīrzā Kāmrān took Kābul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced him to pay large sums of money. On Humāyūn's return to India, A. Kh. was made *Mīr Bakhshī*, and got an *ʿalam*. He was together with Tardī Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, when Humāyūn died. In the battle with Hemū, he held a command in the centre (*qol*), and his detachment gave way during Hemū's charge. A. Kh., together with Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20) and Ashraf Khān (No. 74), fled from the battlefield, partly from hatred towards Tardī Beg—the old hatred of Khurāsānīs towards Uzbaks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrām. As related above, Tardī Beg was executed by Bayrām for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Ashraf Khān were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bayrām had lost his power, and were favourably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Maʾāṣir.*

57. **Shāhbeg Khān,** son of Irbāhīm Beg Ḥarīk (?).[2]

He is sometimes called *Beg Khān* (p. 327). He was an *Arghūn*; hence his full name is *Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn*. Under Jahāngīr he got the title of *Khān Dawrān*.

He was in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Peshāwar. When after the Prince's death, Mān Singh, in 993, crossed the Nīlāb (p. 362) for Kābul, Shāh Beg took M. M. Ḥakīm's two sons, Kay Qubād and Afrāsiyāb, to Akbar, and received a *manṣab*. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yūsufzāʾīs, and got *Khushāb* as *jāgīr*. He then served under the Khān Khānān in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2,500. In the 39th year Akbar sent him to Qandahār (p. 327), which,

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[1] The word ʿAlī has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.

[2] So the Maʾāṣir. My MSS. of the Āʾīn have حریک, which may be *Ḥarīk*, *Ḥarmak*, *Ḥasbak*, etc. Some MSS. read clearly *Ḥarmak*.

Muẓaffar Ḥusayn had ceded. During the time of his Governorship Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar کاکر tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghaznīn was placed in his charge (*vide* No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahāngīr, Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor at Hirāt, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahār, which he hoped to starve out. To vex him, Sh. B. gave every night feasts on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). One day Ḥusayn Khān sent an ambassador into the Fort, and Sh. B., though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies. Not long after, Ḥusayn Shāh received a reprimand from Shāh ʿAbbās for having besieged Qandahār "without orders", and Ḥusayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahāngīr in 1016 (18th Ṣafar) visited Kābul,[1] Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 5,000, and received the title of *Khān Dowrān*. He was also made Governor of Kābul (in addition to Qandahār), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghānistān. After having held this office till the end of 1027 he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kābul, horse-travelling and the drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,[2] paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (*Tuz.*, p. 257), and was appointed Governor of Thatha.[3] He resigned, however, in the same year (*Tuz.*, p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of Khushāb assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to Thatha, he called on Āṣaf to take leave and Āṣaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad of Thatha, who had been a friend of Āṣaf. Shāhbeg had heard before that the Mullā's brothers, in consequence of Āṣaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Āṣaf, "Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (*sarḥisāb*); but if not, I shall flay them." Āṣaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

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[1] According to the *Tuzuk* (p. 53), Sh. B. then held the Pargana of Shor as *jāgir*, regarding which *vide* Elliot's Index, first edition, p. 198.

[2] The text has *gagra*, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kābul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.

[3] Sayyid Aḥmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 266) makes him governor of *Patna*—a confusion of پتنه and ته.

Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an ʿ*alam* and a *naqqāra* (p. 52); but on receiving the *insignia*, he said to Farīd (No. 99); "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my *manṣab*, and a *jāgīr*, to enable me to get better troopers for his service.' On his return, in 1028, from Kābul, he paraded before Jahāngīr his contingent of 1,000 picked Mughul troopers, whose appearance and horses created much sensation.

He was much given to wine drinking. He drank, in fact, wine, *cannabis*, opium, and *kūknār*, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients *Chār Bughrā* (p. 63, l. 2), which gave rise to his nickname *Chār Bughrā Khur*.

His sons. 1. *Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad Ghaznīn Khān*, a well educated man. Jahāngīr, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, six-hundred horse.

2. *Yaʿqūb Beg*, son-in-law to Mīrzā Jaʿfar Āṣaf Khān (III), (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The *Maʾāṣir* says, he was a fatalist (*azalparast*), and died obscure.

3. *Asad Beg* (*Tuz.*, p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The *Maʾāṣir* does not mention him.

The *Tuzuk*, p. 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khān, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shāhbeg Khān Arghān must not be confounded with No 148.

58. **Khān ʿAlam Chalma Beg,**[1] son of Hamdam who was Mīrzā Kāmrān's foster brother.

Chalma Beg was Humāyūn's *safarchī*, or table attendant. Mīrzā Kāmrān had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah. Before he left, Humāyūn, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

کلاد گوشهٔ درویش برفلک ساید که سایه همچو تو شاهی فکند برسر او

"The fold of the poor man's turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head."

And immediately afterwards he said the following verse *extempore*:—

بر جانم از تو هرچه رسد جاي منت است گر ناوک جفاست، وگر خانجر ستم

[1] For *Chalma*, the MSS of the Āʾīn have, at this place, *Ḥalīm*. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The *Maʾāṣir* and good MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* have *Chalmah*. Turkish dictionaries give *chalmah* (چلمه) in the meaning of *wild goat's dung* and *chālma* (چالمه) in that of *dastār*, a turban.

In the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badāonī, Khān ʿĀlam is wrongly called خان‌اعلم, instead of خان‌عالم.

"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

Humāyūn felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kāmrān's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg, though he knew that Humāyūn was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the "gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude". The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kāmrān and his companion.

After Kāmrān's death, Chalma Beg returned to India, and was favourably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3,000, bestowing upon him the title of *Khān ʿĀlam*. He served under the emperor against the Mīrzās in Gujrāt, and was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dāʾūd in Patna, Khān ʿĀlam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the Ghandak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies. Akbar praised him much for his daring. In the same year he was attached to Munʿim's corps. In the battle of Takaroī (p. 406), he commanded the *harāwal* (van). He charged the Afghāns, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed and gave way, when Munʿim sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gūjar Khān, Dāʾūd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black Yak tails (*qutās*) and skins of wild beasts attached to them. The horses of the Imperialists got frightened, nothing could make them stand, and their ranks were utterly broken. Kh. ʿĀ's' horse got a sword cut, and reared, throwing him on the ground. He sprang up, and mounted it again, but was immediately thrown over by an elephant, and killed by the Afghāns who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Ẕī Qaʿda, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends, not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. ʿĀ. was a poet and wrote under the *Takhalluṣ* of *Hamdamī* (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muẓaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for اعظم, in my Text edition, p. 229, read عالم.

59. **Qāsim Khān**, Mīr Baḥr Chamanārāī (?) Khurāsān.[1]

He is the son of Mīrzā Dost's sister, who was an old servant of the Tīmūrides. When Mīrzā Kāmrān was, in 954, besieged in Kābul, Humāyūn had occupied Mount Aqābīn, which lies opposite the Fort of Kābul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qāsim Khān and his younger brother, Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusayn (No. 241) threw themselves down from a turret between the Āhanīn Darwāza and the Qāsim Barlās bastion, and went over to Humāyūn, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Q. Kh. was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Āgra, which he completed "after eight years at a cost of 7 *krors of tankas*, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamna river, E. of the town of Āgra, on the place of the old Fort, which had much decayed. The breadth of the walls is 30 yards, and the height from the foundation to the pinnacles 60 *gaz*. It is built of red sandstone, the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them. The foundation everywhere reaches water".[2]

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Āgra. In the beginning of Shaʿbān 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmīr, "a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dihlī." Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmīr, the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army. The then ruler of Kashmīr was Yaʿqūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Khān Chak. He had fortified a pass;[3] but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Srīnagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Yaʿqūb left his fortified position, and allowed Q. to enter the country. No longer able to oppose the Imperialists, he withdrew to the mountains, and trusted to an active guerilla warfare;

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[1] I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title *chaman-ārāyi Khurāsān*, "Ruler of Khurāsān." The Maʾāṣir, not knowing what to do with it, has left it out. *Mīr Baḥr* means "admiral". If *chamanārāī Kh.* be a genitive, the words mean. "Admiral of the ruler of Khūrāsān," which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled *Mīr Bar*, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips. hunting expeditions, etc.

[2] The old Fort of Āgra was called *Badalgaṛh* (Bad. I, 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Ṣafar), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

The Fort *Bādalgaḍh* بادلگده, not بدلگده, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Āgra, cannot be the old Fort of Āgra, because Badā,onī (I, 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwāli,ār, not "one of the Forts dependent on Gwāli,ār".

For Udantgir, on the same page in Elliot, read *Ūtgar* (اوتگر). It was a Fort in the Sarkār of Mandlā.ir, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have *Ootgir* or *Deoyaṛh*.

[3] Called in the MSS. کتل کریل. The word *kutal*, means "a mountain" or "a mountain-pass" [Bad. II. 353, کتل کریل—B.]

but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became " a servant of Akbar ". The Kashmīrīs, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country. Q., tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (*vide* No. 35). In the 34th year he was made Governor of Kābul. At that time a young man from Andajān (Farghāna) gave out that he was a son of Shāhrukh.[1] He met with some success in Badakhshān, but was defeated by the Tūrān Shāh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zābulī Hazāras, and when Q., on one occasion, had repaired to Court, he entered Akbar's territory giving out that he was going to pay his respects to the Emperor. But Hāshim Beg, Q.'s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazāras. But Hāshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kābul. Q., on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender, in the meantime, rearranged his old men, and when he had five hundred together, he waited for an opportunity to fall on Q. At this juncture, Akbar ordered the pretender to repair to Court. Accompanied by his ruffians, he entered at noon Q.'s sleeping apartments, when only a few females were present, and murdered his benefactor (1002). Hāshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the *melée*, the murderer was killed.

For Qāsim's brother, *vide* No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. **Bāqī Khān** (elder), brother of Adham Khān (No. 19).

His mother is the same Māhum Anaga, mentioned on p. 340. " From Badā,onī (II, 340) we learn that Bāqī Khān died in the 30th year as Governor of Gadha-Katanga." This is all the *Maʾāṣir* says of him.

His full name is Muḥammad Bāqī Khān Koka. From Badā,onī II, 81, we see that Bāqī Khān took part in the war against Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān (972–3), and fought under Muʿizzᵘ'l-Mulk (No. 61)

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[1] In 1016 another false son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (p. 326) created disturbances and asked Jahāngīr for assistance against the Tūrānīs.

The fate of Mīrzā Shāhrukh's second son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn, is involved in obscurity. " He ran away from Burhānpūr, went to sea and to Persia, from where he went to Badakhshān. People say that he is still alive (1016); but no one knows whether this new pretender is Shāhrukh's son or not. Shāhrukh left Badakhshān about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshīs have set up several false Mīrzās, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbaks. This pretender collected a large number of Uymāqs (p. 371, note 2) and Badakhshī Mountaineers, who go by the name of *Gharjas* [غرجه, whence *Gharjistān*], and took from the Uzbaks a part of the country. But the enemies pressed upon him, caught him, and cut off his head, which was carried on a spear all over Badakhshān. Several false Mīrzās have since been killed; but I really think their race will continue as long as a trace of Badakhshīs remain on earth." *Tuzuk i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 57.

in the battle of Khayrābād, in which Budāgh Khān (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Bāqī Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36), and Ḥusayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) had personal grievances —their Uzbak hatred—against Muʕizzᵘ 'l-Mulk and Rāja Toḍar Mal.

61. **Mīr Muʕizzᵘ l'-Mulk-i** Mūsawī of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to ʕAlī Mūsā Raẓā, the 8th Imām of the Shīʕahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called *Raẓawī*.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpūr to punish Khān Zamān (No. 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahādur and Iskandar Khān Uzbak (No. 48) to the district of *Sarwār*.[1] Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (*vide* No. 60) under Muʕizzᵘ 'l-Mulk. Bahādur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants. M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahādur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khān (No. 90) and Rāja Toḍar Mal to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahādur, if he was satified with his good intentions. But here also the rancour of the Khurāsānīs towards the Uzbaks decided matters, and Toḍar Mal only confirmed M. M. in his resolution.[2] Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khān Zamān, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahādur near Khayrābād. Muḥammad Yār, son of Iskandar Khān's brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandar who stood behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The Imperialists, thinking that the battle was decided, commenced to plunder, when suddenly Bahādur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.'s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budāgh Khān (No. 52) taken prisoner but many soldiers went over to Bahādur. Flushed with victory, he attacked the

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[1] Most MSS. have سروار. The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badā,onī, p. 78, has سردار *Sardār*; but again سروار, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the *Sarw* River (آبسرو، آب سرو، آبسروار).

[2] Badā,onī says Toḍar Mal's arrival was "*naphta* on Muʕizzᵘ 'l-Mulk's fire". Throughout his work, Badā,onī shows himself an admirer of Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur. With Muʕizzᵘ 'l-Mulk a Shīʕah of the Shīʕahs, he has no patience. "Muʕizzᵘ'l-Mulk's ideas," he says, were "I and nobody else"; he behaved as proudly as Firʕaūn and Shaddād; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say: "*Ahl-i Mashhad ba-juz Imām-i shumā, Laʕnatᵘ llāhⁱ bar tamām-i shumā,*" "O people of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imām [Mūsā Raẓā], may God's curse rest upon all of you. And also, "The surface of the earth rejoices in its inhabitants; how fortunate would it be, if a certain Mashhadī vanished from the surface of the earth."

centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (*vide* No. 60). Toḍar Mal's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihār, M. M. got the Pargana of Āra (Arrah) as *jāgīr*. In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihār under Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī, *tuyūldār* of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mīr ʿAlī Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaunpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, *jāgīrdār* of Mānikpūr, to hasten to Jaunpūr and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khān succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat "foundered", and M. M. lost his life.

62. **Mīr ʿAlī Akbar** (younger), brother of the preceding.

He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank. In the 22nd year he presented Akbar, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* with a *Mawlūd-nāma*, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the handwriting of Qāẓī Ghiyāṣ[u] 'd-Dīn-i Jāmī, a man of learning, who had served under Humāyūn, and contained an account of the vision which Humāyūn had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jalāl[u] 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. This Mawlūdnāma Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mīr ʿAlī Akbar with a pargana [1] as *inʿām*.

When his brother was sent to Bihār, M. ʿA. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamāniya, which "lies 6 *kos* from Ghāzīpūr (*vide* p. 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpūr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. ʿAzīz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihār, to send M. ʿA. A. fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for life.

63. **Sharīf Khān**, brother of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznīn. After Bayrām's fall, he held a *tuyūl* in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mīr Muḥammad Khān (No. 16).

On the transfer of the *Atga Khayl* from the Panjāb, Sh was appointed to the Sarkār of Qannawj. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohinī, he sent Sh., together with Qāẓī Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144), Mujāhid Khān, Subḥān Qulī Turk, against the Rānā. He afterwards distinguished

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[1] Called in the *Maʾāṣir* [illegible] (though it cannot be Nuddea in Bengal); in my copy of the *Sawāniḥ* [illegible]; but Nadīnah in Sambhal appears to be meant.

himself in the conquest of Kŏbhalmīr. In the 25th year, he was made *atālīq* to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālwah as Governor, Shujāˁat Khān (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrāt. In the 28th year, he served against Muẓaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahrŏch, which was held for Muẓaffar by Chirkis-i Rūmī and Naṣīrā, brother of Muẓaffar's wife. The former having been killed, Naṣīrā escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharīf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihābᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 26) to the Dakhin, to assist Mirzā ˁAzīz (No. 21).

In the 35th year he went from Mâlwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznīn, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Shâh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Maʾāṣir.*

His son, Bāz Bahādur (No. 188), held a *jāgīr* in Gujrāt, and was transferred to Mālwah as related above. He served in the siege of Āsīr, and in the Aḥmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingahs, but was released, when Abū 'l-Faẓl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. **Ibrāhīm Khān-i Shaybānī** (uncle of Khān Zamān, No. 13).

He served under Humāyūn. After the conquest of Hindūstān, Humāyūn sent him with Shāh Abū 'l-Maˁālī to Lāhor, to oppose Sikandar Sūr, should he leave the Sawāliks. After the fall of Mānkoṭ, he received the Pargana of Sarharpūr,[1] near Jaunpūr, as *jāgīr*, and remained with Khān Zamān. During Khān Zamān's first rebellion, Ibrāhīm Khān and Khān Zamān's mother repaired at Munˁim Khān's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty. Ibrāhīm appearing, as was customary, with a shroud and a sword round his neck, which were only taken off when the Emperor's pardon had been obtained.

In the 12th year, however, Khān Zamān again rebelled, and Ibrāhīm went with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrāhīm, at Munˁim's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khān Khānān.

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[1] It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badā,onī II, 23, where Sarharpūr, which "lies 18 *kos* from Jaunpūr", is mentioned as the *jāgīr* of Abdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān, Sikandar Sūr's son, who got it after the surrender of Mānkoṭ.

In the *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

His son, Ismaʿīl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān Jalā,ir. Ismāʿīl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khwāja Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Bujūq, of Khurāsān.

The MSS. of the Āʾīn have *Muḥammad*, instead of *Maḥmūd*, which other histories have, and have besides a word after *Muḥammad* which reads like العق and بحق. This should be no doubt بجق *bujuq*, the *scriptio defectiva* of the Turkish بجوق *bujūq*, "having the nose cut," as given in the copy of the *Maʾāṣir*.

Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn was in the service of M. ʿAskarī. He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmsīr, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of *Mīr Sāmān*, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, Jalâl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznīn, the *tuyūl* of the Prince. His devotion to his master rendered him so confident of the Emperor's protection that he treated the grandees rudely, and incessantly annoyed them by satirical remarks. In fact, he had not a single friend.

Akbar on his accession made him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and appointed him to Ghaznīn. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munʿim Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznīn so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznīn, when Munʿim called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munʿim imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalāl's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Munʿim's men caught him and his son, Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Masʿūd.[1] Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munʿim.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munʿim's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he showed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

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[1] He must not be confounded with the Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Masʿūd mentioned in *Tuzuk*, p. 67, who "ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother".

66. **Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān, Akhta Begī.**

He was an old servant of Ḥumāyūn, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Balkh, Ḥumāyūn's horse had been shot. On the march against Kāmrān, who had left Kābul for Afghānistān, the imperialists came to the River Surkhāb, Ḥaydar, with several other faithful Amīrs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyāh-āb, which flows near the Surkhāb, before the army could come up. Kāmrān suddenly attacked them by night; but Ḥaydar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahār and to India, and was appointed to Bayānah (*Bad.* I, 463), which was held by Ghāzī Khān Sūr, father of Ibrāhīm Khān. After the siege had lasted some time, Ḥaydar allowed Ghāzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghāzī. Humāyūn was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Ḥaydar do so again.

After Akbar's accession, Ḥ. was with Tardī Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, and fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kābul. At Munʿim's request he assisted Ghanī Khān (*vide* p. 333) in Kābul. But they could not agree, and Ḥ. was called to India. He accompanied Munʿim in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kābul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, Ḥ. served with Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) in Gujrāt. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mīrzā Qulī, attached to the Bengal Army, under Munʿim. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (*vide* p. 407).

A son of Ḥ. is mentioned below (No. 326).

Mīrzā Qulī, or *Mīrzā Qulī Khān*, Ḥaydar's brother, distinguished himself under Ḥumāyūn during the expedition to Badakhshān. When Kāmrān, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humāyūn, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, *Dost Muḥammad*, saved him in time.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (*umarā-i kibār*), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the *Akbarnāma*. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abū 'l-Faẓl in this list.

67. **Iʿtimād Khān, of Gujrāt.**

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

Iʿtimād Khān was originally a Hindū servant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, king of Gujrāt. He was "trusted" (*iʿtimād*) by his master, who had allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women.

It is said that, from gratitude, he used to eat camphor, and thus rendered himself impotent. He rose in the king's favour, and was at last made an Amīr. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhān, who besides killed twelve nobles. Iʿtimād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd having died without issue, Iʿt. raised Raẓiyᵘ 'l-Mulk, under the title of Aḥmad Shāh, to the throne. Raẓī was a son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadābād; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in Iʿt.'s hands. Five years later, the young king left Aḥmadābād, and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhārā,[1] a principal courtier; but Iʿt. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sulṭān Aḥmad then thought it better to return to Iʿt., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and Iʿt. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. Iʿt. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (نتھو)[2] to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings"; but on introducing him to the grandees, Iʿt. swore upon the Qurʾān that Nathū was a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amīrs had to believe the story, and Nathū was raised to the throne under the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar.

This is the origin of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who subsequently caused Akbar's generals so much trouble (*vide* pp. 344, 354 355).

Iʿt was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amīrs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was that incessant feuds broke out among them. Iʿt. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khān, son of Iʿtimādᵘ 'l-Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sulṭān Muẓaffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mīrzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, Iʿt. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sulṭān, and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alif Khān and Jhujhār Khān took Sulṭān Muẓaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Aḥmadābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mīrzās, seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahrōch and Sūrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sulṭān Muẓaffar fled one day to Sher Khān Fūlādī and

[1] Regarding this distinguished Gujrātī noble, *vide* the biography of his grandson, S. Ḥāmid (No. 78).
[2] Some MSS. read *Nahtū*.

his party, and Iʿt. retaliated by informing Sher Khān that Nathū was no prince at all. But Sher Khān's party attributed this to Iʿt.'s malice, and besieged him in Aḥmadābād. Iʿt. then fled to the Mīrzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrāt.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khān's party had broken up. The Mīrzās still held Bahrōch; and Sulṯān Muẕaffar, who had left Sher Khān, fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (*vide* No. 361). Iʿtimād and other Gujrātī nobles had in the meantime proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques and struck coins in his name. They now waited on the Emperor. Baroda, Champānīr, and Sūrat were given to Iʿt. as *tuyūl*; the other Amīrs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mīrzās. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Iʿtimādᵘ 'l-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Iʿt. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Iʿt. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, Iʿt. was released, and charged with the superintendence of the Imperial jewels and gold vessels. In the 22nd year, he was permitted to join the party who under Mīr Abū Turāb (*vide* p. 207) went to Makkah. On his return he received Patan as *jāgīr*.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihābᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gūjrāt, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered Iʿt.'s former inability to allay the factions in Gujrāt. No sooner had Shihāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. Iʿt. did nothing, alleging that Shihāb was responsible for his men; but as Sulṯān Muẕaffar had been successful in Kāthīwār, Iʿt. left Aḥmadābāb, and went to Shihāb, who on his way to Court had reached Karī, 20 *kos* from Aḥmadābād. Muẕaffar used the opportunity and took Aḥmadābād, Shihāb's men joining his standard.

Shihāb and Iʿt. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrāt, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujrātīs who had left Muẕaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. Iʿt. paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khān, against Sher Khān Fūlādī, who was repulsed. In the meantime, M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) arrived. Leaving Iʿt. at Patan, he marched with Shihāb against Muẕaffar.

Iʿtimād died at Patan in 995. The *Ṯabaqāt* puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

In Abū 'l-Faẓl's opinion, Gujrātīs are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and Iʿtimād was the very type of a Gujrātī.

68. **Pāyanda Khān**, Mughul, son of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Kokī's brother.

Ḥājī Muḥammad and Shāh Muḥammad, his brother, had been killed by Humāyūn for treason on his return from Persia. Ḥājī Muḥammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Pāyanda, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Munʿim from Kābul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khān (No. 19) to Mālwa. In the 19th year, he accompanied Munʿim to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwān Dās against Rānā Partāb. In the Gujrāt war, he commanded M. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm's (No. 29) *harāwal*.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorāghāt as jāgīr, whither he went.

This is all the *Maʾāṣir* says regarding Pāyanda.

His full name was Muhammad Pāyanda. He had a son Walī Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the *Tuzuk*, p. 144, we see that Pāyanda died in 1024 A.H., Jahāngīr, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. *Tuz.*, p. 68.

69. **Jagannāth**, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17; *vide* p. 339). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mān Singh. In the 21st year, when Rānā Partāb of Maiwār opposed the Imperialists, Jagannāt'h during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rām Dās, son of Jay Mal. In the 23rd year, he received a jāgīr in the Panjāb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from invading the Panjāb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Rānā. Later he accompanied Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) to Kashmīr. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murād in Kābul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mālwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakhin, he left Murād without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dakhin, J. met the emperor at Rantaṇbhūr, his jāgīr, and was then again sent to the Dakhin.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr, he served under Prince Parwīz against

the Rānā, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusraw had been captured, called Parwīz to Court (*Tuzuk*, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 386) had raised at Nāgor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse.

Rām Chand,[1] his son. He was under Jahāngīr a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse.

Rāja Manrūp, a son of Rām Chand. He accompanied Prince Shāhjahān on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2,000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Shāhjahān. He had a son *Gopāl Singh*.

70. **Makhṣūṣ Khan** (younger), brother of Saʿīd Khān (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multān. In the 23rd year, he served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) against Gajpatī, and three years later he accompanied Prince Murād to Kābul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

Subsequently, Makhṣūṣ served under Prince Salīm. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign. The author of the *Maʾāṣir* has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqṣūd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahāngīr would not give him a *manṣab*.

71. **The author of the Āʾīn, Abū 'l-Faẓl**, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

Abū 'l-Faẓl's biography will be found elsewhere.

X. *Commanders of Two Thousand.*

72. **Ismaʿīl Khān Dulday.**

Dulday, or Dūlday, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlās clan (*vide* p. 364, note).

The *Maʾāṣir* calls him Ismāʿīl Qulī *Beg* Dūlday. A similar difference was observed in the name of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24), and we may conclude that *Beg*, at least in India, was considered a lower title than *Khān*, just as *Beglar Begī* was considered inferior to *Khān Khānān*.

Ismāʿīl Qulī was a grandee of Bābar and Humāyūn, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humāyūn besieged Qandahār, and the grandees one after the other left M. ʿAskarī, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahār, Governor of Dāwar.

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[1] The *Tuzuk*, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. *Vide* also *Pādishāhnāma*, I, *b*. 318.

When Kābul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwāja (*vide* p. 394, note) attacked Sher ˁAlī, an officer of Mīrzā Kāmrān, who at the prince's order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (*qāfila-yiwilāyat*) on its way to Chārīkān;[1] but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ˁAlī could not reach Kābul, and marched towards Ghaznīn, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humāyūn. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qarācha Khān, and followed Mīrzā Kāmrān to Badakhshān. Humāyūn followed them up and caught them together with Kāmrān, Ism. among them. Ism. was, however, pardoned at Munˁim's request.

Ism. accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Dihlī together with Shāh Abū 'l-Maˁālī to Lāhor.

"Nothing else is known of him." *Maˀāṣir.*

73. **Mīr Babus** (?), the Īghur (Uighur ?).

The Īghurs are a well known Chaghtā,ī tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different *lectio*; *vide* my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The *Maˁāṣir* has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Ṭabaqāt.

74. **Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī**, Muḥammad Aṣghar. of Sabzwār (?).

He was a Ḥusaynī Sayyid of Mashhad (*Maˁāṣir*, Mirˀātu 'l-ˁĀlam). The author of the *Ṭabaqāt* says, he belonged to the ˁ*Arabshāhī* Sayyids; "but people rarely make such fine distinctions." Abū 'l-Faẓl says, he was of Sabzwār; but in the opinion of the *Maˁāṣir*, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khān was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the *Taˁlīq* and *Nastaˁlīq* character (pp. 107–8). He also understood *jafar*, or witchcraft.[2]

Ashraf was in Humāyūn's service, and had received from him the post and title of Mīr Munshī. After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mīr ˁ*Arẓ* and *Mīr Māl*. At Akbar's accession, he was in Dihlī, and took part in the battle with Hemū (p. 394, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bayrām, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Māchhīwāra on his way to the Siwāliks where Bayrām

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[1] So the *Maˀāṣir*. Our maps have *Charikar* (lat. 35°, long. 69), which lies north of Kābul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istālif (استالف, or استاليف) lies half-way between Kābul and Charikar. [Dowson, v., [illegible], has Chārikārān.—B.]

[[2] *Jafr* divination, etc.—P.]

was. He was well received and got a *manṣab*. In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Malwa, he bestowed upon him the title of *Ashraf Khān*.

In the 19th year, he went with Munʿim to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroī, and died in the twentieth year (983) [1] at Gaur (*vide* p. 407).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mīr Abū 'l-Muẓaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf's grandsons, Ḥusaynī and Burhānī held inferior commands under Shāhjahān.

75. **Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bārha** (Kūndlīwāl).

"Sayyid Maḥmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Tīmūrides." He was with Sikandar Sūr (*Badā,onī* II, 18) in Mānkot, but seeing that the cause of the Afghāns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bayrām, and served in the first year under ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Ḥājī Khān in Ajmīr (*vide* Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shāh Qulī Maḥram (No. 45) Fort Jaitāran,[2] and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadauriyahs of Hatkānth (*vide* p. 341, l. 8).

After Bayrām's fall, Sayyid Maḥmūd got a jāgīr near Dihlī. In the 7th year, he brought Munʿim Khān to Court (*vide* p. 333). In the 17th year, he served under the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrāt, was present in the battle of Sarnāl, and followed up Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bārha, and Sayyid Muḥammad of Amroha (No. 140) against Rāja Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyār. S. Maḥmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Maḥmūd was a man of rustic habits, and great personal courage and generosity. Akbar's court admired his valour and chuckled at his boorishness and unadorned language; but he stood in high favour with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his

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[1] The *Mirʾāt* says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the *Mirʾāt*.

[2] The best MSS. have [Persian word]. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmīr over Pālī to Jālor.

"I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amīrs. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Āṣaf Khān, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (*iqbāl-i pādishāhī*) accompanied you." Mistaking the word "Iqbāl" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Maḥmūd, "Iqbāl-i Pādishāhī did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers; *we* licked them with our sabres." The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favours.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amīrs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahāngīr (*Tuzuk*, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bārha family to be Sayyids. Once Maḥmūd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bārha traced their descent. Accidentally, a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Maḥmūd stood. Jumping into it, he exclaimed, "If I am a Sayyid, the fire will not hurt me; if I am no Sayyid, I shall get burnt." He stood for nearly an hour in the fire, and only left it at the earnest request of the bystanders. "His velvet-slippers showed, indeed, no trace of being singed."

For Sayyid Maḥmūd's brother and sons, *vide* Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

Note on the Sayyids of Bārha (Sādāt-i Bārha).

In MSS. we find the spelling بارهه *bārha*, and بارر *barāh*. The lexicographist Bahār-i ʿAjam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled *Jawāhir*[u] *'l-Ḥurūf*, says that the names of Indian towns ending in ه form adjectives in وي, as تته, *Tatta* or تهتهه *Thatha*, forms an adjective تتوي *tatawī*: but of بارهه no adjective is formed, and you say *sādat-i bārha* instead of *sādāt-i bārhawī*.

The name *Bārha* has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindī numeral *bārah*, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahāngīr; for both the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Tuzuk* derive the name from 12 villages in the Du,āb (Muẓaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrām, the Bārha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abū 'l-Farah of Wāsiṭ[1]; but their *nasabnāma*, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahāngīr, in the above-quoted passage from the *Tuzuk*, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bārha—but

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[1] "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmān families in Northern India, the Bārha and Belgrām Sayyids, and in Khyrābād, Futtehpore Huswā, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Onao*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 93.

nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors, as Sayyid Khān Jahān (Sayyid Abū 'l-Muẓaffar) and several others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (*harāwal*); they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every emperor from the times of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name. They delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindūstānīs (*vide* p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mānikpūr, the Khānzādas of Mewāt, and even families of royal blood as the Ṣafawīs.

The Sayyids of Bārha are divided into four branches, whose names are 1. *Tihanpūrī*; 2. *Chatbanūrī* or *Chātrauṛī*[1]; 3. *Kūndlīwāl*; 4. *Jagnerī*. The chief town of the first branch was Jānsaṭh; of the second, Sambalhaṛa; of the third, Majhaṛa; of the fourth Biḍaulī on the Jamna. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz., the *Kūndlīwāl* (کوندلیوال) to which Sayyid Maḥmūd (No. 75) belonged; and the *Tihanpūrī* (تهنپوري), of which Sayyid Khān Jahān was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Bārha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Sūrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Maḥmūd in Akbar's camp (p. 424) is recorded by all historians as an event of importance. He and other Sayyids, were moreover, at once appointed to high *manṣabs*. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humāyūn; but this is at variance with Abū 'l-Faẓl's statement that Sayyid Maḥmūd was the first that served under a Timuride.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muḥammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid ʿAbd[u] 'llah Khān and Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAli Khān, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Maḥmūd and Akbar, and the above two

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[1] *Vide* Sir H. Elliot's Glossary (Beames' Edition) I, p. 11 and p. 297. On p. 12 of the Glossary read *Sayyid Maḥmūd* twice for *Sayyid Muḥammad*; *Sayyid ʿAlī Aṣghar* for *Sayyid ʿAlī Asaf Dilīr Khān* for *Debī Khān*. Instead of *Chatbanūrī* (or *Chātrauṛī*), which Mr. B. J. Leeds, C.S., gives in his valuable Report on the Castes and Races of the Muẓaffarnagar District (Glossary, p. 297 ff.), Sir H. Elliot has *Chantraudī*.

brothers, who made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three.[1]

The Sayyids of Bārha are even nowadays numerous and "form the characteristic element in the population of the Muẓaffarnagar district" (Leeds' Report).

Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, *viz.*:—

1. Sayyid Maḥmūd (No. 75).
2. Sayyid Aḥmad, his brother (No. 91).
3. Sayyid Qāsim (No. 105). } sons of 1.
4. Sayyid Hāshim (No. 143). } sons of 1.
5. Sayyid Rājū (No. 165).
6. Sayyid Jamāl^{u} 'd-Dīn (No. 217), son of 2.
7. Sayyid Chajhū (No. 221).
8. Sayyid Bāyazid (No. 295).
9. Sayyid Lāḍ (No. 409).

The Akbarnāma mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamāl^{u} 'd-Dīn, a *grandson* of S. Maḥmūd (*vide* under 91); S. Sālim; S. Fatḥ Khān (Bad. II, 180); etc.

The following trees are compiled from the *Tuzuk*, *Pādishāhnāma*, and *Ma*ʿāṣir.

(*a*) Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bārha, Kūndlīwāl. —— Sayyid Aḥmad, his brother. (No. 91).

- Sons of Sayyid Maḥmūd:
  - 1. S. Qāsim. (No. 105.)
    - 1. S. Ādam, *Tuz.* 80, 102 (twice).
    - 2. S. Sulaymān, *Pād.* I, *b.* 320.
  - 2. S. Hāshim. (No. 143.)
    - S. Bāyazid. (No. 295 ?)
      - S. Sulṭān Ṣalābat Khān, *alias* Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān.
  - 3. S. ʿAlī Aṣghar, Ṣayf Khān. *d.* 1025.
    - S. Nūr^{u}'l ʿIyān. *Pād.* II, 735.
  - 4. Sayyid Jahāngīr (*Pād.* I, 439.)
    - S. Jaʿfar Shujāʿat Khān, *d.* 1052.
      - 1. S. Muẓaffar, Himmat Khān, *Pād* II, 735
      - 2. S. Quṭb, *Pād.* II, 746.
      - 3. S. Najābat. *Pād.* II, 749.
- Son of Sayyid Aḥmad:
  - S. Jamāl^{u} 'd-Dīn (No. 217.)

(*b*) Sayyid Dilīr Khān (ʿAbd^{u} 'l-Wahhāb), *d.* 1042.

- 1. S. Ḥasan, *Pād.* I, *b.* 323.
- 2. S. Khalīl^{u} 'llah, *Pād.* I, *b.* 323.

(*c*) Sayyid Hizabr Khān, *d.* 1047. —— Sayyid ʿĀlam, his brother. Perished with Prince Shujāʿ in Rakhang (Arracan).

- S. Zabardast.

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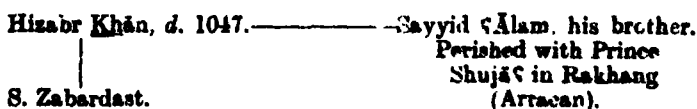
[1] They made Farrukh Siyar, Rafīʿ^{u} 'd-Darajāt, Rafīʿ^{u} 'd-Dawla and Muḥammad Shāh emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes Aʿazz^{u} 'd-Dīn, ʿAlī Tabār, and Humāyūn Bakht.

(*d*) Sayyid Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī, Tihanpūri——A brother.
(*alias* S. ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Muẓaffar Khān), *d.* 1055.

1. S. Manṣūr. 2. Sher Zamān, *title*, S. Muẓaffar Khān. 3. S. Munawwar, Lashkar Khān.
S. Wajīhᵘ 'd-Dīn Khān.

(A brother:) 1. S. ʿAlī. *Pād.* II, 748.
2. S. Fīrūz, Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān, *d.* 1077.

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 312, 319; II, p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mākhan, *d.* 9th year of Shāhjahān; S. Sīkhan; S. ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh; S. Muḥammad, son of S. Afẓal; S. Khādim; S. Sālār; S. Shihāb.

(*e*) Sayyid Qāsim, Shahāmat Khān [Chātraurī]——a brother
(was alive in the 24th year of Awrangzīb).
1. S. Nuṣrat Yār Khān (under Muḥammad Shāh).

(*f*) Sayyid Ḥusayn Khān, *d.* 1120.

1. S. Abū Saʿīd Khān. 2. Ghayrat Khān. 3. Ḥasan Khān.

(*g*) Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān [Tihanpūrī].
alias Sayyid Miyān (under Shāh ʿĀlam I.)

1. S. Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān; *title* Quṭbᵘ 'l-Mulk S. ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān.
2. Amīrᵘ 'l-Mamālik S. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān. (killed by Muḥammad Shāh).
3. Ṣayfᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān.
4. S. Najmᵘ 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Khān

For the following notes, I am indebted to R. J. Leeds, Esq., C.S., Mirzapore, who kindly sent me two Urdū MSS. containing a short family history of the *Sādāt-i Bārha*, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves. As Mr. Leeds has submitted together with his Report "a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids," the following extracts from the Urdū MSS. will suffice.

The date of the arrival in India of the above-mentioned Abū 'l-Farah from Wāsiṭ is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Iltitmish (Altamsh), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulāgū's invasion of Baghdād and the overthrow of the empire of the Khalīfas; while the sons of Abū 'l-Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihābᵘ 'd-Dīn Ghorī—two palpable anachronisms.

Abū 'l-Farah is said to have arrived in India with his twelve sons, of whom four remained in India on his return to his country. These four brothers are the ancestors of the four branches of the Sayyids. Their names are :—

1. Sayyid Dāʾūd, who settled in the *mawẓaʿ* of *Tihanpūr*.
2. Sayyid Abū 'l-Faẓl, who settled in the *qaṣba* of *Chhatbanūrā* (چهت بنورا).

3. Sayyid Abū 'l-Faẓaˁil, who settled in the *mawẓaˁ* of *Kūndlī*.
4. Sayyid Najm[u] 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, who settled in the *mawẓaˁ* of *Jhujar*.

These four places are said to lie near Patiyālā in the Panjāb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of *Chhatbanūrī*, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also *Chhātrauḍī*, چهاترودي or چهاتروزي, and *Jagnerī* (جگنيري) instead of *Jhujarī* (جهجري), although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Patiyālā the four brothers went to the Du,āb between the Ganges and Jamna, from where a branch was established at Bilgrām in Audh.

The etymology of *bārha* is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhir*, outside, because the Sayyids encamped *outside* the imperial camp; some from *bārah imām*, the twelve Imāms of the Shīˁahs, as the Sayyids were Shīˁahs; some derive it from twelve (*bārah*) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Taḥṣīl Anūpshahr, is said to contain a *bārha* of Paṭhāns, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Paṭhān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic *abrār*,[1] pious.

The descendants of S. Dāˁūd settled at *Dhāsrī*; and form the *Tihanpūrī* branch, those of S. Abū 'l-Faẓl at Sambalhaṛa, and form the Chhatbanūrī or Chhātrauṛī branch; those of S. Abū 'l-Faẓāˁil went to Majhaṛa, and are the Kūndlīwāls; and those of S. Najm[u] 'd-Dīn occupied Biḍaulī, and form the Jhujarī, or Jagnerī branch.

A. *The Tihanpūrīs.*

The eighth descendant of S. Dāˁūd was S. Khān Qīr (?) (خان قير)[2] He had four sons: —

1. *Sayyid ˁUmar Shahīd*, who settled in Jānsaṭh, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 428 (*g*).

The occurrence of the name *ˁUmar* shows that he, at any rate, was no Shīˁah.

2. *Sayyid Chaman*, who settled at Chatora (چتورا), in the Pargana of Jolī-Jānsath. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign

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[[1] Plural.—P.]

[2] The word قير occurs also in the lists of Pathān nobles in the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*. The title of قيربك *qīrbak*, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later قوربيك or قوربيگي, *qurbegī*, the officer in charge of the *qūr* (p. 116). But the name *Khān Qīr* is perhaps wrong, the MS. calls him خواص قير, or خواص قير, *Khawāṣ Fīr* or *Khawāṣ Qīr* (?).

of Shāhjahān [1] is said to have founded Kharwa Jalālpūr in the ʿIlāqa of Sirdhana, district Mīrath. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad ʿAlī and ʿAlī Aṣghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatora and Jalālpūr respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843–44 the bricks of the ruined family dwelling, in Chatora for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatora are ascribed to S. Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ Khān, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. *Sayyid Hunā* (هنا). He settled at Bihārī, Muẓaffarnagar. He had six sons :—

I. Sayyid Quṭb, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspūr in the Muẓaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids.

II. S. Sulṭān, whose descendants hold Sirdhāolī. [2]

III. S. Yūsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS. reads *Dubalna*).

IV and *V. S. Jān* and *S. Mān*, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naṣīrᵘ 'd-Dīn. To his descendants belongs S. Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī, p. 428 (*d*). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, *S. Manṣūr*, built Manṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Manṣūrpūr and Khataulī; his second son *Muẓaffar Khān* [Sher Zamān] built Muẓaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. *Sayyid Aḥmad*. He settled at کوال in Jolī-Jānsaṭh, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tātār Khān, and Dīwān Yār, Muḥammad Khān as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangzīb.

B. *The Chhatbanūrī, or Chhātrauṛī, Clan.*

One of the descendants of S. Abū 'l-Faẓl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhrᵘ 'd-Dīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalhaṛa, the rājas of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhah, is said to have had four sons :—

I. Sayyid ʿAlī.

II. Sayyid Aḥmad, a descendant of whom, S. Rawshan ʿAlī Khān, served under Muḥammad Shāh.

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[1] The *Pādishāhnāma*, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams. A S. *Jalāl* is mentioned *Tuz.*, p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwāl (*vide* No. 99).

[[2] Sandhā,olī ?—P.]

III. *S. Taj*[u] *'d-Dīn*, whose son, S. ʿUmar settled at Kakraulī.

IV. *S. Sālār* (perhaps the same on p. 428*d*, last line of) who had two sons S. Ḥaydar Khān, and S Muḥammad Khān. The descendants of the former settled at Mīrānpūr, which was founded by Nawab S. Shahāmat Khān, evidently the same as on p. 428. S. Muḥammad Khān settled at Khatora (" a village so called, because it was at first inhabited by Kā,iths "). Among his descendants are S. Nuṣrat Yār Khān (p. 428) and Ruknu 'd-Dawla.

C. The Kūndlīwāls.

S. Abū 'l-Faẓāil settled at Majhaṛa,[1] which is said to have been so called because the site was formerly a jungle of *mūnj*[1] grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are *mafqūd*[u] *khabar*, i.e. it is not known what became of them. The Kūndlīwāls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhaṛa[1] being altogether deplorable.

The Kūndlīwāls are now scattered over Majhaṛa,[1] Hāshimpūr, Tisang,[2] Tandera, etc.

D. The Jaqnerīs.

The son of S Najmu 'd-Dīn, S. Qamaru 'd-Dīn, settled at Biḍaulī. A descendant of his, S. Fakhu 'd-Dīn, left Biḍaulī and settled at پلری in Jolī-Jānsaṭh, and had also zamīndārīs in Chandaurī Chandaura, Tulsīpūr, and Kharī. Nowadays many of this branch are in Biḍaulī, ʿIlāqa Pānīpat, and Dihlī.

* * *

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bārha still exist are Mīrānpūr, Khataulī, Muẓaffarnagar, Jolī, Tis-ha, Bakhera, Majhaṛa, Chataura, Sambalhaṛa, Tisang, Bilāspūr, Morna, Sandhā,olī, Kailā,odha, Jānsaṭh.

[[1] On maps Munjherah.—B.]

[2] As this place is said to have been founded by Hizabr Khān [p. 427 (c.)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kūndlīwāl. His brother, S. ʿĀlam perished with Prince Shujāʿ in Arracan; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, *ten* were Bārha Sayyids, the remaining twelve being Mughuls.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urdū MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sādāt i Bārha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India—now so accessible—and completed from inscriptions and sanads and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kūndlīwāls, who are the very opposite of *Mafqūd*[u] *'l-khabar*.

After the overthrow of the Tihanpūrī brothers (p. 428, (*g*)), many emigrated. Sayyids of Bārha exist also in Lakhnau, Barelī, Āwla, in Audh; also in Nagīna, Maiman, and Chāndpūr in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Jolī Sayyids is said to exist in Pūrnia (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Kirmānī of Bīrbhūm claim likewise to be related to the Bārha Sayyids.

During the reign of Awrangzīb, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunnī tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sādāt-i Bārha under Muḥammad Shāh (*vide* Elphinstone, Vth edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhainsī (بهينسي), which lies on the Khataulī road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors, during their palmy days, had collected.

76. **ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān** Mughul.

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the *Maʿāṣir* or the *Ṭabaqāt*. He has been mentioned above, p. 322, l. 10. Akbar's marriage with his daughter displeased Bayrām, because ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh's sister was married to Kāmrān, of whose party Bayrām believed him to be. When Bayrām, during his rebellion (p. 332) marched from Dīpālpūr to Jālindhar, he passed over Tihāra, where Abdᵘ 'llāh defeated a party of his friends under Walī Beg (No. 24).

ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān *Mughul* must not be confounded with ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān *Uzbak* (No. 14).

77. **Shaykh Muḥammad**-i Bukhārī.

He was a distinguished Hindūstānī Sayyid, and maternal uncle (*tughāi* (?)) to Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattū Khāṣa Khayl Afghān handed over the Fort of Chanāṛ to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a *tuyūl* in Ajmīr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaykh Muʿīn-i Chishtī's tomb, as the *khādims* were generally at feud about the emoluments and distribution of vows presented by pilgrims. Nor had the efficacy of their prayers been proved, though they claimed to possess sufficient influence with God to promise offspring to the barren and childless.

In the 17th year, Shaykh M. was attached to the corps under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Aḥmadābād. After the Emperor's victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā joined Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and ʿĀqil Mīrzā, at Patan (Gujrāt); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Āgra. The other

three Mīrzās remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fūlādī party (*vide* No. 67). Mīrzā ʿAzīz had been reinforced by the Mālwa contingent under Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 28), Shāh Budāgh (No. 52), and Maṭlab Khān (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqa to Sūrat. Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka left Sayyid Ḥāmid (No. 78) in Aḥmadābād, and moved against the Mīrzās in Patan. The Mīrzās and Sher Khān Fūlādī, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khān sent proposals of peace through Shaykh M. to M. ʿAzīz. Shāh Budāgh advised M. ʿAzīz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and ʿAzīz drew up his army. He himself, Shāh Budāgh, Muʿīnᵘ 'd-Dīn-i Farankhūdī (No. 128). Maʿṣūm Khān and his son, and Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) stood in the centre (*qol*); Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 28), and Jamālᵘ'd-Din Injū (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaykh Muḥammad, Murād Khān (No. 54), Shāh Muḥammad (No. 95), Shāh Fakhrᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 88), Muzaffar Mughul, Pāyanda (No. 68), Ḥājī Khān Afghān, and the son of Khawā Khān, on the left wing; Dastam Khān (No. 79), Nawrang Khān (*vide* p. 354), Muḥammad Qulī Toqbāī (No. 129), and Mihr ʿAlī Sildoz (No. 130), led the van (*harāwal*); Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) occupied the *Altimash* (between the van and the commander); and Mīrzā Muqīm and Chirgis Khān formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junayd-i Kararānī; the right wing by the three Mīrzās; the left wing by Muḥammad Khān (Sher Khān's eldest son) and Sādāt Khān: and their van was led by Badr Khān, younger son of Sher Khān. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramaẓān, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mīrzās. Murād Khān (No. 54) preferred to look on. Shāh Muḥammad (No. 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Aḥmadābād. Shaykh Muḥammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahāᵘ 'd Dīn, and Sayyid Jaʿfar, brother of Shaykh Farīd (No. 99). The Mīrzās also fell upon Shāh Fakhrᵘ 'd-Dīn and repulsed him. Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn even was hard pressed, when M. ʿAzīz by a timely attack with his centre put the enemies to flight. As usual, the soldiers of the enemies had too early commenced to plunder.

Sher Khān fled to Jūnāgaḍh, and the Mīrzās to the Dakhin

78. **Sayyid Ḥāmid**-i Bukhārī.

Sayyid Ḥāmid was the son of S. Mīrān, son of S. Mubārik. Sayyid Mubārak was a Gujrātī Courtier (*vide* p. 419, note) who, it is said, arrived

from Bukharā with but a horse. One day he was attacked by a *mast* elephant, when he discharged an arrow that entered the forehead of the animal so deep, that only the notch of the arrow was visible. From this event, the people of Gujrāt swore by S. Mubārak's arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67) raised Nathū to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Shāh, S. Mubārak got several Maḥalls of the Patan, Dholqa, and Dandoqa (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholqa and Dandoqa were given to his son Sayyid Mīrān, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Ḥāmid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrāt, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Ḥāmid went over to him, and was favourably received. During the war of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka with the Mīrzās (*vide* No. 77), S. Ḥ. was put in charge of Aḥmadābād. In the 18th year, Dholqa and Dandoqa were again given him as *tuyūl*. Subsequently, he served under Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn in Kambhā,it.

In the 22nd year he was appointed to Multān, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yūsuf Khān-i Raẓawī (No. 35), against the Balūchīs. In the 25th year, when M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm invaded Lāhor, S. Ḥ. with the other *tuyūldārs* of the Panjāb assembled and joined the army of Prince Murād, S. Ḥ. commanding the left wing. He also served under Akbar in Kābul. On the Emperor's return he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his *jāgīr*.

In the 30th year he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. On his arrival at Peshāwar, his jāgīr, S. Ḥ sent most of his men to Hindūstān, and lived securely in Bigrām (on our Maps, *Beghram*), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Mūsā. This man oppressed the Mahmand and Ghharbah (?) Khayl tribes, "who have ten thousand homes near Peshāwar." The oppressed Afghāns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalāla-yi Tarīkī as leader, and attacked S. Ḥ. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bigrām; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The *Maʾāṣir* says he was killed in 993. In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghāns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamāl, son of S. Ḥ. He held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamāl, during Akbar's reign, was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahāngīr, to a Hazārīship. He was made Governor of Dilhī, *vice* Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wahhāb, also a Bukhārī Sayyid (*Tuz.* p. 35, l. 8 from below). Kamāl served under Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusraw, and commanded

the left wing in the fight near Bhairōwāl, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bārha who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Yaʿqūb, son of S. Kamāl, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse, and died in the third year of Shāhjahān's reign. The *Maʾāṣir* says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shāhjahān's grandees given in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Ḥāmid, of the name of Sayyid Bāqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. **Dastam Khān**, son of Rustam-i Turkistānī.

The correct name of this grandee is *Dastam* دستم, a very unusual name though most MSS. of the Āʾīn and many of the Akbarnāma give رستم *Rustam*. The *Maʾāṣir* correctly places his name under the letter *D*.

His father's name was Rustam. His mother—her name is not clearly written in the MSS. of the *Maʾāṣir* and *Akbarnāma*, which I have seen, either *Najība* or *Bakhya*—was a friend of Māhum Anaga (*vide* No. 19) and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a playfellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khān in the 9th year, served under Muʿizzu 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year he served under Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka in the battle of Patan (*vide* No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and got a flag. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the Ṣūba of Ajmīr, and got Rantanbhūr as *tuyūl*. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year Uchlā, son of Balbhadr, and Mohan, Sūr Dās, Tilūksī, sons of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother, came without permission from the Panjāb to Lūnī (?), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwāhas, advised them to return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious. Akbar then ordered D. to have recourse to threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them. D. had at last to do so; but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight,[1] the three nephews of the Rāja were killed. Dastam received a

[1] The geographical details given in the Akbarnāma are unsatisfactory.

Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions the *Qaṣba* (small town) of Lūnī (لونی) as the birth-place of the Kachhwāha rebels: the fight, he says, took place in a village (mauzaʿ) of the name of توری *Thorī*, and Dastam died at *Sherpūr*, which is also called a *Qaṣba*. But the Akbarnāma leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The *Ṭabaqāt*, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khān was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhūr. The only places near Rantanbhūr which resemble the above three are Bounlee, Tohra, and Shergarh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpūr Territory for 1860. The road from Shergarh (about 4 miles S.E. of Rantanbhūr) to Bounlee is bisected

wound from Uchlā, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchlā, and killed him. Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse. His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers. The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (988).

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpūr. Akbar said that even D.'s mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because D., with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.

The *Maʾāṣir* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhūr was then given to Mīrzā ʿAbdurrahīm (No. 29) as jāgīr.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. **Shāhbāz Khān-i** Kambū.

Regarding the tribe called *Kambū*, *vide* Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistich quoted (Metre *Hazaj*) :—

[اگر قحط الرجال فتد بسه کس کم انس گیری]
یکے افغان ددم کنبو سیوم بدذات کمشیري

" The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrīs the third, set of scoundrels "

must be very modern ; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Shāhbāz was Ḥājī Ismāʾīl, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahāʾu d-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an *ashrafī*, or gold muhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention ; but as Bahāʿu 'd-Dīn could not pay the money, Ḥājī Ismāʿīl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafī for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Ḥājī Ismaʿīl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambūs are proverbial in Hindūstān for sagacity and quickness of apprehension

Shāhbāz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done ; but the excellent way in which he performed

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by the Banas River. Rantanbhūr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chambal and the Banas, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N.W. of it. There are two villages of the names of *Tohra*, one about 3 miles S.W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. *Bounlee*, or Baūlī, would be بونلی, or بولی, which will be found below as the head of a Pargana in Sarkār Rantanbhūr, and the change of بولی to بونی is very simple. The greatest difference lies in Sherpūr and *Shergarh*.

The Akbarnāma says the fight took place on the 10th Ābān of the 25th year

the duties of *kotwāl*, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amīr and appointed *Mīr Tozak* (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khān (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mīr Bakhshī. In the 21st year he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpūr, especially against Kallah, son of Rāy Rām, and grandson of Rāy Māldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwāna. Shāhbāz first took Fort Daigūr (?),[1] where a large number of Rāṭhor rebels were killed; after this he took Dūnāra, from where he passed on to Siwānah, which on his arrival capitulated (984).

In the same year, Shāhbāz was sent against Rāja Gajpatī.[2] This Rāja was the greatest Zamīndār in Bihār, and had rendered good services during Munʿim's expedition to Bengal. But when Dāʾūd, king of Oṛīsā, invaded Bengal after Munʿim's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpatī rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihār. Farḥat Khān (No. 145) *tuyūldār* of Āra, his son Farhang Khān, and Qarāṭāq Khān, opposed the Rāja, but perished in the fight. When Shāhbāz approached, Gajpatī fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespūr, where the whole family of the Rāja was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergaḍh, which was held by Srī Rām, Gajpatī's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtās. Its Afghān commander, Sayyid Muḥammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junayd-i Kararānī, had been hard pressed by Muẓaffar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shāhbāz, asked for protection, and handed over the Fort. Sh. then repaired to court, where he received every distinction due to his eminent services.

In the 23rd year (986) Sh. marched against the proud Rānā Partāb, and besieged the renowned Fort of Kōbhalmīr (called on our maps Komalnair, on the frontier between Udaipūr and Jodhpūr lat. 25° 10′) The Rānā, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a *Sannāsī* when the fort was taken. Goganda and Udaipūr submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 thānas in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipūr to Pūr Manḍal. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan Hāḍā (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmīr, where disturbances frequently occurred

[1] The MSS. have دیگور, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S.W. of Jodhpūr, near which it must lie. *Dūnāra* (most MSS. have دونارہ) lies on the right bank of the Lūnī, S.W. of Jodhpūr. Here Shāhbāz crossed (*ʿubūr*) and went to *Siwānah*, which lies N.W. S. of Dūnāra, about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lūnī.

[2] So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him *Gajety*, the Lakhnau Akbarnāma (III, 140) *Kajī*, and the Edit. Bibl. Indica. of Badā,onī, *Kachiti*, (p. 179, 284, 285) and *Kajiti* (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnāma.

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihār; but he did not agree with M. ʿAzīz Koka—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated ʿArab Bahādur, and marched to Jagdespūr. At that time the report reached him that Maʿṣūm Khān Farankhūdī (No. 157) had rebelled. and ʿArab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sulṭānpūr Bilkarī, 25 *kos* from Awadh (Fayẓābād). Maʿṣūm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, a distance of 30 *kos*. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemy that Maʿṣūm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.'s right wing attacked the enemy, Maʿṣūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Fayẓābād). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Maʿṣūm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. again went to court, where he was received by the emperor on his return from Kābul. At court, Sh. generally gave offence by his pride; and when once, at a parade, the Bakhshīs had placed the young Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) above him, he gave vent openly to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rāy Sāl Darbārī (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.'s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. ʿAzīz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh. with other Amīrs was sent there. He followed up Maʿṣūm Khān Kābulī to Ghorāghāt, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhāṭī (p. 365), plundered Baktarāpūr, the residence of ʿIsạ, took Sunnārgāw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. 'Isạ afforded Maʿṣūm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgāw; Maʿṣūm was to go to Makkah; and Sh. was to withdraw This was accepted, and Sh. crossed the river expecting the terms would be carried out. But the enemy did nothing; and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Ṭānḍa, all advantage being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the *tuyūldārs* of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Maʿṣūm. In the 30th year, he and Ṣādiq Khān (*vide* No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhāṭī, and even sent a detachment "to Kokra (کوکره), which lies between Oṛīsā and the Dakhin". Mādhū Singh, the Zamīndār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Saʿīd (No. 25) was made Governor of Bengal, and the disturbances had mostly been suppressed, Sh. returned

to Court. In the 34th year, he was made *Kotwāl* of the army. He was then sent against the Afghāns of Sawād; but he left his duties without orders, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made *atālīq* to M. Shāhrukh, who had been appointed to Mālwa, and was on his way to Prince Murād in the Dakhin. During the siege of Aḥmadnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr-i Naw, "which is called *Burhānābād*," asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shīʿas, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called *Langar-i-Duwāzda Imām*, the very name of which must have stunk in Sh.'s nostrils. The inhabitants "seeing that they could not rely on the word of the Mughuls" emigrated. The Prince was irritated; and when Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) was appointed his *atālīq*, Sh. left without permission for Mālwa. Akbar gave his jāgīr to Shāhrukh, and transferred Shāhbāz.

In the 43rd year Sh. was sent to Ajmīr as Commander of the *manqalā* of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilāhābād against the Rānā. But Sh. was now about seventy years old, and as he had been in the habit of eating quicksilver, he commenced to suffer from pain in his hands and wrists. He got well again, but had in Ajmīr another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salīm took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Ilāhābād without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shāhbāz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmīr within the hallowed enclosure of Muʿīn-i Chishtī. But the custodians of the sacred shrine refused to comply and Sh. was buried outside. At night, however, the saint appeared in the dreams of the custodians, and told them that Shāhbāz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shāhbāz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. His opposition to Akbar's "Divine Faith" had been mentioned above (p. 197). He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word *murīd* (disciple) on his signet. His Sunnī zeal, no doubt, retarded his promotion as much as his arrogance; for other less deserving officers held higher commands. He observed with great strictness the five daily prayers, and was never seen without a rosary in his hand. One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fatḥpūr and seized Shāhbāz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the ʿaṣr, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun,

not to miss the proper time. Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Ḥakīm ʿAlī who stood near him, "I shall indeed call Shāhbāz a pious man, if he insists on saying the prayer alone, as he is with the emperor"; (for the prayer had been abolished by Akbar at' Court). When the time of prayer had come, Sh. mentioned it to the emperor. "Oh," replied Akbar, "you can pray another time, and make amends for this omission." But Sh. drew away his hand from the grasp of the emperor, spread his *dupaṭṭa* shawl on the ground, and said not only his prayer but also his *vird* (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, "Get up!" Abū 'l-Faẓl stepped up and interceded for Shāhbāz, whose persistency he admired.

Abū 'l-Fatḥ says that Shāhbāz was an excellent and faithful servant; but he blames him for his bigotry. In liberality, he says, he had no equal, and people whispered that he found the *Pāras* stone (*vide* Book III, Ṣūba of Mālwa). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputr he had 9,000 horse. Every Thursday evening he distributed 100 *Ashrafīs* to the memory of the renowned *Ghawṣ*ᵘ *'ṣ-ṣiqlayn* (?) (ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādu-i Jīlānī). To the Kambūs he gave so much, that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mīr Bakhshī he introduced the *Dāgh* law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (*vide* pp. 252, 265, 266).

Shāhbāz's brother, Karamᵘ 'llāh, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Saronj (*Maʾāṣir*). The *Maʾāṣir* mentions a son of Shāhbāz, Ilhāmᵘ 'llāh. He was *Wāqiʿa-nawīs* (p. 268) of the Sarkār of Baglāna, where he died.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbāz Khān, who during the reign of Shāhjahān was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, *Bakhshī* and *Wāqiʿa-nawīs* of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign.[1]

81. **Darwīsh Muḥammad** Uzbak.

The *Maʾāṣir* says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* merely say that he was dead in 1001.

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[1] Ranbāz Khān is wrongly called *Niyāz Khān* in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Pādishāh, I. b., p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, *Ranbāz Khān* as in the *Tuzuk*.

Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, p. 150, says that Ranbāz's name was *Khūb*ᵘ *'llāh*; but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should, perhaps, be *Habīb*ᵘ *'llāh*.

In the list of Akbar's grandees in the *Tabaqāt*, Niẓām says, "At present (in 1001) Shāhbāz is Mīr Bakhshī of Mālwa."

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayrām. He was sent by Bayrām together with Muẓaffar ʿAlī (No. 37, and p. 332, l. 6) to Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna, who dispatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 250—where for *Darwīsh Uzbak Khwāja*, read *Darwīsh Uzbak o Muẓaffar Khwāja*). From the fact that Abū 'l-Faẓl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayrām's submission.

82. **Shaykh Ibrāhīm**, son of Shaykh Mūsa, elder brother of Shaykh Salīm of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.

His father, Shaykh Mūsa, lived a retired life in Sīkrī. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Sīkrī Shaykhs to pray for him, which they did; and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salīm), Akbar looked upon the Shaykhs with particular favour. To this lucky circumstance, the Sīkrī family owes its elevation.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year he was made Thānahdār of Lāḍlā,ī, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year he was made Governor of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. In the 28th year he served with distinction under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār and Bengal, and was with Vazīr Khān (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutlū of Oṛīsā. When Akbar, in the 30th year, went to Kābul, he was made Governor of Āgra, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was not only the brother but also the son-in-law of Shaykh Salīm-i Sīkrīwāl.

83. **ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Maṭlab Khān**, son of Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52).

The *Maʾāṣir* makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Maṭlab accompanied Sharafᵘ 'd Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17) on his expedition to Mīrtha. In the 10th year he served together with his father under Muʿizzᵘ 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahādur Khān, and fled from the battlefield of Khayrābād. In the 12th year he served under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31) against Iskandar Khān in Audh. He then retired to his *tuyūl* in Mālwa.

In the 17th year he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. ʿAzīz Koka and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). In the 23rd year, when Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn's men (No. 28) brought Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā from the Dakhin to Court, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Maṭlab attached himself as convoy and saw the Mīrzā safely to Court. In the 25th year he accompanied Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyābat Khān ʿArab. In the

following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Fatḥ Dawlat, son of ʿAlī Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kābul. In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kālpī, his jāgīr.

In the 30th year he accompanied M. ʿAzīz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalāla Tārīkī, the Afghān rebel. One day, Jalāla fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nūrīn Khān (No. 212), Salīm Khān (No. 132), and Sheroya Khān (No. 168). They were in time, and, assisted by Muḥammad Qulī Beg, routed Jalāla, who escaped to the mountains. ʿAbdu 'l-Maṭlab " had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight ". He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzād, was under Jahāngīr, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. **Iʿtibār Khān**, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was ʿAmbar. He was one of Bābar's Eunuchs. When Humāyūn left Qandahār for ʿIrāq, he despatched Iʿtibār and others to conduct Maryam Makānī (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952 he left Kābul and joined the emperor, who attached him to Prince Akbar's suite.

In the 2nd year of Akbar's reign he accompanied Akbar's mother and the other Begams from Kābul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihlī, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. **Rāja Bīr Bal** [Bīr Baṛ], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dās (*Maʾāṣir*; the *Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā,onī*, II, p. 161, calls him *Brahman Dās*) and was a *Bhāt*, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call *bādfarosh*, " dealers in encomiums." He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badā,onī, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kālpī to Court, where his *bonmots* in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindī verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rāy*, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate,[1] and had him constantly near himself.

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[1] *Just as Jotik Rāy* the (Hindū) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayẓī] had the title of *Malikuʾ 'sh-Shuʿarā*, or " King of Poets ".

In the 18th year Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkoṭ, who was at Court happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nargakoṭ was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rāja Bīr Baṛ. But Jai Chand's son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch., or Badī Ch.—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkoṭ, and Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, as related above, forced Ḥusayn Qulī to raise the siege, and Bīr Baṛ, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 24th Rabīʿ II, 981. (*Vide* note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year he was sent with Rāy Lon Karan to Dūngarpūr, the Rāy of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zayn Koka (No. 34) conducted Rāja Rām Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bīr Baṛ spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year Zayn Khān Koka marched against the Yūsufzā,īs in Bijūr and Sawād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bīr Baṛ was sent there together with Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abū 'l-Faẓl or Bīr Baṛ should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar's wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 214, 367). Bīr Baṛ and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered.[1]

How Akbar felt Bīr Baṛ's loss has been mentioned on p. 214. There is also a letter on this subject in Abū 'l-Faẓl's *Maktūbāt*.

The following passages from Badā,onī (*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*, pp. 357, 358) are of interest—"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year (995) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bīr Baṛ, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindūs by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr Baṛ's loss, and invented the story that Bīr Baṛ had been seen in the hills of Nagarkoṭ, walking about with Jogīs and Sannāsīs. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Baṛ was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzā,īs; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogīs,

[1] A similar catastrophe befell Awrangzīb, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amīn Khān were killed in the Khaibar Pass, on the 3rd Muḥarram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. *Maʾāṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 117 *Vide Journal A. S. Bengal* for 1862, p. 261.

inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Aḥadī was therefore sent to Nagarkoṭ to inquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity."

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bīr Baṛ had been seen at Kālinjar (which was the jāgīr of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bīr Baṛ had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bīr Baṛ had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to Court; and the Hindū Krorī (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bīr Baṛ. The Krorī could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bīr Baṛ in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty actually went through a second mourning; but he ordered the Krorī and several others to come to Court. They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed His Majesty before, and the Krorī had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine."

Bīr Baṛ was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindūstān.

The hatred which Badā,onī Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) and other pious Muslims showed towards Bīr Baṛ (*vide* pp. 192, 198, 202, 209, 214) arose from the belief that Bīr Baṛ had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām.

Bīr Baṛ's eldest son, *Lāla*, is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Hundred (No. 387). He was a spendthrift; and as he got no promotion, and his property was squandered away, he resigned court life, and turned *faqīr*, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. **Ikhlāṣ Khān** Iʿtibār, the Eunuch.

The *Maʾāṣir* does not give his name. The list of Akbar's grandees in the *Ṭabaqāt* has the short remark that Ikhlāṣ Khān was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of *One Thousand.*

87. **Bahār Khān** (Muḥammad) Aṣghar, a servant of Humāyūn.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read *Bahādur Khān*. The *Maʾāṣir* does not give his name. The list of the *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a "Bahār Khān, a Khāṣa Khayl Afghān, who held a command of Two Thousand". Bahār Khān Khāṣa Khayl is also mentioned in several places in the *Akbarnāma*. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abū 'l-Faẓl in this list. Perhaps we have

to read *Pahāṛ Khān*, instead of *Bahār Khān*; *vide* No. 407. The notice in the *Ṭabaqāt* implies that he was dead in 1001.

88. **Shāh Fakhrᵘ 'd-Dīn**, son of Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhrᵘ 'd-Dīn came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign he served in the army which was sent against ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year he was in the *manqalā*, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. and Ḥakīm ʿAynᵘ 'l-Mulk to Mīr Abū Turāb and Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to Iʿtimād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrāt (p. 343, note, where according to the *Akbarnāma* we have to read *24th Rabīʿ* II, for *4th Rabīʿ* I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of *Naqābat Khān*.[1] In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrāt), *vice* Tarsō Muḥammad Khān (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, *Ṭabaqāt*).

89. **Rāja Rām Chand Baghela.**

A few MSS. read *Bhagela*, which form Tod says is the correct one. *Baghela*, however, is the usual spelling.

Rām Chand was Rāja of Bhath (or *Bhattah*, as the *Maʾāṣir* spells it). Among the three great Rājas of Hindūstān whom Bābar mentions in his Memoirs, the Rājas of Bhath are the third.

Rām Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsīn, regarding whom *vide* the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year, the Emperor sent Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Qūrchī (No. 213) to Bhath, to induce Tānsīn to come to Āgra. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite, with his musical instruments and many presents to Āgra, and the first time that Tānsīn performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lākhs of rupees. Tānsīn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān.

When Āṣaf Khān (I) led his expedition to Gadha (p. 396)[2] he came in

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[1] The Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III. p. 222) calls him *Naqīb-Khān* (?).
[2] On p. 396, *Rām Chand* is by mistake called *Rām Chandr*.

contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rāja became "a servant" of Akbar. In the 14th year Yām Chand lost Fort Kālinjar, as related on p. 399. He sent his son, Bīr Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhath; but Bīr Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to Court. Rāja Bīr Baṛ and Zayn Koka were selected for this office, and Rām Chand came at last to Court, where he was well received.

R. Ch. died in the 37th year, and Bīr Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rāja. But on his way from Court to Bhath he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the 38th year (1001; *vide* p. 385). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bāndhū, of which Bikramājīt, a young relation of Rām Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rāja Patrdās (No. 196) with troops to Bāndhū, and the Mug͟huls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (*thānas*). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismāʿīl Qulī K͟hān (No. 46) to Bāndhū, to convey Bikramājīt to Court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bāndhū from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramājīt, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bāndhū was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year Durjodhan, a grandson of Rām Chand, was made Rāja of Bāndhū. In the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign Amr Singh, another grandson of Rām Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihlī. In the 8th year of Shāhjahān when ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh K͟hān Bahādur marched against the refractory zamīndār of Ratanpūr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anūp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rāja Pahāṛ Singh Bundela, Jāgīrdār of Chaurāgaḍh, attacked Anūp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairām, a zamīndār of Chaurāgaḍh, Anūp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewā (which after the destruction of Bāndhū had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Ṣalābat K͟hān, Governor of Ilāhābād (*vide* p. 427), conducted him to Court, where Anūp turned Muḥammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bāndhū and the surrounding districts.

90. **Lashkar K͟hān**, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of K͟hurāsān.

He was *Mīr Bak͟hshī* and *Mīr ʿArẓ*. In the 11th year Muẓaffar K͟hān (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year he came one day drunk to the Darbār, and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse, and then put him into prison.

He was subsequently released, and attached to Munʿim's Bengal corps. In the battle of Takaroī (p. 406) he was severely wounded. Though his wounds commenced to heal, he did not take sufficient care of his health, and died, a few days after the battle, in Oṛīsā.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (*Maʿāṣir*, 1,000).

The *Maʿāṣir* has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of *Lashkar Khān* was conferred by Jahāngīr on Abū 'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī, and by Shāhjahān on Jān Niṣār Khān Yādgār Beg.

91. **Sayyid Aḥmad of Bārha.**

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Maḥmūd (p. 427). In the 17th year he served in the *manqāla*, which, under the command of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), was sent to Gujrāt. After the conquest of Aḥmadābād, he was ordered with other Amīrs to pursue the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī (p 432), who had removed their families and property from Patanto Īdar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mīrzā Abd[u] 'r-Raḥīm (No 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and Sher Khān Fūlādī, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. ʿAzīz.

In the 20th year S. A. and his nephews S. Qāsim and S. Hāshim quelled the disturbances in which Jalāl[u] d'-Dīn Qūrchī (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānah. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abū 'l-Faẓl mentioned Sayyid Aḥmad above on p. 300, l. 11 from below.

Sayyid Aḥmad's son, *S. Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn* was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chitor (p. 398).

This S. Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn who was executed in 993 (*Badā,onī* II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Maḥmūd (No. 75) S. Qāsim being called his uncle.

92. **Kākar ʿAlī Khān-i** Chishtī.

He came with Humāyūn to Hindūstān. In the 11th year (973) he was sent together with Shāh Qulī Nāranjī (No. 231) to Gaḍha-Katanga, because Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kākar served also under Muʿizz[u] 'l-Mulk (No. 61) and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shaʿbān, 980 ; *vide* p. 353). He was then attached to Munʿim's

corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his s
were killed (end of 981; *Maʿāṣir*, 980).

93. **Rāy Kalyān Mal**, Zamīndār of Bīkānīr.

He is the father of Rāy Singh (No. 44), and has been mentione
above, p. 384.

94. **Ṭāhir Khān**, Mīr Farāghat, son of Mīr Khurd, who was *atā*
to Prince Hindāl.

His name is not given in the *Maʾāṣir*. The *Ṭabaqāt* merely says th
he was a grandee of Humāyūn, and reached, during the reign of Akba
the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same wor
he had a son *Bāqī Khān*, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that
was one of Akbar's companions. Together with Dastam Khān (No. 7
Qutluq Qadam Khān (No. 123), Peshraw Khān (No. 280), Ḥakīmu'l-Mul
Muqbil Khān, and Shimāl Khān (No. 154), he assisted in the capture
the wild and mad Khwāja Muʿazzam, brother of Akbar's mother.

95. **Shāh Muḥammad Khān** of Qalāt.

As Qalāt belongs to Qandahār, he is often called Shāh Muḥamma
Khān-i Qandahārī. The *Maʾāṣir* says that the name of the town
Qalāt is generally spelt with a ق, *Q*; but that the Hazāras pronoun
Kalāt, with a *K*.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān was a friend of Bayrām, and was with hi
in Qandahār, which Humāyūn had given Bayrām as *jāgīr*. Bayrān
however, left it entirely in S. M.'s hands. Bahādur Khān (No. 22) w
then governor of Dāwar, and had bribed several grandees to hand ov
Qandahār to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the con
spirators. Bahādur then marched against Qandahār. S. M. knew tha
he could expect no assistance from Humāyūn, and wrote to Shāh Ṭahmās
of Persia that it was Humāyūn's intention to cede Qandahār; he shoul
therefore send troops, defeat Bahādur, and take possession of the tow
Ṭahmāsp sent 3,000 Turkmān troopers furnished by the *jāgīrdārs*
Sīstān, Farāh, and Garmsīr. Their leader, ʿAlī Yār, surprised Bahādu
and defeated him so completely, that Bahādur could not even kee
Dāwar. He therefore fled to India. S. M. had thus got rid of one dange
he treated the Persian Commander with all submissiveness, but woul
not hand over the town. Shāh Ṭahmāsp then ordered his nephe
Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, son of Bahrām Mīrzā (*vide* No. 8), W.
Khalīfa Shāmlū, and others, to besiege Qandahār. The siege had laste
for some time, when Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā felt disgusted and withdre

Ṭahmāsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā with ʿAlī Sulṭān, Governor of Shīrāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ʿAlī Sulṭān was shot during the siege, and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā remained encamped before the town without doing anything. At this juncture, Akbar, who in the meantime had succeeded to the throne, ordered S. M. to hand over Qandahār to the Persians, according to Humāyūn's promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahār, observes the author of the *Maʾāṣir*, differs from Munshī Sikandar's version of his great work entitled *ʿĀlamārā-yi Sikandarī*. According to that history, Ṭahmāsp, at the very first request of Shāh Muḥammad sent Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā with Walī Khalīfa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahādur; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahār, Ṭahmāsp sent ʿAlī Sulṭān with a stronger army, and appointed Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā governor of Dāwar and Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated and withdrew to Hindūstān.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar's reign in India, was made a Khān, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968) he led the van in the battle near Sārangpūr, in which Bāz Bahādur lost Mālwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kotha. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 432).

Regarding ʿĀdil Khān, S. M.'s son, *vide* below, No. 125.

96. **Rāy Surjan Hāḍā.**

He is often merely called Rāy Hāḍā. The Hāḍās are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantanbhūr is called after them *Hāḍautī*.

Rāy Surjan was at first in the service of the Rānā, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantanbhūr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chītor (p. 398), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantanbhūr, and R. S., despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudā and Bhoj (No. 175) to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honour. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent, and killed several people, among them Shaykh Bahāu 'l-Dīn Majzūb of Badā,on, but was cut down by one of Muẓaffar Khān's men. As R. S.'s sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's goodwill towards them;

and he sent them back to their father. At R. S.'s request, Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhūr was annexed (Shawwāl, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gaḍha-Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanāḍh (Chunār).

Soon after, Daudā fled and created disturbances in Būndī. Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Būndī, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudā who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 436). Not long after, Daudā fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muẓaffar's (No. 37) death in Bihār. The *Ma'āṣir* does not mention the year of his death. From the *Ṭabaqāt*, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Rāy Bhoj, *vide* below, No. 175.

97. **Shāham Khān** Jalā,ir.

Jalā,ir is the name of a Chaghtā,ī tribe.

Shāham's father was Bābā Beg, who had been under Humāyūn, governor of Jaunpūr. Bābā Beg also took part in the battle of Chausā, in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh. The Emperor fled to Āgra, and ordered Bābā Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begams. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Bābā Beg was killed by an Afghān near the imperial tent.

Shāham Khān was made an Amīr by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalā,irs, mentioned below, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān-i Sīstānī (No. 55), Chalma Beg (58), Kamāl Khān, Ghakkar, and Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the Jaunpūr District against the Afghāns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of ʿAdlī, Mubāriz Khān, after Bayrām's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year Sh. Kh. served against Khān Zamān.

In the 19th year he served under Munʿim in the Bengal and Oṛīsā wars, was present in the battle of Takaroī and pursued with Toḍar Mal the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p. 406). After Munʿim's death at Gaur (p. 407), the grandees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year he took part in the battle near Āg Maḥall (p. 350). In the 24th year he was *jāgīrdār* of Ḥājīpūr (opposite Patna). After Muẓaffar's death (No. 37) in 988, before Toḍar Mal had arrived, he defeated and killed Saʿīd-i Badakhshī, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued ʿArab Bahādūr, whom Shāhbāz Khān

). 438) had defeated. In the 26th year Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. n this year, Maʿṣūm Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) had been driven by ne imperialists from Bahrā,ich over Kalyānpūr to Muḥammadābād, 'hich he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpūr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahāṛ Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzīpūr and Qāsim from Jaldpūr, nited their contingents, and pursued Maʿṣūm so effectually that he pplied to M. ʿAzīz Koka to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 2nd year he was made Governor of Gaḍha, and soon after, of Dihlī. n the end of the same year he accompanied Sulṭān Murād, who conducted . Sulaymān (No. 5) to Court. In the beginning of the 33rd year he ssisted Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalāla Tārīkī , Terāh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar nade Dihlī his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, nd he was therefore reprimanded. Two years later, he served in the .sīr war, and died during the siege of that fort, Ẕī Ḥijjah, 1009.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Shāham Khān was in 1001 a Commander of 'wo Thousand.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions two other Jalā,ir Grandees :—

1. *Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān Jalā,ir*. He was mentioned above, p. 417, l. 3.
2. *Muḥammad Khān Jalā,ir*. The *Ṭabaqāt* says of him, "he is an ld Amīr, and is at present (1001) mad." He served under Khān Zamān the war with Hemū. In the beginning of the 4th year all three Jalā,irs erved under Khān Zamān against the Afghāns in the Jaunpūr District.

98. **Āṣaf Khān (III)**, [Mīrzā Qiwāmu d'-Dīn] Jaʿfar Beg, son of Badīʿu 'z-Zamān of Qazwīn.

His father Mīrzā Badīʿu 'z-Zamān was the son of Āghā Mullā Dawātdār ı Qazwīn (*vide* p. 398). M. Badī, during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, ad been *vazīr* of Kāshān, and Jaʿfar had also been introduced at the 'ersian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Jaʿfar Beg came to India, and 'as presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān (No. 126), on his return from the Īdar expedition. The new *Dāgh* law ..ving then been introduced, Akbar made Jaʿfar a Commander Twenty (*Bīstī*) and attached him to the *Dākhilīs* (p. 252) of his ncle. According to *Badā,onī* (III, 216) people attributed this *minimum* royal favour to the malice of Jaʿfar's uncle. The poet was so low hat Jaʿfar threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province uẓaffar Khān (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with

him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shams[u] 'd-Dīn-i Khāfī (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fatḥpūr, Ja'far met with a better reception than before, was in a short time made a Commander of Two Thousand, and got the title of *Āṣaf Khān*. He was also appointed Mīr Bakhshī, *vice* Qāẓī 'Alī. In his first expedition, against the Rānā of Udaipūr, Āṣaf was successful.

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thānadār of Sawād (Swat), *vice* Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, who had been reprimanded (p. 388, where for *Waijūr* read *Bijūr*). In the 37th year Jalāla Rawshānī fled to 'Abd[u] 'llah Khān Uzbak, king of Tūrān; but finding no support, he returned to Terāh, and stirred up the Āfrīdī and Ūrakzā,ī Afghāns. Āṣaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zayn Khān Koka, defeated Jalāla. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Waḥdat 'Alī, who was said to be Jalāla's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year Āṣaf was sent to Kashmīr, M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jāgīr holders, of whom Aḥmad Beg Kābulī (No. 191), Muḥammad Qulī Afshār, and Ḥasan 'Arab were the most important. The cultivation of *Za'farān* (saffron, *vide* p. 89) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qāẓī 'Alī, *i.e.* at one lākh of *kharwārs*, at 24 *dāms* each (*vide* p. 370). Āṣaf stayed only three days in Kashmīr, and returned to Lāhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmīr had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jāgīr holders, Āṣaf was made Governor of the province. In the 44th year (beginning of 1008) he was appointed *Dīwān-i kull vice* Patr Dās (No. 196).

In 1013 Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salīm was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrāt as *tuyūl*, and gave up the Ṣūbas of Ilāhābād and Bihār, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihār was given to Āṣaf, who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahāngīr's accession, Āṣaf was called to Court, and appointed *atālīq* to Prince Parwīz, who had taken the command against the Rānā. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahāngīr, after suppressing Khusraw's revolt, left Lāhor for Kābul, and as Sharīf Khān Amīr[u] 'l-Umarā* remained

dangerously ill in India, Āṣaf was made Vakīl and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels.[1] But he never trusted Jahāngīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Āṣaf's death (*Tuzuk*, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar's death, the kings[2] of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik ʿAmbar had seized upon several places in the Bālāghāt District. The Khān Khānān (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahāngīr sent Prince Parwīz to the Dakhin, with Āṣaf Khān as *atālīq*, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodī, Khān-i Aʿẓam (No. 21), ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān, "each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country." But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amīrs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Āṣaf died at Burhāmpūr. The *Tārīkh* of his death is :—

صد حیف ز آصف خان. A hundred times alas! for Āṣaf Khān.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Āṣaf Khan is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with his own hands in his gardens; and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand. In religious matters, he was a free-thinker, and one of Akbar's disciples (p. 218–9). He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawī, entitled *Nūrnāma* ranks after Niẓām's *Shīrīn Khusraw*. *Vide* below among the poets of Akbar's reign.

Āṣaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. *Mīrzā Zaynᵘ 'l-ʿĀbidīn*. He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. He had a son *Mīrzā Jaʿfar*, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same *takhalluṣ* (Jaʿfar). He, Zāhid Khān Koka, and M. Shāfī (*Pādishāhnāma*; Sāqī, *Maʾāṣir*) son of Sayf Khān, were such intimate friends, that Shāhjahān dubbed them *sih yār*, "the three friends." He

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[1] It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as *insignia* on Dīwāns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

[2] Mughul historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dakhin *kings*. The word which they generally use, is *dunyādār*, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the *Akbarnāma*.

later resigned the service, and lived in Āgra on the pension which Shāhjahān granted and Awrangzīb increased. He died in 1094.

2. *Suhrāb Khān*. He was under Shāhjahān a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shāhjahān.

3. *Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar*. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parenda expedition, he created dissensions between Shāh Shujāʿ and Mahābat Khān. He served in the war against Jujhār Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamūnī, as related in the *Pādishāhnāma*. He had just been married to the daughter of Muʿtamid Khān Bakhshī (author of the *Iqbālnāma-yi Jahāngīrī*); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shāhjahān married her to Khān Dawrān. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. *Mīrzā ʿAskarī*. He was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* mention two relations of Āṣaf—1. *Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, son of Mīrzā Shāhī, brother or nephew of Āṣaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. 2. *Muqīm*, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī.

The *Iqbālnāma*, according to the *Maʾāṣir*, says he belonged to the *Mūsawī* Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhārī Sayyid's trace their descent to Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī, seventh descendant of Imām ʿAlī Naqī Alhādī.

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farīd was Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Ghaffār of Dihlī, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyūrghāl tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaykh Farīd was born at Dihlī (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). He entered Akbar's service early. In the 28th year, when M. ʿAzīz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihār army, S. F. accompanied Vazīr Khān (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwān, where Qutlū of Oṛīsā had collected his Afghāns. Qutlū having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlū's treachery (*vide* Stewart's Bengal). In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of 700, and gradually rose, till the 40th year, to a command of 1,500. He was also appointed Mīr Bakhshī, and had also for some time

the *Daftar-i Tan* in his charge, i.e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jāgīr holders.

His elevation under Jahāngīr was due to the decided support he gave Jahāngīr, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusraw at Bhairōwāl. When Prince Salīm occupied Ilāhābād during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to *manṣabs* and giving them *jāgīrs*, Akbar favoured Prince Khusraw so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of recöncilation was effected, and Salīm's men were sent to Gujrāt. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salīm to stay outside the Fort of Āgra ; and M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) and Rāja Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusraw's succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and asked Shaykh Farīd to take command. But S. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salīm outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5,000, received the title of *Ṣāḥib*[u] *'s-sayf w*[a] *'l qalam*,[1] and was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*.

A short time after, on the 8th Zī Ḥijjah, 1014, Prince Khusraw suddenly left Āgra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhor. S. F., with other Bukhārī and many Bārha Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahāngīr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharīf Khān Amīr[u] 'l-Umarā[a] and Mahābat Khān, who were hostile to S. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sulṭān Khusraw had gone to Lāhor and besieged the town, when he heard of S. F.'s arrival with 12,000 horse at the *Āb-i Sulṭānpūr*. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Bi,āh, which S. F. had just crossed. Khusraw was immediately attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bārha and Bukhārī Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Sayf Khān, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān Kundlīwāl (p. 427) and Sayyid Jalāl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badakhshī troopers, and had not S. Kamāl (*vide* No. 78) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of *Pādishāh salāmat* the Bārha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Sayf Khān got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalāl died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of Khusraw's troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. Khusraw's jewel-box fell

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[1] This title we also find in old inscriptions, e.g. in those of Tribenī and Sātgāw, Hugli District. It means *Lord of the sword and the pen*.

into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairōwāl.[1] In the evening Jahāngīr arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fatḥābād, and was given S. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of *Murtaẓā Khān*, and was appointed governor of the Ṣūba of Gujrāt.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahāngīr with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 *miṣqāl*, 15 *surkhs*, and was valued at 25,000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrāt, he was recalled from Aḥmadābād (*Tuzuk*, p. 73). In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In 1021 he made preparations to invade Kāngra. He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Dihlī (*Tuz.* p. 159). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5,000 horse.

Sayyid Aḥmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dihlī, entitled *Āṣār*[u]*'ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Aḥmad-i Bukhārī. Of Farīd's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (*dālān*). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaykh *in the 9th year, or* 1033 A.H., instead of *in the eleventh year*, or 1025 A.D. Sayyid Aḥmad also mentions a *Sārā,ī*, built by Shaykh Farīd in Dihlī, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیل خانہ, *jel khāna*).

According to the *Tuzuk*, p. 65, Salīmgaḍh (Dihlī) belonged to S. Farīd. It had been built by Salīm Khān the Afghān during his reign in the midst (*dar miyān*) of the Jamna. Akbar had given it to Farīd.[2]

When Shaykh Farīd died, only 1,000 Ashrafīs were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the *Tārīkh* of his death :—

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[1] Bhairōwāl, on our maps *Bhyrowal*, lies on the road from Jālindhar to Amritsir, on the right bank of the Bi,āh. After the defeat Khusraw fled northwards with the view of reaching Roḥtās beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Rāwī, the Chanāb, and the Jhelam. On coming to the Chanāb, at a place called *Shāhpūr* (a very common name in the Panjāb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodhara, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*—on our maps *Sodra*, N.E. of Vazīrābād—and induced some boatmen to take him over. But they left him in the lurch, landed him on an island in the middle of the Chanāb, and swam back. This came to the ears of the Chaudī of Sodhara, and a report was sent to ʿAbd[u] 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (No. 199), one of Jahāngīr's officers stationed at Gujrāt (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanāb, opposite to Vazīrābād). He came, took Khusraw from the island, and kept him confined in Gujrāt. The news of the capture reached Jahāngīr at Lāhor on the last Muḥarram 1015, i.e. 52 days after Khusraw's flight from Āgra. On the 3rd Ṣafar, Khusraw Ḥasan Beg-i Badakhshī (No. 167), and ʿAbd[u] 'r-Raḥīm Khar, were brought to Jahāngīr in the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmrān.

[2] The family must have had large possessions in Dihlī; for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Dihlī, he stayed in Sh. Farīd's mansion, and Abū 'l-Faẓl (*Akbarnāma*, III, p. 196) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamna.

خرد برد[1] داد *dād, khurd burd* (1025 A.H.).
"He gave,[1] and left (carried off) little."

Shaykh Farīd was indeed a man of the greatest liberality. He always gave with his own hands. Once a beggar came to him seven times on one day, and received money; and when he returned the eighth time, Farīd gave him again money, but told him not to tell others; else they might take the money from him. He gave widows a great deal, and his jāgīr lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrāt, he had a list made of all Bukhārī Sayyids in the province,[2] and paid for every marriage feast and outfit; he even gave pregnant women of his clan money for the same purpose for the benefit of their yet unborn children. He never assisted singers, musicians, or flatterers.

He built many *sarā,īs*. The one in Dihlī has been mentioned above. In Aḥmadābād, a *maḥalla* was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhārā. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Shāh Wajīh[u] 'd-Dīn (*died* 988; *Badā,onī*, III, 13). He also built *Farīdābād* near Dihlī, the greater part of the old pargana of Tilpaṭ being included in the pargana of Farīdābād (Elliot's Glossary, Beame's Edition, II, p. 123). In Lāhor also, a Maḥalla was built by him, a large bath, and a *chauk*, or bāzār. The Government officers under him received annually three *khilʿats*; to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3,000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahāngīr did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghān of the name of Sher Khān, had taken leave in Gujrāt, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh. Farīd was in Kalānūr on his march to Kāngra. The Shaykh ordered Dwārka Dās, his Bakhshī, to pay the man his wages, and the Bakhshī wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day's pay. But Farīd got angry, and said, "He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay." The man got 7,000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

[[1] *Khurd*, eat, enjoyed.—P.]
[2] In Dihlī, Aḥmadābād, and many other places in Gujrāt do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. *Vide* Nos. 77, 78.

"Night and day," exclaims the author of the *Maʾāṣir*, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaykh Farīd had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muḥammad Saʿīd and Mīr Khān. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahābat Khān, whom Jahāngīr had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mīr Khān. S. F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood; but Mahābat got together several "respectable" witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mīr Khān had been killed by Muḥammad Saʿīd, and Shaykh F. had to remain quiet.

Muḥammad Saʿīd was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahān, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (*Pādishāhn*, II, 743).

Sayyid Jaʿfar, S. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 433).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions *Sayyid Badr*, son of Shaykh Farīd's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and *Sayyid Bhakar*, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. **Samānjī Khān**, son of Chalma Beg.

For *Samānjī* we often find in MSS. *Samājī*. The Turkish *samān* means *hay*, so that *Samānjī* or *Samānchī* would mean *one who looks after the hay*.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the *Maʾāṣir*, nor the *Ṭabaqāt*. Nor have I come across his name in the *Akbarnāma*. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samānjī Khān will be found below, No. 147.

101. **Tardī Khān**, son of Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 367. The *Ṭabaqāt* says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt).[1]

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[1] Tardī Khān is also mentioned in Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, p. 19, l. 15. But this is a mistake. It should be *Tar Khān*, not *Tardī Khān*. The word *toqnāī*, *l.c.*, also is a mistake, and should be *Toqbāī*. Pages 18, 19, of the *Tuzuk* treat of Akbar's forced march to Patan in Gujrāt (*vide* p. 343, note, and p. 445). The *Maʾāṣir* (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, *b*.) mentions the 4th Rabīʿ I, as the day when Akbar left Āgra; but from the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, III, 18 ff.) it is clear that Akbar left Āgra on the 24th Rabīʿ II, 981, and engaged the enemies on the 9th day after his

102. **Mihtar Khān,** Anīs[u] 'd-Dīn, a servant of Humāyūn.

The word *mihtar,* prop. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humāyūn's servants. Thus in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I, p. 269—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, etc., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khān was the title of Anīs[u] 'd-Dīn. He was Humāyūn's treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantanbhūr had been conquered (*vide* No. 96), the fort was put in his charge. In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984) he accompanied Mān Singh on his expedition against Rānā Partāb of Maiwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the *Chandāwul* (rear). In the 25th year he held a *jāgīr* in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Maʿṣūm Khān Farankhūdī (No. 157).

Anīs was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar's death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the *Ṭabaqāt,* he was in 1001 a Commander of 2,500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the *Maʿāṣir* correctly, he was a Kātī, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Mūnis Khān, his son, was during the reign of Jahāngīr a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. *Abū Ṭālib,* son of Mūnis Khān, was employed as treasurer (*Khizānchī*) of the Ṣūba of Bengal.

103. **Rāy Durgā** Sīsodia.

Rāy Durgā is generally called in the *Akbarnāma,* Rāy Durgā Chandrāwat, (چندراوت). The home of the family was the Pargana of Rāmpūr, also called Islāmpūr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar's reign Rāy Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul. In the 28th year he was attached to Mīrzā Khān's (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrāt war. In the 30th year he was with M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 36th year he followed Prince Murād to Mālwa, and later to the Dakhin.

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā. He then accompanied Abū 'l-Fazl to Nāsik, and went afterwards home on

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departure, i.e. on the 5th Jumāda I, 981. Hence the date 5th Jumāda I, 980, which Sayyid Aḥmad gives, *Tuzuk*, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumāda I, 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of Akbar's reign, and the correction of the MSS. is a truly herculean labour, which the want of critical acumen on the part of the editors of our printed historical editions has very much increased. *Vide* No. 104.

leave. He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission.

He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign.

According to the *Tuzuk* (p. 63) he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahāngīr says, he had at first been in the service of Rānā Ūdai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of Commander of Four Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The *Maʾāṣir* continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.

Genealogy of the Rā,os of Rāmpūr (Islāmpūr), Chitor.

5. (a) Rā,o Rūp Singh [died childless] — 6. (b) Rā,o Amr Singh (Awrangzīb)

7. Rā,o Muhkam Singh

8. Rā,o Gopāl Singh

9. Rā,o Ratan Singh

Rā,o Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of ***Muslim Khān*** (Awrangzīb-Jahāndār Shāh).

104. **Mādhū Singh,** son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353). In the beginning of the 21st year (Muḥarram, 984) he served under Mān Singh against Rānā Kīkā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st Rabīʿ I, 984).[2] In the 30th year he accompanied Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7)

[1] There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus in the *Pādishāhnāma*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, I, b. 305, he is called *Mathī Singh*; but *Hattī Singh* in the same work, Vol. II, p. 730, and *Hathī*, on p. 374.

[2] It was said above, p. 361, note 2, that the battle of Goganda was fought in 985. This is the statement of the *Ṭabaqāt*, which the *Maʾāṣir* follows in its biographical note of Rāja Mān Singh. But from the *Akbarnāma* and the History of Badā,onī, who was present in the battle, and brought Akbar Mān Singh's report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on the 2nd Muḥarram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rabī I, of the same year.

It has been remarked above (p. 383, note 1) that the chronology of the *Ṭabaqāt* is erroneous. Badā,onī ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days, and a confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The *Akbarnāma* is the only source for a history of Akbar's reign, and the *Sawāniḥ* should be the guide of Historians.

on his expedition to Kashmīr. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Ḥāmid (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rāja Bhagwān from Thāna Langar, where he was stationed, to ʿAlī Masjid, where Mān Singh was.

In the 48th year he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000.

His son, *Chatr Sāl*, or *Satr Sāl*, was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhīm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahān's reign. His third son, *Ugar* Sen, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (*vide* Pādishāhn, I, p. 294; I, b., pp. 305, 314).

105. **Sayyid Qāsim**, and 143. **Sayyid Hāshim**, sons of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān of Bārha, Kūndlīwāl (No. 75).

In the 17th year S. Qāsim served under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who after his defeat by M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhin.

S. Hāshim served, in the 21st year, with Rāy Rāy Singh (No. 44) against Sulṭān De,ora, ruler of Sarohī, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) against the Rānā. In the 25th year, when Chandr. Sen., son of Māldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had *jāgīrs* in Ajmīr, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the *harāwal* of Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) in the Gujrāt war.

S. Hāshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Aḥmadābād. S. Qāsim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thānadār of Patan. When Mīrzā Khān went to Court, leaving Qulij Khān as Governor of Aḥmadābād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muẓaffar, Jām (zamīndār of Little Kachh), and Khangār (zamīndār of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mīrzā Khān, Khān-i Aʿẓam (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrāt. Qāsim continued to serve in Gujrāt, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sulṭān Murād's Dakhin corps.

Qāsim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1,500.

Regarding their sons, *vide* p. 427.

XII. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. **Rāy Sāl Darbārī**, Shaykhāwat.

He is also called Rāja Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Sojā, son of Rāy Rāy Mal Shaykhāwat, in whose service Ḥasan Khān Sūr (father of Sher Shāh) was for some time.

As remarked above (No. 23), the Kachhwāhas are divided into Rājāwats and Shaykhāwats. To the latter branch belong Rāja Lō Karan, Rāy Sāl, etc.; the former contains Mān Singh's posterity (the present rulers of Jaipūr).

The term *Shaikhāwat*, or *Shekhāwat*, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muḥammadan Shaykh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaykh*.[1] Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhāwat Branch.

Rāy Sāl was employed at Court, as his title of *Darbārī* indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahāngīr, he was promoted, and served in the Dakhin. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Rāy Sāl was in the Dakhin, Mādhū Singh and other grandchildren of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Rāy Sāl's paternal possessions.[2] But Mathurā Dās, a Bengalī, who was Rāy Sāl's Munshī and Vakīl, recovered a portion of his master's lands.

After Rāy Sāl's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamīndārs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rāja Girdhar, Rāy Sāl's son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that Rāy Sāl entered early Akbar's service; for he was present in the battle of Khayārbād (p. 414) in the fight at Sarnāl (*vide* 27), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458, note).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I. b., p. 314) mentions another son of Rāy Sāl's, Bhoj Rāj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Rāy Sāl, was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. Abū 'l-Faẓl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This *manṣab* is unusual, and Rāy Sāl stands alone in this class. It does not

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[1] He is the same as the *Shaykhjī* of Jaipūr genealogies. Shaykhjī is said to have been a grandson of Udaikaran, twelfth descendant of Dholā Rāy (p. 348).

[2] Called in the *Maʾāṣir* کہندار, Khandār or Ghandār, "near Amber." Tod mentions a Khandhar near Amber. *Vide* Geogr. Index, Khandār.

occur in the lists of Grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma*. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Manṣab after the *Hazārī* was the *Hazār o pānṣadī*, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.

107. **Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān**, son of Mīr Khalīfa.

This grandee must not be confounded with *Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahṭāsī* (p. 466).

Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān is the son of Mīr Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Khalīfa, the "pillar of Bābar's government". He had no faith in Humāyūn, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdī Khwāja, Bābar's son-in-law. Mahdī, a short time before Bābar's death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mīr Khalīfa happened to be in Mahdī's tent; and when he left, Mahdī, thinking himself alone, put his hand to his beard, and exclaimed, "Thou shalt by and by follow me." He had scarcely uttered these words, when he observed Muqīm-i Harawī [1] in the corner of the tent. Muqīm reported these words to Mīr Khalīfa, and upbraided him for giving Mahdī his support. Mīr Khalīfa thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdī, and raised, on Bābar's death, Humāyūn to the throne.

His son Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān distinguished himself under Bābar and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāhīd Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka. Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Bābar. Bābar had fallen into the hands of ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that *he* was Bābar. He was cut to pieces. and Bābar escaped. In 975, Nāhīd Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Ḥājī Begam (daughter of Mīrzā Muqīm, son of Mīrzī Ẕū 'l-Nūn). After Qāsim Koka's death, Ḥājī Begam married Mīrzā Ḥasan, and after him, Mīrzā ʿĪsa Tarkhān, king of Sindh (p. 390). Before Nāhīd Begam reached Thatha Mīrzā ʿĪsa died. His successor, Mīrzā Bāqī, ill-treated Ḥājī Begam and her daughter. Ḥājī Begam therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. Bāqī's person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Ḥājī Begam was put into prison. Nāhīd Begam escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muḥibb ʿAlī to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack Thatha. Nāhīd Begam did so on coming to Court, and Akbar,

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[1] Father of the Historian Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Muqīm was then *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt*.

in the 16th year (978), called for Muḥibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muḥibb set out, accompanied by *Mujāhid Khān*, a son of his daughter. Saʿīd Khān (No. 25), Governor of Multān, had also received orders to assist Muḥibb; but at Sulṭān Maḥmūd's request, Muḥibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmīr, and not from Bhakkar. Muḥibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sulṭān Maḥmūd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Maḥmūd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Māthīla (ماتهيله). Muḥibb attacked them, dispersed them, and took soon after the fort itself. He then fitted out a larger corps, and moved to Bhakkar, where he again defeated Maḥmūd. The consequence of this victory was that Mubārak Khān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd's *vazīr*, left his master and went with 1,500 horse over to Muḥibb. But as Mubārak's son, Beg Oghlū, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Muḥibb wished to kill Beg Oghlū. Mubārak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muḥibb's power. Muḥibb therefore killed Mubārak, and used the money which fell into his hands to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar.

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair. The swelling which is peculiar to the district decimated the people; and the bark of the *Sirs* tree (p. 238), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sulṭān Maḥmūd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salīm, if Muḥibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Maḥmūd) to Court; for he said, he could not trust Muḥibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mīr Gesū, Bakāwal-begī, to Bhakkar.[1] Before Mīr Gesū arrived, Sulṭān Maḥmūd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mujāhid Khān just besieged Fort Ganjāba,[2] and his mother Sāmiʿa Begam (Muḥibb's daughter), who felt offended at Akbar's proceedings, dispatched a few ships against Mīr Gesū, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqīm-i Harawī also arrived and dissuaded Muḥibb from hostilities against Mīr Gesū.

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[1] The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the *Tārīkh-i Maʿṣūmī* (*vide* No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot's History of India (I, p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abū 'l-Fazl's account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson's Mīr Kisū, we have to read *Mīr Gesū*. His biography is given in the *Maʾāṣir*.

[2] Generally called *Ganjāwa*.

The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muḥibb nor Mujāhid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muḥibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mīr Gesū, according to which Mujāhid should be allowed to go to Thatha, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Loharī. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mīr Gesū dispatched a flotilla after Mujāhid. Muḥibb upon this withdrew to Māthīla. Sāmiʿa Begam fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesū's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one night. Next day, Mujāhid arrived by forced marches, defeated the enemy,[1] and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muḥammad Tarsō Khān (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muḥibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muḥibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of *Mīr ʿArẓ*. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of *Mīr ʿArẓ*, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihlī. Muḥibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihlī in 989.

Muḥibb is placed in the *Ṭabaqāt* among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū 'l-Faẓl says that it is called in old books *Manṣūra*. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Loharī, and near it is the Indus.

Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After Shāh Ḥusayn's death, Sulṭān Maḥmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mīrzā ʿIsā Tarkhān (p. 390) at Thatha. Both were often at war with each other. Sulṭān Maḥmūd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha, it was attached to the Ṣūba of Multān.

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[1] If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 241), the *Tārīkh-i Maʿṣūmī* would contradict the *Akbarnāma*. Mujāhid Khān is again mentioned, *l.c.*, p. 282.

[Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī.]

Like Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfa, Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī is put in the *Ṭabaqāt* among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abū 'l-Faẓl had not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the *Akbarnāma* and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtās in S. Bihār, he is generally called *Rahtāsī*. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Shāh. During his reign, as also that of Salīm Shāh, Fatḥ Khān Baṭnī commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaymān and Junayd-i Karrarānī. The latter appointed Sayyid Muḥammad commander. As related above (p. 437), he handed it over to Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatī and his son Srī Rām (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān governor of Rahtās, and Shāhbāz Khān made over the Fort to him.

Muḥibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān (*vide* No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yūsuf Miṭṭī, who had collected a band of Afghāns and ravaged S. Bihār. His death affected his father so much that he became temporarily insane.

In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Ṣūba, Muḥibb was ordered to join Vazīr Khān (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year Bihār was given to the Kachhwāhas as *jāgīr*, and Akbar called Muḥibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multān. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmīr (997), Muḥibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmīr, Muḥibb fell ill, and died, on the emperor's return, near the *Koh-i Sulaymān*. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 245) a place *Muḥibb ʿAlīpūr* [1] is mentioned which Muḥibb founded near Rahtās.

108. **Sulṭān Khwāja**, ʿAbd[u] 'l-ʿAẓīm, son of Khwāja Khāwand Dost.

He is also called Sulṭān Khwāja *Naqshbandī*.[2] His father Khāwand Dost was a pupil of Khwāja ʿAbd[u] 'sh-Shahīd, fifth son of Khwāja

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[1] Not given on the maps.
[2] *Naqshband* was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahā[u] 'd-Dīn of Bukhārā, born 728, died 3rd Rabīʿ I, 791. He was called *naqshband*, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave *kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*).

ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh (generally called Khwājagān Khwāja; *vide* No. 17), son of the renowned saint Khwāja Nāṣirᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥrār (born 806, died 29th Rabiʿ I, 895).

When ʿAbdᵘ 'sh-Shahīd came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pargana Chamārī. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sulṭān Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in *taṣawwuf* (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor. In 984 he was made *Mīr Ḥajj*, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sulṭān Khwāja was to distribute six *lākhs* of rupees and 12,000 *khilʿats* to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year) he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed *Ṣadr* of the realm (p. 284). He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992). He was buried outside the Fort of Fatḥpūr, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dānyāl.

His son, Mīr Khwāja, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badā,onī and Abū 'l-Faẓl, Sulṭān Khwāja belonged to the elect of the " Divine Faith " (*vide* p. 214).

109. **Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh**, son of Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf.

His name is not given in the *Maʿāṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt*. The *Akbarnāma* mentions a Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'llah who served in the war against Abdᵘ 'llāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14), in Mālwah (971–2), during the last rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shaʿbān, 980; *vide* No. 27). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād. *Vide* the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma*, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

110. **Khwāja Jahān**, Amīnā of Hirāt.

His full name is Khwaja Amīnᵘ 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt. The form Amīnā is modern Īrānī, which likes to add a long ā to names.

Amīn was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humāyūn on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshī of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar's accession, Amīn was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of *Khwāja Jahān*. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year he was

accused by Muzaffar Khān (No. 37) of want of loyalty shown in the rebellion of Khān Zamān. Amīn was reprimanded, the great seal was taken from him, and he was dismissed to Makkah.

On his return, he was pardoned. In the 19th year (981–2) Akbar besieged Ḥājīpūr; but Amīn had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpūr. When the emperor returned from Ḥājīpūr over Jaunpūr to Āgra, Amīn followed him. On the march, he was once charged by a *mast* elephant; his foot got entangled in a tent rope, and he fell to the ground. The accident had an injurious effect on Amīn, convalescent as he was. He died near Lakhnau in the beginning of Shaʿbān, 982.

According to the chronology of the *Ṭabaqāt*, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amīn's brother is mentioned. His name was Mīrzā Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Shahrī*. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahāngīr also conferred the title of Khwāja Jahān on the officer (Dost Muḥammad of Kābul) who had served him as Bakhshī while Prince.

111. **Tātār Khān**, of Khurāsān.

His name is Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad. In the 8th year he accompanied Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52) and Rūmī Khān (No. 146), and pursued Mīr Shāh Abū 'l-Maʿālī, who withdrew from Ḥiṣār Fīrūza to Kābul.

He was then made governor of Dihlī, where he died in 986.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says he was for some time *Vazīr*, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullā Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn Tarkhān, *vide* Badā,onī, III, 199.

112. **Hakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ**, son of Mullā ʿAbd[u] r-Razzāq of Gīlān.

His name is Masīḥ[u] 'd-Dīn Abū 'l-Fatḥ. Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'r-Razzāq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of *Ṣādr* of Gīlān. When Gīlān, in 974, came into the possession of Tahmāsp, Aḥmad Khān, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and ʿAbd[u] 'r-Razzāq was tortured to death. Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ, with his distinguished brothers, Ḥakīm Humām (No. 205) and Ḥakīm Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn,[1] left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 184). They went to Court and were well received. Abū 'l-Fatḥ, in the 24th year, was made *Ṣadr* and *Amīn* of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military

[1] He is mentioned below among the poets of Akbar's reign. His *takhalluṣ* is "Qarārī". Their fourth brother, Hakīm Luṭf[u] 'llāh, came later from Īrān to India, and received through Abū'l-Fatḥ's influence a Command of Two Hundred (No 354). He did not live long.

revolt, he was captured with several other officers (*vide* Nos. 98 and 159); but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters and on the emperor himself. Though only a Commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a *Vakīl*.

As related above (p. 367), he accompanied Bīr Baṛ on the expedition against the Yūsufzā,īs in Sawād and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded; for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abū 'l-Fatḥ's insubordinate conduct towards Zayn Koka (No. 34).

In the 34th year (997) he went with the emperor to Kashmīr and from there to Zābulistān. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar's order, Khwāja Shams[u] d'-Dīn (No. 159) took his body to Ḥasan Abdāl, and buried him in a vault which the Khwāja had made for himself (*Tuzuk*, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abū 'l-Fatḥ's tomb.

The great poet ʿUrfī of Shīrāz (*vide* below, among the poets) is Abū 'l-Fatḥ's encomiast. Fayẓī also has composed a fine *marṣiya*, or elegy, on his death.

Abū 'l-Faẓl and Badā,onī speak of the vast attainments of Abū 'l-Fatḥ. A rare copy of his *Munshiyāt*[1] is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwarī diminutively *Anwariyak*; and of Khaqānī he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abū 'l-Faẓl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badā,onī, III, 167).

Badā,onī mentions Abū 'l-Fatḥ's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islām (p. 184).

Abū 'l-Fatḥ had a son, Fatḥ[u] 'llāh. He was killed by Jahāngīr, as he was an accomplice of Khusraw (*Tuzuk*, p. 58).

A grandson of Abū 'l-Fatḥ is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, p. 739). His name is Fatḥ Ziyā; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. **Shaykh Jamāl**, son of Muḥammad Bakhtyār.

His full name is Shaykh Jamāl Bakhtyār, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Bakhtyār. The Bakhtyār clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dihlī.

Shaykh Jamāl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's

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[1] His *Munshiyāt* contain interesting letters addressed by Abū 'l-Fatḥ to his brother Ḥakīm Humām, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), Khwāja Shams (No. 159) and others.

harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamāl's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rūp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, fell immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 25th year he accompanied Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyābat Khān. Niyābat Khān was the son of Mīr Hāshim of Nīshāpūr; his name was ʿArab. Before his rebellion he held Jhosī and Arail (Jalālābās) as jāgīr. In the fight which took place near "Kantit, a dependency of Panna," [1] Shaykh Jamāl was nearly killed, Niyābat Khān having pulled him from his horse.

In the 26th year he marched with Prince Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul.

Shaykh Jamāl drank a great deal of wine. One day he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamāl therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a *jogī*. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamāl was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned; but he continued his old vice, and brought *delirium tremens* on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zābulistān, Shaykh Jamāl had to remain sick in Lūdhiyāna. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamāl has been mentioned above on p. 200.

114. **Jaʿfar Khān**, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories *Jaʿfar Khān Taklū*, Taklū being the name of a Qizilbāsh tribe.

His grandfather, Muḥammad Khān Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Oghlū Taklū was at the time of Humāyūn's flight governor of Hirāt and *lalla* [2] to Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī. At the Shāh's order, he entertained Humāyūn in the most hospitable manner. When he died he was succeeded in office by his son Qazāq Khān. But Qazāq showed so little loyalty, that Ṭahmāsp, in 972, sent

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[1] The Bibl. Indica edition of *Badā,onī* (II, 289) says, the fight took place at *Gasht* (گشت), *a dependency of Patna* (پتنه), but this is a mistake of the editors. Sir H. Elliot (Beames' Glossary II, 166) has drawn attention to the frequent mistakes which MSS. make in the name of *Panna* (پنه), to which Kantit belonged. There is no doubt, that above, on p. 130, l. 2, and p. 129, note, we have likewise to read *Panna*, which was famous for its wild elephants.

[2] The word *lalla* is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the *Memoirs of Ṭahmāsp*, the ʿ*Ālamārā*, etc. I have never seen it used by Indian Historians. From the passages where it occurs, it is plain that it has the same meaning as *atālīq*, which so often occurs in Indian Histories, *vide* p. 383, note 3. [*Lala* a tutor.—P.]

Ma'ṣūm Beg-i Ṣafawī against him. Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirāt, he died. Ma'ṣūm seized all his property.

Ja'far thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān, and was made a *Khān* and a Commander of One Thousand. From *Badā,onī* (II, p. 161), we see that he had a *jāgīr* in the Panjāb, and served under Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkoṭ.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, Ja'far's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Ja'far had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. **Shāh Fanā'ī**, son of Mīr Najafī.

His name is not given in the *Ma'āṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt*. From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year; *vide* No. 120).

The poet *Fanā'ī* who is mentioned in *Badā,onī* (III, 296), the *Ṭabaqāt*, and the *Mir'āt'l 'Ālam*, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar conferred on him the title of *Khān*. He was a Chaghtā'ī Turk of noble descent. Once he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three C's—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz. conceit. For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty it was found that he had become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. **Asad'llāh Khān**, of Tabrīz.

His name is not given in the *Ma'āṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt*. An Asad'llāh Khān is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (end of the 12th year). He served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) and commanded the town of *Zamāniya* (p. 337, l. 14). After Khān Zamān's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. But Mun'im (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and quickly took possession of the town, so that the Afghāns under their leader, Khān Khānān Lodī, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghān's into contact with Mun'im; and as they found him a tractable man, a meeting was arranged, which took place in the neighbourhood of Patna. This meeting was of importance, inasmuch as Khān Khānān Lodī, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the *Khuṭba*, and to strike coins in

Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980.[1]

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another officer of a similar name, *Asad^u 'llāh Turkmān*. He was mentioned above under 61.

117. **Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān**, of Badakhshān.

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel ʿArab Bahādur. Shāhbāz Khān had sent Saʿādat to a Fort[2] near Rahtās, where he was surprised by ʿArab, defeated and slain. It is said that ʿArab drank some of his blood.

118. **Rūpsī Bairāgī**, brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

The *Maʾāṣir* says that Rūpsī was *the son* of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred.

Jaymal, Rūpsī's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23). He served some time under Sharaf^u 'd-Dīn (No. 17), jāgīrdār of Ajmīr, and was Thānadār of Mīrtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court. In the 17th year he served in the *manqalā* of Khān Kalān (*vide* No. 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458, note). In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Būndī (Muḥarram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died.

Jaymal's wife, a daughter of Moth Rāja (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile; but Ūdai Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a *Satī*. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnāth (No. 69) and Rāy Sāl (No. 106) got hold of Ūdai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rūpsī was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Māldeo) to put on Jaymal's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour Bhagwān Dās, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rūpsī's rudeness.

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[1] According to the *Akbarnāma*, *Badāonī*, and the *Ṭabaqāt*, Sulayman died in 980. In Prinsep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, etc., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The *Riyāẓ^u 's-Salāṭīn*, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ṭabaqāt*, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. *Vide note* 3, p. 179.

[2] The MSS. call the Fort کبست ,کسیت ,کہست, etc. It is said to be a dependency (*az muẓāfāt*) of Rohtās

119. **IՙtimĀd Khān, Khwājasarā.**

He has been mentioned above, p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ՙAdl (*vide* No. 140) had died.

Maqṣūd ՙAlī, who killed Iՙtimād, is said to have been blind in one eye. When he explained to Iՙtimād his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that someone should put urine into his blind eye. Maqṣūd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, Iՙtimād was murdered by Maqṣūd, whilst getting up from bed.

Iՙtimād built *Iՙtimādpūr*, 6 *kos* from Āgra. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.[1]

120. **Bāz Bahādur**, son of Shajāwal Khān [Sūr].

Abū 'l-Faẓl says below (Third Book, Ṣūba of Mālwa) that his real name was *Bāyazīd*.

Bāz Bahādūr's father was Shujāՙat Khān Sūr, who is generally called in histories *Shajāwal*, or *Sajāwal*, *Khān*. The large town Shajāwalpūr, or Sajāwalpūr, in Mālwa bears his name;[2] its original name, *Shujāՙatpūr*, which Abū 'l-Faẓl gives below under Sarkār Sārangpūr, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Shāh took Mālwa from Mallū (Qādir Khān), Shujāՙat Khān was in Sher Shāh's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salīm's reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Mālwa. Salīm dispatched a corps after him, and Shujāՙat fled to the Rāja of Dūngarpūr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salīm, and remained with him, Mālwa being divided among the courtiers. Under ՙAdlī, he was again appointed to Mālwa. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Bāz Bahādur succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Mālwa. His expedition to Gaḍhā was not successful, Rānī Dūrgāwatī (p. 397) having repulsed him. He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury: his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindūstān, especially the beautiful *Rūpmatī*, who is even nowadays remembered.

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[1] The trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of *Iՙtimādpūr Mandra* about 9 miles E. of Āgra, in the Pargana of Fatḥābād, near Samūgar, where Awrangzīb defeated Dārā Shikoh.

[2] A few MSS. have *Shujāՙ Khān* for *Shujāՙat Khān*, just as one MS. read *Shujāՙpūr* for *Shujāՙatpūr*. Elphinstone also has *Shujāՙ* (p. 501, note 1). The word "Shujāՙat" should be spelled "Shajāՙat", whilst شجاع is pronounced *Shujā*; but the former also is pronounced with a *u* over all India.

In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign Adham Koka (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Mālwa. Pīr Muḥammad Khān (No. 20) ʿAbdu ʼ-llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14), Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qandahār (No. 95) and his son ʿĀdil Khān (No. 125), Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān (No. 133), Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān (No. 66), Muḥammad Qulī Toqbāʾī (No. 129), Qiyā Khān (No. 184), Mīrak Bahādur (No. 208), Samānjī Khān (No. 147), Pāyanda Muḥammad Mughul (No. 68), Mihr ʿAlī Sildoz (No. 130), Shāh Fanāʾī (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Bāz Bahādur three *kos* from Sārangpūr and defeated him (middle of 968).[1] Bāz Bahādur fled to the jungles on the Khāndesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pīr Muḥammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mīrān Shāh of Khāndesh, who assisted him with troops. Pīr Muḥammad in the meantime conquered Bījāgaḍh, threw himself suddenly upon Burhānpūr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pīr Muḥammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbadā. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jāgīrdārs left for Āgra, so that Bāz Bahādur without opposition re-occupied Mālwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent ʿAbdu ʼ-llah Khān Uzbak to Mālwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharjī, Zamīndār of Baglāna, and tried to obtain assistance from Chingiz Khān and Sher Khān of Gujrāt, and lastly even from the Niẓāmu ʼl-Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Rānā Udai Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar's generosity; for in the 15th year Akbar ordered Ḥasan Khān Khizānchi[2] to conduct Bāz Bahādur to Court. He now entered the emperor's service, and was made on his arrival a commander of One Thousand. Some time later, he was promoted to a *manṣab* of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bāz Bahādur and his Rūpmatī lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. *Vide* No. 188.

121. **Ūdai Singh, Moth Rāja,** son of Rāy Māldeo.

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpūr.

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[1] The 6th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 24th Jumāda II, 968, and the battle of Sārangpūr took place in the very beginning of the 6th year.

[2] This officer was often employed on missions. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was sent to Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orīsā.

In 981 he was at Kambhāʾit, which he left on the approach of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, and withdrew to Aḥmadābād to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

* Akbar, in 994, married Údai Singh's daughter to Jahāngīr. On p. 8 of the *Tuzuk*, Jahāngīr says that her name was *Jagat Gosā*ʾ*inī*. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān); *vide* p. 323, *l.* 18.

Mīrzā Hādī in his preface to Jahāngīr's Memoirs (the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī) has the following remark (p. 6): "Rāja Udai Sing is the son of Rāja Māldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Rānā Sānkā, who fought with Firdaws-makānī (Bābar) possessed much power, Māldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious."

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Moth Rāja accompanied in the 22nd year Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), Rāja Askaran, and Ulugh Khān Ḥabshī (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabīʿ I, 985). In the 28th year he served in the Gujrāt war with Muẓaffar (*Akbarnāma*, III, 422).

Another daughter of Moth Rāja was married to Jaymal, son of Rūpsī (No. 118).

122. **Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr**, of Shīrāz.

Manṣūr was at first *mushrif* (accountant) of the *Khushbū-Khāna* (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) induced Sh. Manṣūr to go to Jaunpūr, where Khān Zamān made him his *Dīwān*. Subsequently he served Munʿim Khān Khānān in the same capacity. After Munʿim's death he worked for a short time with Todar Mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor *Vazīr*. He worked up all arrears, and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue. The custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of the tax; but this method was now found inconvenient, because the empire had become greater; for at different places the assessment differed, and people and soldiers suffered losses. For this reason, the Khwāja in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding *Dahsāla* roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself, which did not then include Orīsā, Thathah, Kashmīr, and the Dakhin, was divided into 12 parts, called *Sūbas*; and to each ṣūba a *sipahsālār* (Military Governor), a *Dīwān*, a *Bakhshī* (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a *Mīr ʿAdl*, a *Sadr*, a *Kotwāl*, a *Mīr Bahr*, and a *Wāqiʿa Nawīs* (p. 268) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwāja displayed towards jāgīr-holders led to serious results. In the 25th year he lowered the value of the jāgīrs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihār by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihār were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghāns still mustered large forces

in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Oṛīsā, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Manṣūr's rigour was impolitic; for Akbar's officers looked upon the old jāgīr emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghāns. Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both provinces, and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 *per cent* the emoluments of those in Bihār. This Manṣūr cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihār officers an increase of only 20 *per cent*. He then wrote to Muẓaffar to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Suyurghāl tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jāgīr-holders in Jaunpūr, Bihār, and Bengal rebelled. That religious excitement was one of the causes of this military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal, is best seen from the fact that not a single Hindū was on the side of the rebels.[1] Toḍar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Manṣūr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Maʿṣūm Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) and Muḥammad Tarsō (No. 32). Akbar deposed Manṣūr and appointed temporarily Shāh Qulī Maḥram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Manṣūr's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, at Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī's instigation, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Manṣūr's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mīrzā M. Ḥakīm's Munshī, addressed to Manṣūr. Accidentally Malik Ṣānī Ḥakīm's Dīwān, who had the title of *Vazīr Khān*, left his master, and paid his

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[1] The chief rebel was Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 198, 365, 377, 438, etc.). He was a *Turbatī* Sayyid (*vide* p. 373, No. 37). His uncle, Mīrzā ʿAzīz, had been Vazīr under Humāyūn, and Maʿṣūm himself was the foster-brother (*koka*) of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī (p. 339) who had married the widow of Mīr Shāh Abu 'l-Maʿālī, Maʿṣūm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghāns, and was wounded in a fight with Kālā Pahāṛ. For his bravery he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Oṛīsā as *tuyūl*, when Manṣūr and Muẓaffar's strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him *Maʿṣūm Khān-i ʿĀṣī*, "Maʿṣūm Khān, the rebel". His fights with Muzaffar and Shāhbāz have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to *Bhāṭī* (p. 365, note), where he died in the 44th year (1007).

His son *Shujāʿ-i Kābulī* was under Jahāngīr Thānadār of Ghaznīn, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Shāhjahān, who bestowed upon him the title of *Asad Khān*. He died in the 12th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His son, *Qubād*, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the *Pādishāhnāma*, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shujā's name twice, I, *b*. 304, and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong. [Regarding his death *vide* Akbarn. III, 810.—B.]

respects to Akbar at Sonpaṭ. As he put up with Manṣūr, new suspicions got afloat. Several words which Manṣūr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M. M. Ḥakīm were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Farīdūn Khān (maternal uncle to M. M. Ḥakīm) had presented the Beg to the Mīrzā. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Manṣūr ; he should remain in arrest till any of the grandees should stand bail for him ; but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Rāy (p. 262) to hang Manṣūr on a tree near Sarā Koṭ Khachwa (beginning of 989).[1]

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when Akbar came to Kābul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Manṣūr's treasonable correspondence. It was then found, to the sorrow of Akbar, that every letter which had been shown to him had been a forgery, and that Manṣūr was not guilty of even one of the malicious charges preferred against him.

It is said, though at the time it was perhaps not proved, that Karam^u 'llah, brother of Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū (p. 410, l. 23), had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rāja Todar Mal

Manṣūr had been Vazīr for four years.

123. **Qutlugh Qadam Khān**, Ākhta-begī.[2]

The Turkish word *qutlugh* means *mubārak*, and *qadam-i mubārak*, is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet. The *Tabaqāt* calls him *Qutlū*, instead of *Qutlugh*, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 383.

Qutlugh Qadam Khān was at first in the service of Mīrzā Kāmrān, and then went over to Humāyūn.

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam, and served in the same year in Mālwa against ʿAbd^u 'llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the battle of Khayrābād he held a command in the van.

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[1] So the *Akbarnāma* سراي كوت كهچوه. Koṭ Khachwa is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiyāna, Lat. 30° 17′ ; Long 76° 53 In the Ed. Bibl. India of Badā,onī (II, pp. 293, 294) the place is called كجه كوت *kajh koṭ*, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called *Musharraf Beg*, and a few lines lower, again *Sharaf Beg*. Badā,onī says nothing of Todar Mal's intrigues. Manṣūr was hanged in the very beginning of 989, i.e. the end of the 25th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 5th Ṣafar 989 (the Lucknow Edition III, 325, has wrongly 990) ; and the 27th year commences 15th Ṣafar 990, which in the Bibl. Indica Edit. of Badā,onī (II, p. 300, l. 2 from below) is wrongly called the 28th year.

[2] *Ākhta* means " a gelding , and *ākhta-begī*, the officer in charge of the geldings (*vide* No. 66). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title *Ātbegī*, from the Turkish *at*, a horse ; *vide* p. 145, Āʾīn 53.

In the 19th year, he was attached to Munʿim's Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroī (p. 406). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khān, served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatābād.

124. ʿ**Alī Qulī Khān**, Indarābī.

Indarāb is a town of Southern Qunduz. A straight line drawn from Kābul northwards to Tālīkhān passes nearly through it.

ʿAlī Qulī had risen under Humāyūn. When the Emperor left Kābul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayrām's rebellion, he appointed ʿAlī Qulī governor of Kābul. Later, he went with Humāyūn to India.

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the war with Hemū, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Sūr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atga Khān (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bayrâm was defeated.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. ʿ**Ādil Khān**, son of Shāh Muḥammad-i Qalātī (No. 95).

He served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Mālwa, and took a part in the pursuit of ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Khān Uzbak. Later, he assisted Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chītor (p. 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramaẓān, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmīr and Alwar. ʿĀdil, who was at that time *muʿtāb, i.e.*, under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbārs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when ʿĀdil rushed forward and engaged the tiger, putting his left hand into its mouth, and stabbing, with the dagger in his right, at the animal's face. The tiger got hold of both hands of his opponent, when others came up and killed the brute with swords. In the struggle ʿĀdil received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abū 'l-Faẓl says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (*taʿalluq-i khāṭir*) with the wife of his father's Dīwān; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and ʿĀdil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyām Khān, brother of ʿĀdil Khān. Jahāngīr made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as *Qarāwalbegī* (officer in charge of the drivers).

126. **Khwāja Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn** [ʿAlī Khān, Āṣaf Khān II] of Qazwīn. He is not to be confounded with Mīr Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Khān (No. 161). For his genealogy, *vide* p. 398. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaykh Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn Suhrawardī,[1] a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalīfa.

Khwāja Ghiyās was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a *Bakhshī* by Akbar In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrātī war, and received the title of *Āṣaf Khān*. He was also made Bakhshī of Gujrāt, and served as such under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amīr's to Īdar, "to clear this dependency of Gujrāt of the rubbish of rebellion." The expedition was directed against Zamīndār Narāʾin Dās Rāṭhor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm-i Naqshbandī, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Āṣaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwa and Gujrāt, to arrange with Shihāb Khān (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the *Dāgh* (pp. 252, 265).

He died in Gujrāt in 989.

Mīrzā Nūru 'd-Dīn, his son After the capture of Khusraw (p. 455) Jahāngīr made Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98), Nūru 'd-Dīn s uncle, responsible for his safety. Nūru 'd-Dīn, who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of Iʿtibār Khān, one of Jahāngīr's eunuchs, and Nūru 'd-Dīn had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahāngīr on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwāja Waisī, Dīwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nūru 'd-Dīn and Muḥammad Sharīf, son of Iʿtimādu 'd-Dawla, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list of names was also brought up; but Jahāngīr, at the request of Khān Jahān Lodī, threw it into the fire without having read it; "else many others would have been killed.'

[1] Author of the *ʿAwārifu 'l Maʿārif* He died at Baghdād in 632. His uncle ʿAbdu 'l-Najīb (died 563) was also a famous saint. Wustenfeld's Jacut, III, p. 203. *Nafḥātu 'l-Uns*, pp. 478, 544. *Safīnatu 'l-Aṣfiyā* (Lahore Edition), pp. 631, 683.

127. **Farrukh Ḥusayn Khān**, son of Qāsim Ḥusayn Khān. His father was an Uzbak of Khwārazm; his mother was a sister of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

The *Maʾāṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt* say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, p. 335).

128. **Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn [Aḥmad] Khān-i Farankhūdī.**[1]

Muʿīn joined Humāyūn's army when the Emperor left Kābul for Hindūstān. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Āgra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Mālwa, Muʿīn was made a Khān. After the conquest, he divided the province into *khāliṣa* and jāgīr lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Muʿīn was attached to Munʿim's Bihār corps. He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroī, and died of fever at Gaur (*vide* p. 407).

The *Ṭabaqāt* merely says of him that he had been for some time *Mīr Sāmān*.

For his son, *vide* No. 157.

Badā,onī (III, p. 157) mentions a Jāmiʿ Masjid built by Muʿīn at Āgra.

129. **Muḥammad Qulī Toqbā.**

Toqbāʾī is the name of a Chaghtāʾī clan.

Muḥammad Qulī served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in the conquest of Mālwa (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mīrzā Sharafu 'd-Dīn (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980) he served in the *manqalā* of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).[2] In the 20th

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[1] Many MSS. have *Faranjūdī*. The *Muʿjam* mentions a place فرنکد, *Farankad*, which is said to be near Samarqand.

[2] Akbar left Fatḥpūr Sīkrī for Gujrāt, in the 20th Ṣafar 980 (17th year), passed over Sangānīr (8 miles south of Jaipūr), and arrived on the 15th Rabīʿ I, at Ajmīr. On the 2nd Rabīʿ II, 980, he ordered the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) to march in advance (*manqalā*), and left Ajmīr on the 22nd Rabīʿ II. Shortly before his arrival at Nāgor on the 9th Jumāda I, Akbar heard that Prince Dānyāl had been born at Ajmīr on the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Aḥmadābād on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Shaʿbān, 980, the fight at Sarnāl took place with Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā. On the 25th Shaʿbān, Akbar reached Baroda, and arrived at Sūrat on the 7th Ramaẓān, 980. On the 18th Ramaẓān, 980, Mīrzā ʿAzīz defeated Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and the Fūlādīs at Patan. Sūrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwāl.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dānyāl's birth. The *Tuzuk* (Sayyid Aḥmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumāda I, 979, which has been given above on p. 309. *Badā,onī* (II, p. 139) has the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. The *Akbarnāma* has the 2nd Jumāda I, and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the *Sawāniḥ* also place the event in 980, but say that Dānyāl was born on the 2nd Jumāda I, 979.

On the 6th Ẕī Qaʿda, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the ʿĪd-i Qurbān (10th Ẕī Ḥijjah, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Jālor to Āgra, which he reached on the 2nd Ṣafar, 981. After this, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā invaded Gujrāt, and took Bahronch and Kambhā,it, but was defeated by Qulij Khān and S. Ḥāmid (No. 78).

year, he was attached to Mun'im's corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroī, and the pursuit of the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p. 375).

130. Mihr 'Alī Khān Sildoz.

Sildoz is the name of a Chaghtā'ī clan. According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was at first in Bayrâm's service. In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanādh (Chunār) which Jamāl Khān, the Afghān Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (*vide* Badā,onī II, 32). Akbar offered him five parganas near Jaunpūr, but Jamāl did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 'Alī with vain promises. Mihr 'Alī at last left suddenly for Āgra.

On his journey to Chanādh, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badā,onī, then a young man, to whom he had given lodging in his house at Āgra. On his return from the Fort, Badā,onī nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Badā,onī calls him Mihr 'Alī *Beg*, and says that he was later made a Khān and Governor of Chitor.

He served under Adham Khān (No. 10) in Mālwa, and in the Gujrāt wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hiṣar, and honoured him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakīna Bānū Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kābul to advise his brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mal against the rebel 'Arab.

The *Tabaqāt* makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwāja Ibrāhīm-i Badakhshī.

He is not mentioned in the *Ma'āṣir* and the *Tabaqāt*. From the *Akbarnāma* (II, p. 207) we see that he was Jāgīrdār of Sakit (in the Mainpūrī District). Near this town there were eight villages inhabited by robbers. In consequence of numerous complaints, Akbar resolved to surprise the dacoits. A great number were killed, and about one thousand of them were burnt in dwellings in which they had fortified themselves. Akbar exposed himself to great dangers; no less than seven

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Ikhtiyāru 'l-Mulk also appeared and marched upon Aḥmadābād. Muhammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā joined him. Both besieged Ahmadābād. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrāt. This is the famous nine days' march (24th Rabī' II, 981, to 4th Jumāda I, 981): *vide* p. 458, note. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ikhtiyār was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, *after an absence of forty-three days*, at Fathpūr Sīkrī, 8th Jumāda II, 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 406, l. 24) that the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma* is not a trustworthy edition. An extraordinary error occurs in the events of the Fith year. The editors have divided the work into *three*, instead of *two* parts—the Ā'īn-i Akbarī, is the third part—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dāniyāl (2nd Jumāda I, 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zī Qa'da, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between those two days, *viz.*, the conquest of Gujrāt and the first defeat of the Mīrzās.

arrows struck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot in a grain pit, which threw the officer who was seated behind him with much force upon him. The fight chiefly took place in a village called in the MSS. برونکه or پرونکه.[1]

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Awba (near Hirāt) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the Āʾīn. He was the maternal uncle of Niẓām[u] 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. He conquered Kamā,on and the Dāman-i Koh.

132. **Salīm Khān Kākar.**[2]

Several MSS. of the Āʿīn call him *Salīm Khān Kākar ʿAlī.* The *Akbarnāma* calls him *Salīm Khān Kākar,* or merely Salīm Khān, or *Salīm Khān Sirmūr.* The *Ṭabaqāt* has *Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afghān.*

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Mālwa, and later under Muʿizz[u] 'l-Mulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarnāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jāgīrdar of Tājpūr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) to Bhāṭī. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazīr Khān having gone to the frontier of Oṛīsā, Jabārī (*vide* p. 400, note 2) made an inroad from Kūch Bihār into Ghorāghāt, and took Tājpūr from Salīm's men, and Pūrni,a from the relations of Tarsō Khān (No. 32). Jabārī moved as far as Ṭānḍa. The Kotwāl, Ḥasan ʿAlī, was sick, and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Ṣadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaykh Farīd arrived, and Jabārī withdrew to Tājpūr. In the 32nd year, Salīm served under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against the Tārīkīs, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Ṣadīq Khān against the same Afghān rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. **Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān.**

He is not to be confounded with the Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān mentioned on p. 466.

Ḥabīb was at first in the service of Bayrām Khān. In the third year when Akbar had marched to Āgra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghāns, and Salīm Shāh had appointed Jhujhār Khān governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Rāy Surjan (No. 96), who was then in the service of Rāna Ūdai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege.

[[1] Parōkh, nineteen *kos* south of Siyālkoṭ.—B.]
[[2] Should be *Ormaṛ*.—B.]

Abū 'l-Faẓl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bayrām's fall produced.

In the 6th year (968) he served under Adham (No. 19), in Mālwa. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he died in 970.

134. **Jagmāl**, younger brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmāl was mentioned on p. 348. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Aḥmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp.

His son Kangār. He generally lived with his uncle Rāja Bihārī Mal at Court. When Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rāja to go to Dihlī. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition against Rānā Partāb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80). When Shahbāz returned unsuccessfully from Bhātī (p. 438) Kangār, Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān (No. 189), Rāja Gopāl Mīrzāda ʿAlī (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels, and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed Nawrūz Beg Qāqshāl, the leader. They then joined Shāhbāz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Mūrcha.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135 **Ulugh Khān Ḥabshī**, formerly a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian *Khān-i Kalān* (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. The word *Ḥabshī*, for which MSS. often have *Badakhshī*, implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch. In the 17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Aḥmadābād, he was one of the first Gujrātī nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Ṣādiq (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar Bundela, Zamindār of Ūndcha In the 24th year, he followed Ṣādiq who had been ordered to assist Rāja Todar Mal on his expedition against the rebel ʿArab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabīta (p. 383, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

136. **Maqṣūd ʿAlī Kor.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Maqṣūd was at first in Bayrām Khān's service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the *Akbarnāma* (II, 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest of Gwāliyār.

137. **Qabūl Khān.**

From the *Akbarnāma* (II, p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qabūl Khān had conquered the District of Bhimbar on the Kashmīr frontier. One of the Zamīndārs of the District, named Jalāl, made his submission, and obtained by flattery a great power over Qabūl, who is said to have been a good-hearted Turk. Jalāl not only managed on various pretexts to send away Qabūl's troops, but also his son Yādgār Ḥusayn (No. 338), to Nawshahra. The Zamīndārs of the latter place opposed Yādgār, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yādgār managed to escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamīndār. About the same time Jalāl collected his men and fell over Qabūl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Ramaẓān, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jahān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamīndārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yādgār Ḥusayn recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served in the Afghān war in Bengal under Munʿim Khān Khānān. He was present in the battle of Takaro,ī and pursued the Afghāns under Toḍar Mal to Bhadrak (p. 406).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Maʾāṣir*.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.[1]

138. **Kūchak ʿAlī Khān-i Kolābī.**

Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, long. 70°, lat. 30°. The District of Kolāb lies north of Badakhshān Proper, from which it is separated by the ʿĀmū (Oxus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshān. Hence Kūchak ʿAlī is often called in the *Akbarnāma* Kūchak ʿAlī Khān-i Badakhshī.

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[1] Not all MSS. of the Āʾīn have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 amongst the Hazārīs. But the best MSS. have this *manṣab*. In the lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* also the *manṣab* of Nine Hundred occurs.

He served under Mun^cim Khān Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation of Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Mun^cim Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaro,ī (p. 406).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148 and No. 380.

139. **Sabdal Khān,** Sumbul, a slave of Humāyūn.

140. **Sayyid Muḥammad,** Mīr ^cAdl, a Sayyid of Amroha.

Amroha, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to the Sarkār of Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad had studied the Ḥadīs and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Badā,onī was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr ^cAdl.* When the learned were banished from Court (*ikhrāj-i ^culamā*) he was made governor of Bhakkar.[1] He died there two years later in 984 (*vide* Nos. 119 and 251).

From the *Akbarnāma*, we see that S. Muḥammad with other Amroha Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Maḥmūd of Bārha in the expedition against Rāja Madhukar.

He advised the Historian Badā,onī to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious *Madad-i ma^cāsh* tenures, an advice resembling that of ^cAbd^u 'l-Ghaffār (*vide* No. 99, p. 454). S. Muḥammad's sons were certainly all in the army; *vide* Nos. 251, 297, 363.

141. **Raẓawī Khān,** Mīrzā Mīrak, a Raẓawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

He was a companion of Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the 10th year, he went to the camp of the Imperialists to obtain pardon for his master. When in the 12th year Khān Zamān again rebelled, Mīrzā Mīrak was placed under the charge of Khān Bāqī Khān (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihlī, *Badā,onī* II, 100). After Khān Zamān's death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a *mast* elephant; but the driver was ordered to spare him as he was a man of illustrious descent. This was done for five days, when at the intercession of the courtiers he was set at liberty. Shortly afterwards he received a manṣab, and the title of *Raẓawī Khān*. In the 19th year, he was made Dīwān of Jaunpūr, and in the 24th year, Bakhshī of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of

[1] In 983, the 20th year (*Akbarnāma* III, 138). *Badā,onī* (III, p. 75) has 984.

the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Ẕī Ḥijjah, 987) and gone from Ṭānḍa to Gaur, Muẓaffar sent Raẓawī Khān, Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196) and Mīr Aḥmad Munshī to them to try to bring them back to obedience. Things took indeed a good turn, and everything might have ended peacefully when some of Rāy Patr Dās's Rājpūts said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rāy Patr Dās mentioned this to Raẓawī Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās. Raẓawī Khān and Mīr Aḥmad Munshī surrendered themselves.

The *Maʾāṣir* says that nothing else is known of Raẓawī Khān. The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

Mīrzā Mīrak is not to be confounded with *Mīrak Khān*, "an old grandee, who died in 975" (*Ṭabaqāt*); or with *Mīrak Bahādur* (208).

Shāhjahān conferred the title of *Raẓawī Khān* on Sayyid ʿAlī, son of Ṣadrᵘ ṣ-Ṣudūr Mīrān S. Jalāl of Bukhārā.

142. **Mīrzā Najāt Khān**, brother of Sayyid Barka, and

149. **Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān**, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them *Najābat*, instead of *Najāt*, and *Ḥasan* instead of *Ḥusayn*.

From the *Akbarnāma* (1, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

Mīrzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which und' Shihāb Khān (No. 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rāja ʿAlī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl (*vide*, p. 399, note 2), Jabārī (p. 400), Vazīr Jamīl (No. 200), Saʿīd-i Toqbāʾī, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Ẕī Ḥijja, 987, from Ṭānḍa to Gaur across the Ganges. Mīr Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muẓaffar sent his grandees [Mīr Jamālᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū (No. 164), Raẓawī Khān (No. 141), Tīmūr Khān (No. 215), Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196), Mīr Adham, Ḥusayn Beg, Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ (No. 112), Khwāja Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 159), Jaʿfar Beg (No. 98), Muḥammad Qulī Turkmān (No. 203), Qāsim Khān-i Sīstānī, ʿIwaẓ Bahādur, Zulf ʿAlī Yazdī, Sayyid Abū Is-ḥāq-i Ṣafawī (No. 384), Muẓaffar Beg, etc.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mīr Najāt stayed with Vazīr Jamīl, although Muẓaffar, who was Najāt's father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left

the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 25th year he was at Sātgāw (Hūglī). Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fatḥābād (No. 34), and Qiyā Khān in Oṛīsā (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (*Akbarn.* III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afghāns under Qutlū, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity. Mīr Najāt also was attacked by Qutlū and defeated near Salīmābād (Sulaymānābād), S. of Bardwān. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūglī.[1] Bābā Khān Qāqshāl sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt; but the officer hearing of Qutlū's victory, attacked the Afghāns near Mangalkoṭ, N.E. of Bardwān. Qutlū, however, was again victorious.

143. **Sayyid Hāshim**, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bārha. *Vide* No. 105, p. 461.

144. **Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshī.**

In MSS., *Ghāzī* is often altered to *Qāẓī*, and *Badakhshī* to *Bakhshī*, and as Ghāzī Khān's first title was *Qāẓī Khān*, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other *Ghāzī Khāns* have been mentioned above, on pp. 396, 418.

Ghāzī Khān's name was Qāẓī Niẓām. He had studied law and Ḥadīs, under Mullā ʿIṣām[u] 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the *murīd* of Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Ṣūfī. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, king of Badakhshān (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of *Qāẓī Khān*. At the death of Humāyūn, Sulaymān, wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kābul and besieged Munʿim (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaymān sent Qāẓī to Munʿim to prevail on him to surrender. But Munʿim detained him for several days, and treated him "to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshīs cannot enjoy even in peaceful times". The good dinners made such an impression on Qāẓī Khān that he advised Sulaymān to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaymān thereupon returned to Badakhshān.

Subsequently Qāẓī Khān left his master, and went to India. At Khānpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (*Akbarn.*, III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwānchī* writer (p. 273). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a Commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon

[1] The MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* call him *Bartab Bār Firingī*, or *Partāb Firingī*.

him the title of *Ghāzī Khān*, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghāzī Khān commanded the left wing of Mān Singh's corps in the war with the Rānā. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as *tuyūl*, and distinguished himself in Bihār against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sulṭān Khwāja died (No. 108).

Ghāzī Khān is the author of several works (*vide* Badā,onī III, 153).

The *sijda*, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (*vide* p. 167, note).

His son *Ḥusāmᵘ 'd-Dīn*. Akbar made him a Commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khān Khānān (No. 29) to the Dakhin. Suddenly a change came over Ḥusām, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as a faqīr at the tomb of Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn Awliyā in Dihlī. The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Ḥusām next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Ḥusām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihlī. Khwāja Bāqī Billah (born at Kābul and buried at Dihlī) conferred on him power of "guiding travellers on the road of piety". He died in 1034. His wife was Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwīshes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. *Vide* Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. **Farḥat Khān**, Mihtar Sakā,ī, a slave of Humāyūn.

The MSS. have *Sakā*ᵉ*ī* and *Sakāhī*. Farḥat Khān is first mentioned in the war between Humāyūn and Mīrzā Kāmrān, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bābā of Kolāb lifted up his sword to strike Humāyūn from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farḥat, and put to flight. When Humāyūn left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khān was, Farḥat was appointed *Shiqdār* of Lāhor.[1] Subsequently, Mīr Shāh Abū 'l-Maᶜālī was appointed Governor of Lāhor. He sent away Farḥat, and appointed his own men instead. Farḥat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb.

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[1] *Akbarnāma* I, 416. At the same time, Mīr Bābūs (No. 73) was appointed *Fawjdār* of the Panjāb, Mīrzā Shāh Sulṭān was made Amīn, and Mihtar Jawhar, treasurer.

Humāyūn was on the 29th Muḥarram, 962, at Bigrām, crossed the Indus on the 5th Ṣafar, when Bayrām arrived from Kābul, was at Lāhor on the 2nd Rabīᶜ II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajab.

After Akbar's accession, Farḥat was made *Tuyūldār* of Korra. He distinguished himself in the war with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā near Aḥmadābād. When the Mīrzā was brought in a prisoner, Farḥat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farḥat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihār and was made *jāgīrdār* of Āra. In the 21st year (984), Gajpatī (p. 437) devastated the district. Farhang Khān, Farḥat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain. Farḥat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (*vide* No. 80).

146. **Rūmī Khān,** Ustād Jalabī (?), of Rūm.

He is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and the *Maʿāṣir*, and but rarely in the *Akbarnāma*. In the 20th year, he and Bāqī Khān (No. 60) and ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salīma Sulṭān Begam, Ḥājī Begam, Gulʿazār Begam, Sulṭān Begam (wife of Mīrzā ʿAskarī), Umm Kulsūm Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujnār Āghā (one of Bābar's wives), Bībī Ṣafiya, Bībī Sarw-i Sahī and Shāham Āghā (wives of Humāyūn), and Salīma Khānum (daughter of Khizr Khwāja). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rūmī Khān has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. **Samanjī Khān Qurghūjī** (*vide* No. 100)

He was a grandee of Humāyūn. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The *Tabaqāt* says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000. In the same work he is called a *Mughul*.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Mālwa under Adham Khān (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sārangpūr. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muḥammad Qāsim Khān-i Nīshāpūrī (No. 40) and pursued ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī (No. 74), to go to Rantanbhūr and suppress the disturbances created by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn in Mālwa. Later, he held a *jāgīr* in Āra.[1] He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

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[1] The *Maʿāṣir* has *Awadh*. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jāgīrdār of the Āra District (*Akbarn.* III, 244).

21st year under Khān Jahān (No. 24) and was present in the battle of Āg Maḥall. In the 30th year, he was in Mālwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps. Two years later, he served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) against Rāja Madhukar.

148. **Shāhbeg Khān**, son of Kūchak ʿAlī Khān of Badakhshān (Nos. 138 and 380).

His name is not given in the *Maʿāṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt*. Amīr Beg, a Pānṣadī under Shāhjahān, appears to be his son.

149. **Mīrza Ḥusayn Khān**, brother of Mīrzā Najāt Khān (*vide* No. 142).

150. **Ḥakīm Zanbīl**, brother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭabīb of Sabzwār.

Zanbīl means " a basket ". In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Ḥakīm Zanbīl Beg. Badā,onī says, he was a *muqarrib*, or personal attendant on the emperor.[1]

151. **Khudāwand Khān-i Dakhinī.**

Khudāwand Khān was a Niẓāmshāhī Grandee. As his father was born at Mash,had, Kh. is often called *Mash,hadī*. He was of course a Shīʿah.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well known for his personal courage. When Khwāja Mīrak of Iṣfahān, who had the title of Chingiz Khān, was the Vakīl of Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barār as jāgīr. The Masjid of Rohankhera[2] was built by him.

In 993, when Mīr Murtaẓa of Sabzwār (No. 162) commanded the army of Barār, and was no longer able to withstand Ṣalābat Khān Chirgis in the Dakhin, Kh. accompanied M. Murtaẓā to Hindūstān. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Paṭan in Gujrāt as *tuyūl*.

He was married to Abū 'l-Faẓl's sister, and died at Karī in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (*Badā,onī* II, 372, where in the *Tārīkh* of his death the word *Dakhinī* must be written without an *h*).

Once Abū 'l-Faẓl had invited several grandees, Khudāwand among them. The dishes placed before Kh. contained fowls and game and different kinds of vegetables, whilst the other guests had roast meat. He remarked it, took offence, and went away. Although Akbar assured him that Abū 'l-Faẓl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindūstānī custom, Kh. disliked Abū 'l-Faẓl, and never went again to his house. " Hence Dakhinīs are notorious in Hindūstān for stupidity."

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[1] The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badā,onī (III, 164) calls him wrongly *Ḥakīm Zīnal Shīrāzī*. Zīnal is the reading of bad MSS., and *Sabzwārī* is often altered to *Shīrāzī*. Other bad MSS. have *Ranbal*.

[2] Rohankhera lies in West Barār, in the district of Buldāna. In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of parganas in Sarkār Talingāna, there is one called *Qiryāt-i Khudāwand Khān*.

The *Ṭabaqāt* puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The *Maʾāṣir* has 997.

152. **Mīrzāda ʿAlī Khān,** son of Muḥtaram Beg.[1]

He served in the 9th year in Mālwa during the expedition against ʿAbdu ʾllah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrāt war under the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghāns ravaged the frontiers of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war with Rānā Partāb.[2] He then served in Bihār under Khān-i Aʿzam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* No. 134, p. 483). In the 30th year (993) he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Mangalkoṭ (Bardwān). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmīr. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīrīs who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdu ʾllah Khān (No. 189).

Badā,onī (III, p. 326) says he was a poet He places his death in 996.

153. **Saʿādat Mīrzā,** son of Khizr Khwāja Khān (p. 394, note).

154. **Shimāl Khān Chela.**

Chela means " a slave ". The *Ṭabaqāt* says he was a Qurchī, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a *Hazārī*. and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandr Sen, during which Jalal Khān (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Aḥmad (No. 91) and Shāhbāz (No 80) in the expedition to Siwāna.

155. **Shāh Ghāzī Khān,** a Sayyid from Tabrīz.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him a Turkmān, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served in the 19th year with Mīrzāda ʿAlī Khān (No. 152) against Qāsim Khān Kāsū.

He may be the Shāh Ghāzī Khān mentioned below under No. 161.

156. **Fāẓil Khān,** son of Khān-i Kalān (No 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 359.

157. **Maʿṣūm Khān,** son of Muʿīnu ʾd-Dīn Aḥmad Farankhūdī (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī (p. 476, note).

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[1] He is also called *Mīrzād* ʿAlī Khān. My text edition has wrongly *Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān*. For *Muḥtaram* many MSS. read wrongly *Maḥram*.
His father, Muḥtaram Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court.
[2] Generally called in the Histories *Rānā Kīkā*.

Maʿṣūm was made a *Hazārī* on the death of his father, and received Ghāzīpūr as *tuyūl.* He joined Todar Mal in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (pp. 376–7). Not long afterwards, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Maʿṣūm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsõ Khān's men (No. 32). As Akbar kad known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as *tuyūl.* This M. did ; but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Qulī Maḥram and Rāja Bīr Baṛ had failed to bring him to his senses, Shāhbāz Khān, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 437.

After his defeat near Awadh, M. threw himself into the town ; but as several rebel chiefs had left him, he absconded, without even taking his family with him. He applied to two Zamīndārs for assistance ; but the first robbed him of his valuables, and the latter waylaid him, and had it not been for a bribe, M. would not have escaped. About this time one of his friends of the name of Maqṣūd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahrā,ich. Vazīr Khān (No. 41) and others moved from Ḥājīpūr against him ; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muḥammadābād, he resolved to surprise Jaunpūr, when the tuyūldārs of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Pargana Mihsī, Sarkār Champāran, as *tuyūl.* But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. ʿAzīz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Āgra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar's mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbār, he was killed on the road. An inquiry was ordered to be held, but without result, and people believed that Akbar had connived at the murder. Compare with this the fate of Nos. 61 and 62, two other Bihār rebels.

158. **Tolak Khān Qūchīn.**

Tolak commenced to serve Bābar. He joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kābul, and M. Kāmrān came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humāyūn's grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Ẓaḥāk (ضحاک) and Bāmiyān, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kābul,

to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegī.

Tolak accompanied Humāyūn to India. After the emperor's death, he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mīr Shāh Abū 'l-Maʿālī. Afterwards, T. went to Kābul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghanī Khān, son of Munʿim Khān (No. 11), who was in charge of Kābul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bābā Khātūn, his jāgīr, collecting men to take revenge on Ghānī. A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghanī one day had left Kābul for a place called Khwāja Sayyārān (خواجه سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khān fell upon them. Ghanī, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwāja Awāsh (خواجه اواش), a place two *kos* distant from Kabul. But he was opposed by Fazīl Beg (Munʿim's brother) and his son Abū 'l-Fatḥ (called wrongly *ʿAbd^u 'l-Fatḥ*, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghanī go. Ghanī immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindūstān. Ghanī overtook him near the Āb-i Ghorband and killed Bābā Qūchīn, and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandiyār managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jāgīr in Mālwa, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under Khān Khānān (No. 29) in Mālwa and Gujrāt, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambhāit. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Qulij Khān (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahrōch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. ʿAzīz Koka was to be sent to the Dakhin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. ʿAzīz Koka and Shihāb^u 'd-Dīn, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. **Khwāja Shams^u 'd-Dīn Khawāfī.**

Khawāfī means "coming from Khawāf", which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have "Khāff" or "Khāf", due west of Hirāt, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the *Muʿjam^u 'l-Buldān*, "Khawāf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nīshāpūr. Near it lies on one side Būshanj which belongs to the districts of Hirāt, and on the other Zūzan. Khawāf

contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Sīrāwand, and Kharjard)." Amīn Rāzī in his excellent *Haft Iqlīm* says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Āl-i Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fārs and Shīrāz,[1] were Khawāfīs. The author of the '*Zakhīrat*[u] '*l Khawānīn* says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnīs. When Shāh ʿAbbās-i Ṣafawī, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shīʿas, the companions of the Prophet (*sabb-i ṣaḥāba*); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid. Although then no one was converted, the Khwāfīs are now as staunch Shīʿas as they were formerly bigoted Sunnīs.

Khwāja Shams[u] 'd-Dīn was the son of Khwāja ʿAlāʿ[u] 'd-Dīn, who was a man much respected in Khawāf. Shams accompanied Muzaffar Khān (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of ʿArab Bahādur he was let off and placed under ʿArab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrām, Rāja of Kharakpūr (Bihār).[2] As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

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[1] They succumbed to Tīmūr. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from A.H. 741 to 798.

Amīn Rāzī mentions also several learned men and vazīrs besides those mentioned in the *Muʿjam*, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawāf.

The number of Khawāfīs in the service of the Mughul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maʾāṣir has notes on the following :—Mīrzā ʿIzzat (under Jahāngīr); Mīrzā Aḥmad, and Muʿtamid Khān Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (under Shāh-jahān); Sayyid Amīr Khān Shaykh Mīr, Khwāja Mīr Khawāfī Ṣalābat Khān, ʿInāyat Khān, and Muṣṭafā Khān (under Awrangzīb). The lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* mention several other Khawāfīs. In later times we have the name of ʿAbd[u] 'r-Razzāq Ṣamṣām[u] 'd-Dawla Awrangābādī, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mīr Kamāl[u] 'd-Dīn Khawāfī, has served under Akbar.

For *Khawāfī* some MSS. have *Khāfī*. The Historian Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān has also been supposed to be a Khawāfī, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as *Rūmī Khān, Ghaznīn Khān, Ḥabshī Khān*. The authors of the *Pādishāhnāma* and the *Maʾāṣir* never use the form *Khāfī*.

[2] Singrām later fought with Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), and ceded Fort Mahdā. Though he never went to Court, he remained in submission to the Imperial governors of Bihār and Bengal. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Beg, governor of Bihār, sent a corps against Singrām, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Muḥammadan, and received the name "Rāja Roz-afzun", was confirmed in his zamīndārīs, and reached, under Jahāngīr, the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāhjahān, he served with Mahābat, Khān in Balkh, against Jhujār Singh Bundela, in the siege of Parenda, and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rāja Bihrūz served in Qandahār, in the war between Awrangzīb and Shāh Shujāʿ, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Palāmau (4th year of Awrangzīb). Rāja Bihrūz died in the 8th year of Awrangzīb's reign. *Vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society Bengal, for December, 1870.

make his way to the Imperial army. He collected men, attacked the rebels, and carried off some of their cattle; and when some time after dissensions broke out among the mutineers, he found means to escape. Akbar received him with every distinction, and appointed him, in the same year (26th) to superintend the building of Fort Aṭak (built 990–1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.[1]

After this, Shams was for some time Dīwān of Kābul In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No. 42) after the death of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) was made Ṣūbadār of Kābul, Shams was made Dīwān of the empire (*Dīwān-i kull*), *vice* Qulij.[2] When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Āgra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) were left in Lāhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjāb, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Āgra.

Shams died at Lāhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl having been used for other purposes (p. 469) he was buried in Lāhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called *Khawāfīpūra*.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business

Like Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwāja Mūmin Khawāfī, was made, on his death, Dīwān of the Panjāb. Mūmin's son, ʿAbdu 'l Khāliq was a favourite of Āṣaf Khān IV (p. 398). He was killed by Mahābat Khān, when Āṣaf had been removed by Mahābat from Fort Aṭak and imprisoned.

160. **Jagat Singh,** eldest of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

Kūwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mīrzā Jaʿfar Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) against Rāja Bāsū, zamīndār of Mau and Paṭhān (Nūrpūr, N.E. Panjāb). In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Mālwa, and Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was ordered to move against Rānā Amr Singh,

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[1] The author of the *Maʾāṣir* repeats Abū 'l-Faẓl's etymology of the name "Aṭak", which was given on p. 404, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindi, *aṭak*, prevention, a bar," because Hindūs will not go beyond the Indus." But there is no instance on record that Hindūs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, and others were governors of Kābul and Zābulistān, and had their Rājpūts there; and during the reign of Shāhjahān, the Rājpūts distinguished themselves in the conquest of Balkh and the siege of Qandahār. [Fort *Aṭak* built in 990-91.—B.]

Abū 'l-Faẓl's etymology is also doubtful; for in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 302) he mentions the name "Aṭak" long before the building of the Fort (III, 335).

[2] The twelve Dīwāns, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Ṣūbas, were under his orders. *Dīwān-i kull* is the same as *Vazīr-i kull* or *Vazīr-i muṭlaq*, or merely *Vazīr*.

Mān Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal, as *nā*ᵉ*ib* of his father. While still at Āgra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.'s daughter, *vide* p. 323 and No. 175.

Mahā Singh, Jagat's younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghāns under ʕUsmān and Shujāwal Khān to attack him. They defeated him and Partāb Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 336), near Bhadrak in Oṛisā (45th year). Mān Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afghāns near Sherpūr ʕAtā,ī, between Shi,ūṛī (Sooree) in Bīrbhūm and Murshidābād, recovered Lower Bengal and Oṛisā.

Mahā Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. **Naqīb Khān**, son of Mīr ʕAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf of Qazwīn.

Naqīb Khān is the title of Mīr Ghiyāṣᵘ 'd-Dīn ʕAlī. His family belongs to the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, who were known in Īrān for their Sunnī tendencies. His grandfather Mīr Yaḥyā was "a well-known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history, that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muḥammadan religion to his own time."

"In the opening of his career, Mīr Yaḥyā was patronized by Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī, who called him Yaḥyā Maʕṣūm,[1] and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron's mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mīr ʕAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf, were the leading men among the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Āzarbāyjān, to order Mīr Yaḥyā and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Iṣfahān. At that time, his second son, ʕAlāʕᵘ 'd-Dawla was in Āzarbāyjān, and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father. Mīr Yaḥyā, being too old and infirm to flee, accompanied the king's messenger to Iṣfahān, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A.H. 962, at the age of 77 years."[2]

"Mīr ʕAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's

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[1] *I.e.* exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.

[2] Mīr Yaḥyā is the author of an historical compendium called *Lubbᵘ 'd-tawārīkh*, composed in 1541. *Vide* Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ʕAlaʕᵘ 'd-Dawla wrote under the poetical name of *Kāmī*, and is the author of the *Nafā*ᵉ*isᵘ 'l-Ma*ᵉ*āṣir*, a "*taẓkira*", or work on literature. Badā,onī (III, 97) says he composed a Qaṣida in which, according to the manner of Shīʕahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnis, and among the latter his father and elder brother (ʕAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf), whom he used to call *Haẓrat-i Āqā*, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mīr Yaḥyā's death two years earlier.

communication, fled to Gīlān,[1] and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humāyūn went to Hindūstān, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Ḥāfiẓ. The Mīr was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,[2] that each party used to revile him for his indifference."

"When Bayrām Khān had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Āgra and proceeded to Alwar with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjāb, the emperor sent the Mīr to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign." *Elliot, Index, l.c.*

Mīr ʿAbdu 'l-Laṭīf died at Sīkrī on the 5th Rajab, 981,[3] and was buried at Ajmīr near the Dargāh of Mīr Sayyid Ḥusayn Khing-Suwār.

ʿAbdu 'l-Laṭīf had several sons. The following are mentioned: 1. Naqīb Khān; 2. Qamar Khān; 3. Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf. The last was killed in 984 at Fatḥpūr by a fall from his horse, while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II, 230). For Qamar Khān, *vide* No. 243.

Naqīb Khān arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjāb (*Akbarn.* II, 23) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II, 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khān Zamān, for whom Munʿim Khān had interceded (II, 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 481, note), and in the following year to Patan. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Īdar (III, 165) and was sent in the following year to Mālwa or Gujrāt, after the appointment of Shihāb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khān served under Toḍar Mal and Ṣādiq Khān in Bihār against Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī (III, 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of *Naqīb Khān*.[4] Though

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[1] The MSS. of the *Maʾāṣir* have جبال كيلانات; so also Badā,onī, *l.c.*

[2] He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *ṣulḥ-i kull*, "peace with all," the Persian term which Abū 'l-Faẓl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abū 'l Faẓl (*Akbarn.* II, 23) says that ʿAbdu 'l-Laṭīf was accused in Persia of being a Sunnī and in Hindūstān of being a Shīʿah.

[3] Elliot has by mistake 971. The *Tārīkh* of his death in the *Maʾāṣir* and *Badā,onī* (III, p. 99) is *fakhr-i āl-i Yā-Sīn*, "the pride of the descendants of Yāsīn (the Prophet)" = 981, if the long *alif* in *āl* be not counted 2, but 1.

[4] Kewal Rām, according to Elliot, says in the *Taẕkiratu 'l-Umarā*[a] that the title was conferred on Naqīb Khān in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī on the Imperialists under Toḍar Mal and Ṣādiq Khān. This night attack is related in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Gayā; but Abū 'l-Faẓl says nothing of Naqīb's "gallant conduct";

during the reign of Akbar, he did not rise above the rank of a *Hazārī*, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar's reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 110. Several portions of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* also (p. 113) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāẓī ʿĪsā, who had come from Irān to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Shāh Ghāzī Khān (*vide* No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakīna Bānū Begam, sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāẓī ʿĪsā had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb's cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, N. was made a Commander of 1,500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmīr, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Muʿīn-i Chishtī's tomb (*Tuzuk*, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mīr Maḥmūd, *Munshiyᵘ 'l-Mamālik*, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Badā,onī III, 321).

Naqīb's son, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Laṭīf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) and died insane.

Naqīb Khān, like his grandfather, excelled in history. It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the *Rawẓatᵘ 'ṣ-ṣafā* by heart. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badā,onī, who was Naqīb's schoolfellow and friend, says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqīb. Once on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, he responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one.

162. **Mīr Murtaẓā Khān**, a Sabzwārī Sayyid.

Mīr Murtaẓā Khān was at first in the service of ʿĀdil Shāh of Bījāpūr. Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh called him to Aḥmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amīrᵘ 'l-Umarā*. He successfully invaded, at Niẓam Shāh's order, ʿĀdil Shāh's dominions. But Niẓām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakīl, Shāh Qulī Ṣalābat Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the *tuyūldārs* of Barāī, were dissatisfied. Ṣālābat Khān being bent on ruining them, Mīr Murtaẓā Khudāwand Khān (No. 151), Jamshed Khān-i Shīrāzī and others, marched in 992 to Aḥmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān and Shāhzāda Mīrān Ḥusayn surprised them and routed them. Mīr Murtaẓā lost all his property, and unable to resist Ṣalābat Khān, he went with Khudāwand Khān to Akbar, who made him a Commander of One Thousand.

M. M. distinguished himself under Shāh Murād in the Dakhin invasion. When the Prince left Aḥmadnagar, Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barār), and M. M. in Ilichpūr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gāwīl, near Īlichpūr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajīh[u] 'd-Dīn and Biswās Rā,o, to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Aḥmadnagar under Prince Dānyāl, and received a higher *Manṣab,* as also a flag and a *naqqāra.*

Mīr Murtaẓā is not to be confounded with the learned Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīf-i Shīrāzī (Badā,onī III, 320), or the Mīr Murtaẓā mentioned by Badā,onī III, 279.

163. **Shamsī,** son of Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on pp. 345 and 346. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsī [1] was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahāngīr's reign, he received the title of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, vacant by the death of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Beg, Governor of Bihār, and was sent to Gujrāt as *nā*'*ib* of his father. Mīrzā ʿAzīz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Ṣūba ; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsī was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaunpūr. Whilst there, Prince Shāhjahān had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending ʿAbd[u] 'llāh Khān Fīrūz-Jang and Rāja Bhīm in advance towards Ilāhābād. On their arrival at Chausā, Shamsī left Jaunpūr, and joined Mīrzā Rustam (No. 9), Governor of the Ṣūba of Ilāhābād.

On Shāhjahān's accession, Shamsī was deposed, but allowed to retain his Manṣab. A short time after, he was appointed to Sūrat [2] and Jūnāgaḍh, *vice* Beglar Khān. He died there in the 5th year of Shāhjahān's reign (1041).

Shamsī's son, Bahrām, was made by Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (*Pādishāhn.* I. b., 309) and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrāt, he built a place called after him *Bahrāmpūra.* He died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign (*Pādishāhn.* II, p. 733).

164. **Mīr Jamāl[a] 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn,** an Injū Sayyid.

From a remark in the *Waṣṣāf* it appears that a part of Shīrāz was called *Injū* ; *vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mīr Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn Injū belongs to the Sayyids of Shīrāz, who trace their descent to Qāsimarrāsī (?) ibn-i Ḥasan ibn-i Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭibā'i Ḥusaynī. Mīr Shāh Maḥmūd and Mīr Shāh Abū Turāb, two later members

[1] *Shamsī* is an abbreviation for *Shams[u] 'd Dīn.*

[[2] Sorath.—B.]

of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mīr Shams^u 'd-Dīn Asad^u 'llāh of Shushtar, the first as Shaykh^u 'l-Islām of Persia, and the second as Qāẓiy^u 'l-Quẓāt. Mīr Jamāl^u 'd-Dīn is one of their cousins.

Mīr Jamāl^u 'd-Dīn went to the Dakhin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injūs. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrāt wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 432). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muẓaffar (*Akbarnāma* III, p. 255). In the 30th year (993) he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, Aʿẓam Khān (No. 21) on his expedition to Gadha and Rāʾisīn (*Akbarn.* III, 472). In the 36th year, he had a jāgīr in Mālwa, and served under Aʿẓam Khān in the Dakhin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazārī took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of Āsīr had been conquered, ʿĀdil Shāh, king of Bījāpūr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dānyāl. To settle matters, Akbar dispatched the Mīr in 1009 (*Akbarn.* III, 846) to the Dakhin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishta, he went to Āgra, in order to lay before the emperor "such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dakhin".

At the end of Akbar's reign, Mīr J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favourite of Prince Salīm, he was promoted after the Prince's accession to the post of a Chahar-Hazārī, and received a *naqqāra* and a flag. When Khusraw rebelled, the Mīr received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusraw the kingdom of Kābul with the same conditions under which M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 455) and brought before his father, Ḥasan Beg (No. 167), Khusraw's principal agent told Jahāngīr that all Amīrs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamāl^u 'd-Dīn had only a short time ago asked him (Ḥasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as *Panjhazārī*. The Mīr got pale and confused, when Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Ḥasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself (ʿAzīz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahāngīr consoled the Mīr, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, Mīr Jamāl received the title of ʿ*Aḍad^u 'd-Dawla.*

On this occasion, he presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bījāpūr. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow *yāqūt* fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other *yāqūts* and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahāngīr pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees *per mensem*. The highest rank that he had reached was that of a brevet Panjhazārī with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahāngīr's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, of which he was the compiler. The first edition of it had made its appearance in 1017.[1]

After having lived for some time in Bahrā,ich, Mīr Jamāl returned to Agra, where he died.

Mīr Jamālᵘ 'd-Dīn had two sons. 1. *Mīr Amīnᵘ 'd-Dīn*. He served with his father, and married a daughter of ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān (No. 29). He died when young.

2. *Mīr Ḥusamᵘ 'd-Dīn*. He married the sister of Aḥmad Beg Khān, brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-Jang (Nūr Jahān's brother). Jahāngīr made him Governor of Āsīr, which fort he handed over to Prince Shāhjahān during his rebellion. On Shāhjahān's accession, he was made Commander of 4,000, with 3,000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of *Murtaẓā Khān*. He was also made Governor of Thathah, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mīr Ḥusām's sons—1. *Ṣamṣāmᵘ 'd-Dawla*. He was made Dīwān of Shāh Shujāʿ in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orīsā with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. *Nūrᵘ 'llāh*. He is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

165. **Sayyid Rājū**, of Bārha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (*vide* p. 427) the Bārha clan Rājū belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannāth (No. 69), against the Rānā. While serving under the latter, Rājū commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgaṛh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rānā's troops. In the 30th year, Jagannāth and Rājū attacked the Rāna in his residence; but he escaped.

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[1] Regarding the *Farhang i Jahāngīrī*, *vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868, 12 to 15, and 65 to 69.

Later, Rājū served under Prince Murād, Governor of Mālwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Rāja Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Mālwa, Rājū had to lead the expedition. In the 40th year, he served in the siege of Aḥmadnagar. Once the enemies surprised the Imperialists, and did much damage to their cattle. Rājū attacked them, but was killed in the fight, together with several of his relations (A.H. 1003).

166. **Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī.**

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 185. In the 30th year (993) Prince Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mīr Sharīf was appointed Amīn and Ṣadr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. In the 36th year,[1] he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihār and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmīr as *aqṭāʕ*, and the Pargana of Mohān near Lakhnau, as *tuyūl*. During the siege of Āsīr, he joined the Imperial camp with his contingent, and was well received by the emperor.

He is said to have risen to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand. He was buried at Mohān. On his death, neither books nor official papers were found; his list of soldiers contained the names of his friends and clients, who had to refund him six months' wages *per annum*.

Jahāngīr in his memoirs (*Tuzuk*, p. 22) praises him very much.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says, "Mīr Sharīf belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with ṣūfism and is at present (1001) in Bihār."

Note on the *Nuqṭawiyya* Sect (نقطویہ).

It was mentioned above (p. 186) that Mīr Sharīf spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān.[2] The curious sect which Maḥmūd founded, goes by the name of *Maḥmūdiyya*, or *Wāḥidiyya*, or *Nuqṭawiyya*, or *Umanā*.[3] Maḥmud called himself *Shakhṣ-i wāḥid*, or "the individual", and professed to be the Imām Mahdī, whose appearance

[1] The Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mīr Sharīf was at Jahāngīr's accession a Commander of 2,500 (*Tuzuk*, p. 22).

[2] Badā,onī (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has *Basakhwān*; the MSS. of the Maʾāṣir, *Basākhwān* (with a long penultima) and in other places *Basākhān* without a *w*; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistān (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer's Translation have *Masajwān*—a shifting of the diacritical points.

[3] The name *nuqtawī* was evidently used by Badā,onī, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have *Nabaṭī*, which was given on p. 185. For *Umanā*, Shea's translation of the Dabistān has *Imanā*; but امنا (*umanā*) is, no doubt, the plural of امین *amīn*.

on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistān and Shea's Translation, he lived about A.H. 600; but the MSS. of the *Ma*ʾ*āṣir* have A.H. 800, which also agrees with Badā,oni's statement that Maḥmūd lived at the time of Tīmūr. The sect found numerous adherents in Īrān, but was extinguished by Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māẓī,[1] who killed them or drove them into exile.

Maḥmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Qurʾān (Sur. XVII, 81), *ʿasā an yabʿaṣa-kᵃ rabbu-kᵃ maqūmᵃⁿ makmūdᵃⁿ*, "peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (*maḥmūd*) station." He maintained that the human body (*jasad*) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection "Maḥmūd" would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qurʾān, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muḥammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the *nuqṭa-yi khāk*, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term *nuqṭa-yi khāk* has given rise to their name *Nuqṭawīs*. For other of Maḥmūd's tenets, *vide* Shea's translation of the Dabistān, vol. III, pp. 12 to 26.

Some of Maḥmūd's doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the "man of the millennium", transmigration of souls, etc., have been mentioned above, and Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing out to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the ʿAlam Ārāʾ-yi Sikandarī, as the *Maʾāṣir* says, mentions Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māẓī's reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh ʿAbbās Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Tabrīz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, it was proposed that Shāh ʿAbbās should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death should sit on the throne. This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of; the criminals threw lots, and Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwīsh Khusraw of Qazwīn, was raised to the throne. He reigned for three days, and was then killed. Soon after, Darwīsh Khusraw was hanged. His ancestors had been well-diggers, but he was a dervish, and though he had been wise enough

[1] *Māẓī* (ماضی), i.e., who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngīr.

never to speak of his *Nuqṯawiyya* belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Kāshān, whom ʿAbbās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the *Nuqṯa* doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abū 'l-Faẓl in Akbar's name. *Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrābād to Hindūstān.*

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the *Maʿāṣir* remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mīr Sharīf was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dīpālpūr in Mālwa; and besides, Sharīf-i Āmulī was mentioned in no Taẕkira as a poet.

167. **Hasan Beg Khān-i Badakhshī Shaykh ʿUmarī.**[1]

Ḥasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar after his stay in Kashmīr, marched to Zābulistān, and passed through the district of Pakhalī, "which is 35 *kos* long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmīr. In Pakhalī, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān-i Pakhalīwāl (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamīndār belonged to the descendants of the Qārlughs (قارلغ), whom Tīmūr on his return from India to Tūrān had left in Pakhalī as garrison. After following Akbar's Court for a few days, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Ḥasan Beg to occupy Pakhalī (*Akbarnāma* III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Ḥasan Beg's temporary absence at Court. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān again rebelled, assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣirᵘ 'd-Dīn, and drove away Ḥasan Beg's men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Ḥasan Beg. In the 46th year, Ḥasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar's reign, in charge of Kābul, receiving Fort Rohtās[2] (in the Panjab) as jāgīr.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was called from Kābul to Court. On his way, at Mathurā (Muttra), Ḥasan Beg met Prince Khusraw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday, the 8th Ẕī Ḥijjah, 1014.[3] From

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[1] *Badakhshī* is the adjective formed from *Badakhshān*, as *Kāshī* from *Kāshān*. The words *Shaykh ʿUmarī* are to be taken as an adjective formed like *Akbarshāhī*, *Jahāngīrī*, etc., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus *Shaykh ʿUmarī* would mean "belonging to the servants of Shaykh ʿUmar", and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Ḥasan Beg belonged to the *Bābariyān* or "nobles of Bābar's Court".

Ḥasan Beg is often wrongly called *Ḥusayn Beg*. Thus in the *Tuzuk*, p. 25 ff.; *Pādishāhn* I, p. 306; *Akbarn.* III, 598.

[2] Generally spelt روهتاس. The fort in Bihār is spelt without *wāw*, رهتاس, though both are identical.

[3] So the *Tuzuk*. The *Maʾāṣir* has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound هشتم and بیستم. But Jahāngīr on his pursuit reached Hodal on the 10th Ẕī Ḥijjah and the *Tuzuk* is correct.

distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kābul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshīs", he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshī troopers, received the title of Khān Bābā, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusraw, was ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm, Dīwān of Lāhor. After the defeat near Bhairōwāl on the Bi,āh,[1] the Afghāns who were with the prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the Empire; but Ḥasan Beg proposed to march to Kābul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohtās, which were at the Prince's service. Ḥasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtās, Khusraw was captured on the Chanāb. On the 3rd Ṣafar 1015, the Prince, Ḥasan Beg, and ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm, were taken before Jahāngīr in the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmrān, a villa near Lāhor, Khusraw himself, according to Chingiz's law (*baturah i Chingīzī* (?)), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Ḥasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 500), was put into a cow-hide and ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars. "As cow-hides get dry sooner than donkey-skins," Ḥasan died after a few hours from suffocation: but ʿAbdu 'r Raḥīm was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon.[2] The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusraw were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmrān to the Fort of Lāhor, and Khusraw, seated on a sorry elephant, was led along that way. People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusraw, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do homage to you."

Ḥasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 370. His son *Isfandiyār Khān*, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (*Pādishāhn.* I, 476; I. b. 304). The ʿĀrif Beg-i Shaykh ʿUmarī mentioned in the *Pādishāhn.* (I, b. 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. **Sheroya Khān**, son of Sher Afkan Khan.

Sher Afkan Khān was the son of Qūch Beg. Qūch Beg served under Humāyūn, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several

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[1] *Vide* p. 456 note. There is another Bhairōwāl between Wazīrābād and Siyālkot, south of the Chanāb.

[2] In Zū 'l-Ḥijjah, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yuzbāshi, or commander of 100 and was sent to Kashmir (*Tuzuk*, p. 79). In the *Tuzuk*, he is called *ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm Khar*, Abdu 'r-Raḥīm "the Ass".

grandees to save Maryam Makānī, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausā (*vide* No. 96, p. 450). When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mīrzā Kāmrām in Kābul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Īrān, and was made governor of Qalāt. Later he received Zaḥāk-Bāmiyān as jāgīr, but went again over to Kāmrān. Humāyūn's, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroya Khān served at first under Munʿim (No. 11) in Bengal and Oṛīsā. In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād to Kābul. In the 28th year, he served under ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) in Gujrāt, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (*Akbarnāma* III, 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against Jalāla Tārīkī (p. 441). In the 39th year, he was made a Khān, and was appointed to Ajmīr. According to the *Ṭabaqāt* he was a Hazārī in 1001.

169. **Nazar Be Uzbak.**

The *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 500) says, " On the same day [1] Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shādī Be (No. 367), and Bāqī Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor."

Shādī Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83) against the Tārīkīs. He may be the Shādī Khān Shādī Beg, mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b. 308) as a commander of One Thousand. *Be* is the abbreviation of *Beg*. Naẓar Be is not to be confounded with Naẓar (?) Beg (No. 247).

170. **Jalāl Khān**, son of Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Ādam, the Gakkhar.

171. **Mubārak Khān**, son of Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the *Maʾāṣir*, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus.[2] At the time of Zaynu 'l-ʿĀbidīn, king of Kashmīr, a Ghaznīn noble of the name of Malik Kid (كد or كيد), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kābul, took away

[1] When the news was brought to Akbar that Mān Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists, and the death of Bīr Baṛ in the Khaybar Pass, had defeated the Tārīkīs at ʿAlī Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Rabīʿ I, 994).

[2] Mr. J. G. Delmerick informs me that the Gakkhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pinḍī and Jhelam districts from Khānpūr on the borders of the Hazāra district along the lower range of hills skirting the Taḥṣīls of Rāwul Pinḍī, Kuhūta, and Gūjar Khān, as far as Domeli in the Jehlam district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwāla, Sulṭānpūr, and Dāngalī. They declare that they are descended from the Kaianian kings of Īrān. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kashmīr, and took possession of half of it. The Gakkhars then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmīr. The 16th descendant, Zayn Shāh, fled to Afghānistān, where he died. His son, Gakkhar Shāh, came to the Panjāb with Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and was made lord of the Sind Sāgar Duāb. Malik Bīr is said to have been the grandfather of Tatār, whose father was Malik Pīlū. *Vide* Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakkhars, *Journal A.S.B.*, 1871. *Vide* p. 621.

these districts from the Kashmīrīs, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nīlāb (Indus) and the Sawāliks and the frontier of modern Kashmīr.[1] Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalān, and Malik Kalān by Malik Bīr. After Bīr, the head of the tribe was Sulṭān Tatār, who rendered Bābar valuable service, especially in the war with Rānā Sānkā. Sulṭān Tatār had two sons, Sulṭān Sārang and Sulṭān Ādam. Sārang fought a great deal with Sher Shāh and Salīm Shāh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghāns. The Fort Rohtās was commenced by Sher Shāh with the special object of keeping the Gakkhars in check. Sher Shāh in the end captured Sulṭān Sārang and killed him, and confined his son Kamāl Khān in Gwāliyār, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sulṭān Ādam was now looked upon as the head of the clan He continued to oppose the Afghāns. Once Salīm Shāh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwāliyār Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamāl Khān, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamāl went to his kinsfolk; but as Sulṭān Ādam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Saʿīd Khān, avoiding conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamāl paid his respects to the emperor at Jālindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū and during the siege of Mānkoṭ. In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyāna Afghāns, who had revolted near Saronj (Mālwa) and was made on his return jāgīrdār of Karah and Fatḥpūr Huswah. In the 6th year, he served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against the Afghāns under the son of Mubāriz Khān ʿAdlī (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamāl Khān begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakkhar district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and other Panjābī grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamāl Khān; if Sulṭān Ādam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sulṭān Ādam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sulṭān Ādam. The Panjāb,

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[1] The *Maʾāsir* says, he subjected the tribes called گهکر ' جانوهه ' اوان ' جترپه ' بوکیال (*vide* p 487) ' جهبه, تاره and بیکرال. Mr. Delmerick says, the Khatars inhabit the western parts of the Rāwul Pindi district. The second tribe is that of the *Janjūʿas* who inhabit the Salt Range. The third, *Awān* (اوان) are found in the southern parts of the Rāwul Pindi and the Jhelam districts; their tract is called *Awānkārī* to this day. The fourth, he says, may be the *Jodras* (جودره), a great clan about Pindi Gheb. The fifth, he believes, is intended for the *Khokarān* (کهوکران), a tribe of some importance in Pind Dādan Khān. The sixth and the eighth are the *Chibh* (چهبه) and *Mangarāl* (منگرال), large tribes in Jammū. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for پهاریه *pahāriya* or hill tribes, which were the Dhūnds (دهوند) and Sattīs (ستی). *Vide* Additional Notes at end to p. 507.

army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the " Qaṣba of Hīlā ".[1] Sulṭān Ādam and his son Lashkarī were handed over to Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district. Kamāl Khān killed Lashkarī, and put Sulṭān Ādam into prison, where he soon after died. (*Akbarnāma*, II, 240 ff.)

It is stated in the *Ṭabaqāt* that Kamāl Khān was a Commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972.[2]

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān served in the 30th year under Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Bhagwān Dās, and Shāh Qulī Maḥram, in Kashmīr (*Akbarnāma*, III, 485). The *Ṭabaqāt* calls both, as also Saʿīd Khān, Commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Saʿīd Khān was married to Prince Salīm ; *vide* No. 225, note.

172. **Tāsh Beg Khān Mughul,** [Tāj Khān].

Tāsh Beg served at first under Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service. He received a jāgīr in the Panjāb. According to the *Akbarnāma* (III, 489), he went with Bīr Baṛ (No. 85) to Sawād and Bijor, and distinguished himself under ʿAbdu 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) against the Tārīkīs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the ʿĪsā Khayl Afghāns, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Āṣaf Khān (No 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of *Tāj Khān*. When Rāja Bāsū again rebelled (47th year), Khwāja Sulaymān, Bakhshī of the Panjāb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulij Khān (No. 42), Ḥusayn Beg-i Shaykh ʿUmarī (No. 167), Aḥmad Beg-i Kābulī (No. 191), and Tāj Khān. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Paṭhān. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamīl Beg, T. Kh.'s son, received news of Bāsū's approach. He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent.

Jahāngīr, on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3,000. In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kābul till the arrival of Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed governor of Thathah, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

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[1] Not Hailā (هیلں), south of Chiliānwālā between the Jhelam and the Chanāb ; but Hīlā, or Hīl, which, Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dāngalī, Sulṭān Ādam's stronghold.

[2] So in my MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*. The author of the *Maʾāṯir* found 970 in his MS., which would be the same year in which Kamāl Khān was restored to his paternal inheritance ; hence he adds a "واللہ اعلم". He was certainly alive in the middle of 972. (*Akbarnāma*, I, p. 302.)

173. **Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'llāh, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws [of Gwāliyār].**

Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'llāh at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother *Ẓiyā'[u] 'llāh* lived as a Faqīr, and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wajīh[u] 'd-Dīn in Gujrāt, who himself was a pupil of Muḥammad Ghaws.

Biographies of Muḥammad Ghaws (died 970 at Āgra, buried in Gwāliyār) will be found in the *Maʿāṣir*, *Badā,oni* (III, p. 4), and the *Khazīnat[u] 'l-Aṣfiyā'* (p. 969). He was disliked by Bayrām Khān, Shaykh Gadā,ī, and Shaykh Mubārak, Abū 'l-Fazl's father. *Vide* also *Ma'āṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 166.

174. **Rāja Rājsingh, son of Rāja Askaran, the Kachhwāha.**

Rāja Askaran is a brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar of Ūḍcha,[1] and in the 25th year under Toḍar Māl in Bihār. In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each ṣūba, Askaran and Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82) were appointed to Āgra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rāja Madhukar under Shihāb Khān (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abū 'l-Fazl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The *Tabaqāt* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

Rāj Sing, his son, received the title of Rāja after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakhin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwāliyār. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Āsīr. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rāy Rāyān Patr Dās (No. 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela, who at Jahāngīr's instigation had murdered Abū 'l-Fazl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundela clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year the rank of a Commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahāngīr's reign, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

[1] *Ūḍcha* is generally spelt on our maps *Oorcha*. It lies near Jhānsi on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river "Dasthāra" mentioned on p. 382, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the *Maʿāsir* has *Satdahārā*.

Rām Dās, his son, was a Commander of 1,000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rāja, and was made, in the same year, a Commander of 1,500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, turned Muḥammadan in the 6th year of Shāhjahan's reign, and received the name of *ʿIbādatmand.*[1]

175. **Rāy Bhoj**, son of Rāy Surjan Hāḍā (No. 96).

When Būndī, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudā, elder brother of Rāy Bhoj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhoj served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns of Oṛisā, and under Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl in the Dakhin (*Akbarn.*, III, 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngīr wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter. Rāy Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāngīr resolved to punish him on his return from Kābul. But Rāy Bhoj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabīʿ I, 1017, (*Tuzuk*, pp. 68, 69).

It is said that Rāthoṛ and Kachhwāha princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hāḍā princess was ever married to a Timuride.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. **Sher Khwāja.**

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itāwa (سادات اتاوی). His mother was a *Naqshbandī* (p. 466, note 2). Sher Kh.'s name was "Pādishāh Khwāja", but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage *Sher Khwāja.*

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Saʿīd Khān Chaghtāʾī (No. 25) against the Yūsufzāʾīs, and afterwards under Sulṭān Murād in the Dakhin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Paṭan, where he distinguished himself against Ikhlāṣ Khān. He continued to serve in the Dakhin under Abū 'l-Faẓl. In the engagement near Bīr he was wounded. He entered the town victoriously but was besieged. From want of provisions, his men had to subsist on horse-flesh. As in consequence of the swelling of the Gangā (Godāvarī) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū 'l-Faẓl arrived and raised the siege. Abū 'l-Faẓl proposed to leave his own son ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān at Bīr; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

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[1] Regarding the Kachhwāhas, see my article in the *Calcutta Review*, for April, 1871, entitled "A Chapter from Muhammadan History".

Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahāngīr. He was with the emperor when Mahābat Khān near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahāngīr's person. After Jahāngīr's death, he served with Āṣaf Khān against Shahryār in Lāhor.

. In the 1st year of Shāhjahan's reign, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 1,000 horse, and received the title of *Khwāja Bāqī Khān*. He was also appointed governor of Thathah, *vice* Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān (p. 392). He died on his way to his province in 1037. *Pādishāhn.*, I, 181, 200.

His son *Khwāja Hāshim* was made a commander of 500 (*Pādishāhnāma*, I, b. 327). Another son, *Asad*[u] *'llah*, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 738).

177. **Mīrzā Khurram**, son of Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 346.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. **Quraysh Sulṭān**, son of Abd[u] 'r-Rashīd Khān, king of Kāshghar.

182. **Sulṭān ʿAbd[u] 'llāh**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sulṭān

310. **Shāh Muhammad**, son of Quraysh Sulṭān.

Quraysh Sulṭān is a descendant of Chingiz Khān.[1] His genealogical tree is given in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 584) and the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* as on following page.

After the death of ʿAbd[u] 'r-Rashīd Khān (16), ʿAbd[u] 'l-Karīm Khān, elder brother of Quraysh Sulṭān, succeeded to the throne of Kāshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudabanda, son of Quraysh Sulṭān, quarrelled with Muḥammad Khān, his uncle, and Khudābanda occupied the town of Tarfān. ʿAbd[u] 'llāh, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sulṭān to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshān and Balkh, and lastly with the permission of ʿAbd[u] 'llāh Khān of Tūrān, to Hindūstān. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shihāb[u] 'd-Dīn-pūr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmīr, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraysh died in the 37th year (1000), at Ḥājīpūr.

179. **Qarā Bahādur**, son of Mīrzā Maḥmūd, who is the paternal uncle of Mīrzā Ḥaydar [Gurgānī].

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[1] Chingiz Khān in the histories is often called *Qāʾān-i Buzurg*.

1. Chingiz Khān.
2. Chaghtā'i Khān.
3. Mawātkān (second son of Chaghtā'ī Khān).
4. ییسونتوا (the MSS. give various readings).
5. Yarāq[1] Khān (called after his conversion Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu 'd-Dīn).
6. Dawā Khān.[2]
7. Alsīnūqā, or Alsānūqā, Khān.
8. Tughluq Tīmūr Khān.
9. Khizr Khwāja Khān[3] (father-in-law of Tīmūr).
10. (a) Muḥammad Khān . . . (b) Shamʿ Jahān Khān . . . (c) Naqsh Jahān Khān.
11. (a) Sher Muḥammad Khān. (b) Sher ʿAlī Ughlān.
12. Uwais Khān, son of Sher ʿAlī Ughlān.
13. Yūnas Khān, father of Bābar's mother.
14. Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, known as *Alāncha Khān*.
15. Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd Khān.
16. ʿAbdu 'r-Rashīd Khān.
17. (1) ʿAbdu 'l-Karīm Khān. (2) Quraysh Sulṭān (No. 168). (3) Sulṭān ʿAbdu 'llah (No. 178).

Sons of (2) Quraysh Sulṭān:
(1) Shāh Muḥammad (No. 310).
(2) Khudābanda.

Like the preceding, Qarā Bahādur belonged to the royal family of Kāshghar. Mīrzā Ḥaydar's father, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, was the son of Bābar's maternal aunt.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar,[4] during his stay in Kāshghar, had accompanied the

[[1] Burāq, Vamʿbery, p. 153.—B].

[2] Dawā invaded India during the reign of ʿAlāʾu 'd-Dīn; *vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.

[3] His daughter is called Tukul Khānum تکل خانم. It is said that Tīmūr after the marriage received the title of Gurgān گرگان, the Mughul term for the Persian *dāmād*, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called *Gurgānīs*.

[4] Mīrzā Ḥaydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the *Tārīkh-i ʿAbdu 'r-Rashīdī*, in honour of *ʿAbdu 'r-Rashīd*, king of Kāshghar. The villa known as *Bāgh-i Ṣafā* was erected by him. *Akbarnāma*, III, 585.

The MS. of the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Persian MSS., No. 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt. H. Strachey from Yārkand.

The Tārīkh commences with the reign of Tughluq Tīmūr, who was converted to Islām by Mawlānā Arshadu 'd-Dīn, and goes down to the reign of ʿAbdu 'r-Rashīd. The second *daftar* contains the Memoirs of Mīrzā Ḥaydar. The style is elegant.

son of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd on several expeditions to Kashmīr, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshān to India, and arrived at Lāhor, where Mīrzā Kāmrān made him his *nāʾib* during his absence on an expedition to Qandahār, which the Shāh of Persia had taken from Khwāja Kalān Beg. M. Ḥaydar afterwards accompanied Kāmrān to Āgra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humāyūn to take possession of Kashmīr. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shāh retreated to Lāhor, he gave M. Ḥaydar a small corps and sent him to Kashmīr. The country being in a distracted state, M. H. took possession of it without bloodshed, and ruled as absolute king for ten years. But afterwards he ordered the *khuṭba* to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humāyūn's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmīrīs.

The father of Qarā Bahādur was Mīrzā Maḥmūd; hence Q. B. was M. Ḥaydar's cousin. As he had been with M. Ḥ. in Kashmīr, Akbar, in the 6th year, ordered him to re-conquer the province, and gave him a large corps. But Q. B. delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Rājor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghāzī Khān, who had usurped the throne of Kashmīr. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mālwa, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandū. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qarā Bahādur, *vide* No. 183.

180. **Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā**, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā [son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā].

Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā is a Tīmūride. His tree is as follows :—

ʿUmar Shaykh Mīrzā (second son of Tīmūr).
|
Mīrzā Bāyqrā.
|
Mīrzā Manṣūr.
|
M. Bāyqrā.[1]
|
Wais Mīrzā.
|
Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā.
|
(1) Ulugh Mīrzā. (2) Shāh Mīrzā. (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. (4) Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. (5) Masʿūd Ḥusayn M. (6) ʿĀqil Ḥusayn M.

Sons of (1) Ulugh Mīrzā:
(1) Sikandar Mīrzā, *sive* Ulugh Mīrzā.
(2) Maḥmūd Sulṭān M., *sive* Shāh Mīrzā.

Son of (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M.:
Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (No. 180).

[[1] His brother is Abū 'l-Ghāzī Sulṭān Ḥasayn Mīrzā.—B.]

The mother of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā was the daughter of the renowned Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān, at whose Court Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā held a place of distinction. After Sulṭān Ḥusayn's death, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā went to Bābar, who treated him with every distinction. Humāyūn also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mīrzā was killed in the expedition against the Hazāras, and Shāh Muḥammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mīrzā had two sons, Sikandar Mīrzā and Maḥmūd Sulṭān Mīrzā; but Humāyūn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mīrzā, and Maḥmūd Sulṭān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā.

As Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (*taklīf-i bār*), and gave him the pargana of Aʿẓampūr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shāh Mīrzā. At Aʿẓampūr in his old age, Muḥammad Sulṭān M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 3. Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and 4. ʿĀqil Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

In the 11th year of Akbra's reign, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, invaded India and besieged Lāhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Shāh M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. and Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. The rebellious Mīrzās went plundering from Sambhal, to Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Jaunpūr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihlī, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā. He died a short time after in his prison at Bi,ānā. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khān Zamān, and conquered Chītor, he made Shihāb Khān (No. 26) governor of Mālwa, and ordered him to punish the Mīrzās.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mīrzās unable to withstand Shihāb Khān fled to Chingiz Khān (p. 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrāt. Chingiz Khān was at war with Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67) of Aḥmadābād; and as the Mīrzās had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahrōch as jāgīr. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz Khān had to send a corps against them. Though the Mīrzās defeated his troops they withdrew to Khāndesh, and re-entered Mālwa. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khān (No. 74), Ṣādiq Khān

No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantanbhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadā, where many soldiers of the Mīrzās perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khān had been murdered by Jhujhār Khān and as Gujrāt was in a state of disorder, the Mīrzās with little fighting, occupied Champānīr, Bahrōch, and Sūrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrāt and occupied Aḥmadabad. Dissensions having broken out among the Mīrzās, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. left Bahrōch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp. Most of Akbar's Amīrs had the day before been sent away towards Sūrat in search of Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. Hearing of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn's arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) after the Amīrs whilst he himself marched to the Mahindrī River, where it flows past the town of Sarnāl. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amīrs returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given and after a hard fight, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. was defeated. He fled towards Āgra, whilst his wife, Gulrukh Begam, a daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) with a garrison in Aḥmadābād, ordering at the same time Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn (No. 28) to join ʿAzīz with the Mālwa contingent. Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. and Shāh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khān Fūlādī, a Gujrātī noble, and besieged Paṭan. ʿAzīz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 432). Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. then withdrew to the Dakhin.

Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. and his younger brother Masʿūd Ḥusayn M. having met with resistance at Nāgor (p. 384), invaded the Panjāb. The governor, Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) at that time besieged Nagarkoṭ, and hearing of the inroad of the Mīrzās, made peace with the Rāja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Masʿūd. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn fled towards Multān, and was soon afterwards wounded, and captured by some Balūchīs. He then fell into the hands of Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Āgra, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrāt, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambhāit by Nawrang Khān (p. 354) and joined the party of Ikhtiyārᵘ 'l-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. They then marched against Aḥmadābad and besieged M. ʿAzīz Koka. To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Āgra to Paṭan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumāda I, 981 (p. 458), with about 1,000 horse,

at a place 3 *kos* from Aḥmadābād. Leaving Ikhtiyār to continue the siege, Muḥammad Ḥusayn opposed the emperor, but was defeated and wounded. In his flight his horse fell over a bramble, when two troopers captured him, and led him to Akbar. Each of the two men claimed the customary reward, and when Bīr Baṛ, at Akbar's request, asked Muḥammad Ḥusayn which of the two had taken him prisoner, he said, "The salt of the emperor has caught me; for those two could not have done it." Ikhtiyār, on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muḥammad Ḥusayn, raised the siege, and fled with his 5,000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ikhtiyār got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhrāb Turkmān who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muḥammad Ḥusayn also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ray Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Shāh Mīrzā had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhin, entered Gujrāt and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rāja Toḍar Mal and Vazīr Khān (p. 379) and fled to Jūnāgaḍh. When the Rāja had gone, Muẓaffar besieged Vazīr in Aḥmadābād. During the siege he managed to attach Vazīr's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Mihr ʿAlī Kolābī, who had led the young Muẓaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muẓaffar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazrbār. Soon after, he was captured by Rāja ʿAlī of Khāndesh, and handed over to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he showed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sulṭān Khānum. He also gave him the Sarkār of Qanawj as *tuyūl*. Muẓaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the *tuyūl*, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Āsīr, he sent Muẓaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwāja Fatḥ[u] 'llāh, and one day, he decamped for Gujrāt. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Sūrat and Baglāna, when he was caught by Khwāja Waisī and taken before the Emperor. After having been imprisoned for some time, he was let off in the 46th year. He died, not long after, a natural death.

His sister, Nūr[u] 'n-Nisā, was married to Prince Salīm (*vide* No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begam, Muẓaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahāngīr at Ajmīr.

181. **Qundūq Khān**, brother of the well-known Bayrām Oghlān.

The *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) mentions a Qundūq Sulṭān, who accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

For *Qundūq*, some MSS. read *Qundūz*. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Munʿim, and died at Gaur (p. 407).

182. **Sulṭān ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sulṭān (No. 178).

183. **Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān**, son of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's brother (*vide* No. 179).

184. **Qiyā Khān**, son of Ṣāḥib Khān.

In the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma* he is generally called قیا صاحب حسن, which may mean "Qiyā, the beautiful", or "Qiyā, son of Ṣāḥib Ḥasan". Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izāfat.[1] It looks as if the reading صاحب خان of the Āʾīn MSS. was a mistake. The words صاحب حسن are intended to distinguish him from Qiyā Gung (No. 33).

Qiyā served under Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn Atga against Bayrām (p. 332). He was also present in the battle of Sārangpūr (*vide* No. 120).

185. **Darbār Khān**, ʿInāyat [ullah], son of Takaltū Khān, the Reader.

Darbār's father was Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reader. ʿInāyat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbār Khān. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Mālwa, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khān Zamān. He accompanied the emperor to Rantanbhūr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muʿīn-i Chishtī in Ajmīr, Darbār Khān took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Āgra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the *Maʾāṣir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one of Akbar's dogs, which he had built. The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial master.

186. **ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān**, son of Muʿayyid Dūlday.

The name *Dūlday* had been explained above on p. 388. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān's great-grandfather, Mīr Shāh Malik, had served under Tīmūr. ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān was killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat. *Vide* under his son Barkhurdār, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.

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[1] **Thus you say** هلاکو ملعون**, for** هلاکوی ملعون**; the accursed Hulāgū.**

187. **Qāsim ʿAlī Khān.**

When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No. 13), Qāsim ʿAlī Khān held Ghāzīpūr. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Sūrat, and in the following year, with Khān ʿĀlam (No 58) in the conquest of Patna under Munʿim. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujāʿat Khān (No. 51) a prisoner to Munʿim, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Ṣādiq (No. 43) against Madhukar Bundela, and in the 25th year, under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Ḥājī Begam, daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother (*taghāʾī zāda-yi wālida-yi Jannat-āstānī*), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each Ṣūba, Q. A. and Fatḥ Khān Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khayrābād to Court, and soon after received Kālpī as jāgīr. "Nothing also is known of him."[1] *Maʾāṣir.* For his brother, *vide* No. 390.

188. **Bāz Bahādur,** son of Sharīf Khān (No. 63).

Vide above, p. 415.

189. **Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh,** son of Mīr Khwānanda.

Some MSS. have "Khwānd" instead of "Khwānanda." Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of ʿAbdᵘ'llāh Khān Uzbak. In the 17th year, he was with the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) in the first Gujrāt war. Later, he served under Munʿim in Bengal, and was with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the battle of Takaroī (p. 406). In 984, he brought the news of Daʾūd's defeat and death at Āgmaḥal (p. 350) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) and under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), chiefly against Maʿṣūm-i Farankhūdī (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in Kashmīr. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmīrīs, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. **Dhārū,** son of Rāja Todar Mal (No. 39).

Vide above, p. 378.

191. **Aḥmad Beg-i Kābulī.**

Aḥmad Beg traces his origin to Mīr Ghiyāṣᵘ 'd'Dīn Tarkhān, a Chaghtāʾī noble who served under Tīmūr. Like Shāh Beg (No. 57), Tāj Khān

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[1] Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* mentions a Qāsim ʿAlī on p. 58, l. 2 from below; but according to the *Maʾāṣir*, we have there to read *Qāsim Beg* for *Qāsim ʿAlī.*

(No. 172), Abū 'l-Qāsim (No. 199), Maʿṣūm Khān (p. 476, note 1), and Takhta Beg (No. 195), A. B. entered, after M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yūsuf Khān-i Raẓawī (No. 35), a jāgīr in Kashmīr. He married the sister of Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khān. (No. 98).

During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to the post of a commander of 3,000, and received the title of *Khān*, and also a flag. He was for some time governor of Kashmīr. On his removal, he went to Court, and died.

From the *Tuzuk* we see that Aḥmad Beg in the first year of Jahāngīr was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshāwar as jāgīr. In the second year he was ordered to punish the Afghān tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2,500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khān (No. 42), he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantanbhūr (*Tuzuk*, p. 136). In the following year, he was released (*l.c.*, p. 146) and sent to Kashmīr (*l.c.*, p. 149).

Aḥmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers. They are :—

1. *Muḥammad Masʿūd*[1] (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Tārīkīs. His son, Ardsher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

2. *Saʿīd Khān Bahādur Ẓafar-jang* (second son). He rose during the reign of Shāhjahān to the high dignity of a commander of 7,000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kābul, the Panjāb, and Bihār. He died on the 2nd Ṣafar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khānazād Khān and Luṭfu 'llāh, were killed in the Balkh war, where Saʿīd also was severely wounded. Two other sons, ʿAbdu 'llāh and Fatḥu 'llah, rose to high commands.

3. *Mukhliṣu 'llāh Khān Iftikhār Khān*. He rose under Shāhjahān to a command of 2,000, one thousand horse, and was Fawjdār of Jammū (*Pādishāhn.*, I, p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

4. *Abū 'l-Baqā*. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Saʿīd, under whom he served. He was thānadār of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahār expedition, he got the title of *Iftikhār Khān*, at the same time that his elder brother received that of *Ẓafar-jang*, and was made a commander of 1,500, one thousand horse.

192. **Ḥakīm ʿAlī**, of Gīlān.

ʿAlī came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate

[[1] Mentioned Tuzuk, p. 307.—B.]

enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (*mulāzim*) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, ʿAlī correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bījāpūr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, ʿĀdil Shāh suddenly died.[1]

In the 39th year, Ḥakīm ʿAlī constructed the wonderful reservoir (*ḥawẓ*), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six *gaz* square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, ʿAlī was a commander of 700, and had the title of *Jālīnūs*[u] *'z-Zamānī*, "the Galenus of the age." His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhœa, which no remedies could stop. ʿAlī had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentery was stopped, costive fever and strangury ensued. He therefore administered purgatives, which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died. The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusraw at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahāngīr) had an elephant of the name of *Girānbār*, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of *Ābrūp*, one of Khusraw's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, *Rantahman*, was selected as *ṭabāncha*, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) sat at a window, whilst Salīm and Khusraw were on horse back in the arena. Girānbār completely worsted Ābrūp, and as he mauled

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[1] ʿĀdil Shāh was murdered in 988 by a young handsome eunuch, whom he attempted to use for an immoral purpose. The king was known as much for his justice and goodwill towards his subjects as for his mania for boys and unnatural crimes. He obtained with some exertion two young and handsome eunuchs from Malik Barīd of Bedar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mawlānā Raẓā of Mashhad, poetically styled Raẓāī, found the *tārīkh* of his death in the words *Shāh-i jahān shud shahīd* (988), "The king of the world became a martyr."

him too severely, the *tabāncha* elephant was sent off to Ābrūp's assistance. But Jahāngīr's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salīm to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salīm said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamna. This annoyed Akbar more ; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khursaw came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for ʿAlī, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khursaw's bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jajāngīr also visited ʿAlī's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2,000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muḥarram, 1018. Jahāngīr says of him (*Tuzuk*, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the *Qānūn*. "But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart ; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man." Once Jahāngīr hinted that ʿAlī had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6,000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.[1]

He had a son, known as *Ḥakīm ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wahhāb*. He held a *manṣab*. In the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Rs., which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāẓī on it, and the statements of two witnesses. The Sayyids, who denied all knowledge, seeing that the case went against them, appealed to the Emperor. Jahāngīr ordered Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) to investigate the case. ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wahhāb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Āṣaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wahhāb, and the Emperor deprived him of his manṣab and jāgīr. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, 6, 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse.

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[1] *Badā,onī* (III, 166) says that ʿAlī was the son of the sister of Ḥakīmᵘ 'l Mulk of Gīlān, and learned medicine and science under Shāh Fatḥᵘ 'llāh of Shīrāz. He was a rabid Shīʿah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he killed Fatḥᵘ 'llāh by prescribing *harīsa* (*vide* p. 34, note). [*Harīsa* is said to be some concoction of meat and wheat.—P.]

193. Gūjar Khān, son of Quṭb^u 'd-Dīn Khān Atga (No. 28).

He was mentioned above under No. 28.

194. Ṣadr Jahān Muftī.

Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān was born in Pihānī, a village near Qanawj.[1] Through the influence of Shaykh ʿAbd^u 'n-Nabī he was made *Muftī*. When ʿAbd^u 'llāh Khān Uzbak, king of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islām, Mīrān Ṣadr and Ḥakīm (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to ʿAbd^u 'llāh contained a few Arabic verses which ʿAbd^u 'llāh could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy—

قيل ان الاله ذو ولد   قيل. ان الرسول قد كهنا
ما نجا الله والرسول معا   من لسان الوري فكيف انا

"Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—Then how should I?"

Mīrān returned in the 34th year, and was made *Ṣadr* (*vide* p. 284). In the 35th year, at the feast of Ābānmāh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Ṣadr and ʿAbd^u 'l-Ḥay (No. 230), the Chief Justice of the empire, took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well-known verse from Hāfiz :—

در دور پادشاه خطابخش جرم پوش حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتي پياله‌نوش

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700; but later, he was made an Amīr, and got a manṣab of 2,000 (*vide* p. 217–18).

During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4,000, and received Qanawj as *tuyūl*. As Ṣadr under Jahāngīr he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1020, at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last.

His position to Akbar's "Divine Faith" has been explained above (p. 217–18). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more for it than he. He also composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Badā,onī, he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons :—

1. *Mīr Badr-i ʿĀlam.* He lived a retired life.
2. *Sayyid Niẓām Khān.* His mother was a Brāhman woman, of

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[1] So Badā,onī. The *Maʾāṣir* says, Pihānī lies near Lakhnau.

whom his father had been so enamoured that he married her; hence Niẓām was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2,500, two thousand horse. In the first year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and received, on the death of Murtaẓā Khān Injū (p. 501) the title of *Murtaẓā Khān*. He served a long time in the Dakhin. His *tuyūl* was the Pargana of Dalamau, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Fawjdār of Lakhnau. In the 24th year of Shāhj.'s reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms *per annum* out of the revenue of Pihānī, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Muqtadir and ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh were appointed to manṣabs, and received as *tuyūl* the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihānī. ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Muqtadir rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Fawjdār of Khayrābād.

195. **Takhta Beg-i** Kābulī [Sardār Khān].

He was at first in the service of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and distinguished himself in the wars with India; but on the death of his master (30th year) he joined Akbar's service. He served under Mān Singh and Zayn Koka against the Yūsufzāīs. As Thānahdār of Peshāwar he punished on several occasions the Tārīkīs. In the 49th year, he was made a *Khān*.

After Jahāngīr's accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and received the title of *Sardār Khān*. He was sent with Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān (p. 392), to relieve Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57) in Qandahār. As Shāh Beg was appointed governor of Kābul, Takhta was made governor of Qandahār, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Peshāwar, called the *Bāgh-i Sardār Khān*. His two sons, Ḥayāt Khān and Hidāyatᵘ 'llāh got low manṣabs.

196. **Ray Patr Dās** [Rāja Bikramājīt], a Khatrī.

Patr Dās was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant stables, and had the title of *Rāy Rāyān*. He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chītor. In the 24th year, he and Mīr Adham were made joint dīwāns of Bengal. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 485), but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was made dīwān of Bihār. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bāndhū (p. 446), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made dīwān of Kābul,

but was in the following year again sent to Bāndhū. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3,000. When Abū 'l-Fazl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bīr Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bīr Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Īrich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bīr Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Rāja Bikramājīt.

After Jahāngīr's accession, he was made *Mīr Ātash*, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (*topchī*) with a train of 3,000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (*Tuzuk*, p. 10).

When the sons of Muẓaffar of Gujrāt created disturbances, and Yatīm Bahādur had been killed, Patr was sent to Aḥmadābād with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted up to commands of Yūzbāshīs, or to recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the Emperor.

"The year of his death is not known." *Maʿāṣir*.

The Rāy Mohan Dās mentioned occasionally in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Tuzuk* (p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. **Shaykh ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm**, of Lakhnau.

He belongs to the Shaykhzādas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamāl Bakhtyār (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjāb, ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyālkoṭ in Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ's dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brāhman woman of the name of Kishnā. After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas. In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a *panjhazārī* to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm was mentioned above on p. 359–60.

198. **Mednī Rāy Chauhān.**

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrāt. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who was with him in Gujrāt, says in the *Ṭabqāt*—"Mednī Rāy is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i.e., in 1001) a commander of 1,000."

199. **Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn** [Qāsim Khān].

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tamkīn* (تمكين) instead of *Namakīn*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim was a Sayyid of Hirāt. He was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother and king of Kābul. But he left Kābul, and on entering Akbar's service, he received Bhīra and Khushāb in the Punjāb as jāgīr. As his lands lay within the *Namaksār*,[1] or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (*namak-ḥalālī*), with a plate and a cup made of salt (*namakīn*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of *Namakīn*.

Abū 'l-Qāsim served in the war with Dā'ūd of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kābul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismā'īl Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balūchīs. In the 32nd year, the Afghān chiefs of Sawād and Bajor, and Terāh waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abū 'l-Qāsim Krorī and Fawjdār of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afghānistān. The chiefs themselves were retained at Court. Renewed fights, in the 33rd year, gave him frequent occasions of distinguishing himself.

Up to the 40th year, he rose to a command of 700. In the 43rd year, he was appointed to Bhakkar. He built the great mosque in Sukkhar, opposite to Bhakkar. The inhabitants accused him of oppressions, and he was deposed. A party of the oppressed arrived with him at Court, and lodged a new complaint against him with 'Abdu 'l-Ḥay (No. 230), the Qāẓī of the imperial camp (*urdū*). But Abū 'l-Qāsim, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaykh Ma'rūf, Ṣadr of Bhakkar, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes. The next day he went to the Emperor, and complained of the Qāẓī, stating that there were no complainants, and 'Abdu 'l-Ḥay tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qāẓīs should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor.

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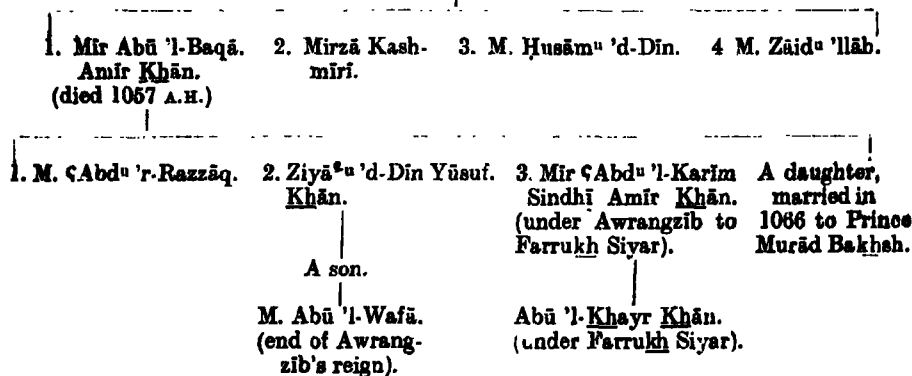
[1] The *namaksār*, or salt-range, says the *Ma'āṣir*, is a district 20 *kos* long, and belongs to the Sind Sāgar Du,āb, between the Bahat and the Indus. People break off pieces from the salt rocks, and carry them to the banks of the river, where the price is divided between the miners and the carriers, the former taking ¼ and the latter ¾ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dām to two dāms (one rupee = 40 dāms) per *man*, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 *mans*. The salt is also often made into ornaments.

Abū 'l-Qāsim was, soon after, made a Khān, got a higher manṣab, and received Gujrāt in the Panjāb as *tuyūl*. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khusraw has been mentioned above (p. 456, note 1, where *Tamkīn* is to be altered to *Namakīn*). For his services he was again appointed to Bkakkar with the rank of a commander of 3,000. He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town, southwards towards Loharī, near the branch of the river called *Kahārmātrī* (کہار ماتری), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of *Ṣuffa-yi Ṣafā* (the dais of purity). He and several of his descendants were buried in it.

He is said to have been a most voracious man. He could eat—historians do not specify the time—1,000 mangoes, 1,000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a *man*. The *Ma*ʻ*āṣir* says, he had 22 sons, and the *Tuzuk* (p. 13) says he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters.

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the *Ma*ʻ*āṣir*:—

Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (settled at Bhakkar in 1015).

- 1. M̄ir Abū 'l-Baqā. Amīr Khān. (died 1057 A.H.)
  - 1. M. ʻAbdu 'r-Razzāq.
  - 2. Ziyāʼu 'd-Dīn Yūsuf. Khān.
    - A son.
      - M. Abū 'l-Wafā. (end of Awrangzīb's reign).
  - 3. Mīr ʻAbdu 'l-Karīm Sindhī Amīr Khān. (under Awrangzīb to Farrukh Siyar).
    - Abū 'l-Khayr Khān. (under Farrukh Siyar).
  - A daughter, married in 1066 to Prince Murād Bakhsh.
- 2. Mirzā Kashmīrī.
- 3. M. Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn.
- 4 M. Zāidu 'llāh.

Mīr Abū 'l-Baqā Amīr Khān rose under Jahāngīr to a command of 2,500, fifteen hundred horse. Through the influence of Yamīnu 'd-Dawla he was made governor of Multān, and in the 2nd year of Shāhjahān, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand horse, and appointed to Thathah, *vice* Murtaẓā-yi Injū deceased (p. 501). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyūldār of Bīr in the Dakhin, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Sīwistān *vice* Qarāq Khān. In the following year he was again appointed to Thathah, where, in 1057 (20th year), he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahāngīr he was generally called Mīr Khān. Shāhjahān gave him the title of Amīr Khān.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murād Bakhsh, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of

Shāhnawāz Khān-i Ṣafawī.[1] Amīr Khān had a large family. His eldest son, Mīr ʿAbdᵘ r'Razzāq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His second son, Ẓiyāʾᵘ 'd-Dīn Yūsuf, was made a Khān, and held under Shāhjahān a manṣab of 1,000, six hundred horse. Ẓiyāʾ's grandson, Abū 'l-Wafā, was in the end of Awrangzīb's reign in charge of his majesty's prayer room (*dārogha-yi jā-namāz*). Amīr Khān's youngest son, Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Karīm, was a personal friend of Awrangzīb. He received in succession the titles of Multafit Khān, Khānazād Khān (45th year of Awrangzīb), Mīr Khānazād Khān, and Amīr Khān (48th year), and held a command of 3,000. After Awrangzīb's death, he was with Muḥammad Aʿẓam Shāh; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (*bungāh*) at Gwāliyār. After the death of Muḥammad Aʿẓam in the battle of Sarāy Jāju,[2] Bahādur Shāh made him a commander of 3,500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh's death, the Bārha brothers made Amīr Khān *ṣadr* of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abū 'l-Khayr, was made a Khān by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no manṣabs, but lived on their zamīndārīs.

2. ***Mīrzā Kashmīrī*** was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (*siyāsat-i ghayr-mukarrar*, *Tuzuk*, p. 32) Jahāngīr ordered his *penis* to be cut off.

3. ***Mīrzā Husānᵘ 'd-Dīn.*** He held a manṣab, but died young.

4. ***Mīrzā Zāʾidᵘ 'llāh.*** He was in the service of Khān Jahān Lodī.

200. **Wazīr Beg Jamīl.**[3]

Wazīr Jamīl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar's reign against ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān Uzbak, and in the war with Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahādur Khān (No. 22) was thrown off his horse, W. J., instead of taking him prisoner, accepted a bribe from him, and let him off. But Naẓar Bahādur, a man in the service of Majnūn Khān (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahādur prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jāgīr in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Oṛīsā under Munʿim Khān. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qāqshāls: but when they separated from Maʿṣūm-i

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[1] Shahnawāz Khān-i Ṣafawī is the title of Mīrzā Badīʿᵘ 'z-Zamān, *alias* Mīrzā Dakhinī, son of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dilras Bānū Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Awrangzīb. Another was married, in 1052, to Prince Murād Bakhsh. Elphinstone (*History of India*, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawāz Khān by mistake the brother of Shāyista Khān; but Shāyista is the son of Yamīnᵘ 'd-Dawla Āṣaf Khān, elder brother of Nūr Jahān.

[2] Sarāy Jājū, near Dholpūr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabīʿ I, 1119, and Muḥammad Aʿẓam was killed with his two sons, Bedār Bakht and Wālā-jāh.

[3] Jamīl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindūstān.

Kābulī (p. 476, note) and tendered their submission, W. J. also was pardoned. In the 29th year, he came to Court, and served in the following year under Jagnāth (No. 69) against the Rānā. He seems to have lived a long time. Jahāngīr, on his accession, made him a commander of 3,000 (*Tuzuk*, p. 8.).

He is not to be confounded with the Jamīl Beg mentioned under No. 172.

201. **Ṭāhir**, [son of] Sayf[u] 'l-Mulūk.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Ṭāhir was the son of Shāh Muḥammad Sayf[u] 'l-Mulūk.[1] His father was governor of Gharjistān in Khurāsān, and was killed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia. Ṭāhir went to India, was made an Amīr at Akbar's Court, and served in Bengal, where he was when the author of the Ṭabaqāt wrote (1001).

He is also mentioned in Dowson's Edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, pp. 241, 242.

202. **Bābū Manklī.**

Regarding the name "Manklī", *vide* p. 400, note 1. The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Bābū Manklī was an Afghān, and a commander of 1,000.

He was at first in Dā'ūd's service, and occupied Ghorāghāt at the time when Mun'im Khān had invaded Oṛīsā (p. 400). Soon after, he entered Akbar's service, but continued to be employed in Bengal. In the 30th year, he suppressed disturbances at Ghorāghāt (*Akbarn.* III, 470), and took part, in the 35th year, in the operations against Qutlū Khān. Two years later he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition to Oṛīsā.

He may have lived under Jahāngīr; for the Manklī Khān mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (pp. 70, 138) can only refer to him. The *Tuzuk* (p. 12) mentions a son of his, Ḥātim. Another son, Maḥmūd, appears to have been a commander of 500, three hundred horse, under Shāhjahān (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., p. 323) though the text edition of the *Bibl. Indica* calls him *son of Yābū Maikulī* (یابو میکلی, for بابو منکلی).

XVI. Commanders of Six Hundred.

203. **Muḥammad Qulī Khān Turkmān** [*Afshār*, p. 452].

He served at first in Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he took the side of the rebels, but left them, and was pardoned by Akbar. In the 30th year, he marched with Mān Singh to Kābul, where he greatly distinguished himself. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No. 42) was

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[1 *Vide* No. 401.—B.]

appointed to Kābul, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, his brother Hamza Beg (perhaps No. 277), and others, were sent to Kashmīr, *vice* Yūsuf Khān (No. 35, and p. 452). In the 45th year, a party of Kasmīrīs tried to set up Ambā Chak[1] as king; but they were defeated by ʿAlī Qulī, son of M. Q. Kh. In the 47th year, M. Q. Kh. was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse; and Hamza Beg, one of 700, three hundred and fifty horse. New disturbances broke out when in the following year ʿAlī Rāy, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival. and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Sayfu 'llāh (No. 262) from Lāhor. In the 49th year, Ambā again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains.

In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, M. Q. Kh. was removed from Kashmīr. Hamza Beg was, in the 49th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of 1,000.

204. Bakhtyār Beg Gurd-i Shāh Manṣūr.

The *Iẓāfat* most likely means that he was the son of Shāh Manṣūr, in which case the word *gurd* (athlete) would be Bakhtyār's epithet. Two MSS. have the word *pisar* (son) instead of *gurd*.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says: "Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān is an Amīr, and governs at present (1001) Sīwistān." In the 32nd year, he served against the Tārīkīs.

205. Ḥakīm Humām,[2] son of Mīr ʿAbdu 'r-Razzāq of Gīlān.

Regarding his family connection, *vide* No. 112, p. 468. Humām's real name is Humāyūn. When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī, or "slave of Humāyūn"; but soon afterwards Akbar gave him the name of Ḥumām. He held the office of Bakāwal Beg (p. 59), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at Court. In the 31st year he was sent with Ṣadr Jahān (No. 194) to Tūrān as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Ḥumām's absence. He returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabīʿ I, 1004. *Badā,onī* (II, p. 406) says, the day after Ḥumām's death, Kamālā (p. 264) also died, and their property was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, so that they were destitute of a decent shroud.

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[1] The MSS. have انبا. The *Tuzuk* mentions "a Kashmīrī of royal blood", of the name of انبه. He was killed by Sher Afkan (*vide* No. 394) at Bardwān, on the 3rd Ṣafar, 1016.

[2] Humām, not Hammām, is the Indian pronunciation.

Ḥumām had two sons :—

1. *Ḥakim Ḥāẕiq* (حاذق). He was born at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and was a young man when his father died. At Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and was sent, in the 1st year, to Tūrān as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3,000. Later, for some reason, his manṣab was cancelled, and he lived at Āgra on a pension of 20,000 rupees *per annum*, which in the 18th year was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068).[1] He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of *Ḥāẕiq*. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his dīwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salāms ; else he got offended.

2. *Ḥakīm Khushʿḥāl.* He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000. He was for some time Bakhshī of the Dakhin.

206. **Mīrzā Anwar**, son of Khān-i Aʿẕam Mīrzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on page 346.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. **Baltū Khān** of Turkistān.

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration.

208. **Mīrak Bahādur Arghūn.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* says he reached a command of 2,000, and died.[2] From the *Akbarnāma* (II, 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa (*vide* No. 120) and in the pursuit of Sharafᵘ 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17).

209. **Laʿl Khān Kolābī.**

He is also called Laʿl Khān *Badakhshī* (*vide* p. 484), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (*Akbarn.* I. 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū. Later, he served under Munʿim in Bengal and Orīsā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 407).

210. **Shaykh Aḥmad**, son of Shaykh Salīm.

He is the second (*miyānī*) son of Shaykh Salīm of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. He served at Court with Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985).[3]

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[1] The *Maʾāṣir* says that the author of the *Mir-ʾātᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam* mentions 1080 as the year of his death ; but my MS. of the *Mirʾ-āt* (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humāyūn to Awrangzīb) mentions no year.

[[2] Died in 975. He was blown up before Chitor ; *Sawāniḥ*, p. 201.—B.]

[[3] *Sawāniḥ*, p. 370.—B.]

211. **Iskandar Beg-i Badakhshī.**

He is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 251) as having served in the pursuit of Abūl 'l-Maʿālī (end of the 8th year).

212. **Beg Nūrīn Khān Qūchīn.**

He served under Muʿizzu 'l-Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khayrābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under ʿAbdu 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) and Ṣadīq Khān (No. 43) against the Tārīkīs.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says he was a commander of 1,000, and was dead in 1001.

213. **Jalāl Khān Qūrchi.**

Akbar was much attached to him. In the 7th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagela (No. 89) with the request to allow Tānsīn to go to Court. In the 11th year, it came to the Emperor's ears that J. was passionately attached to a beautiful boy. Akbar had the boy removed; but J. managed to get him again, and fled with him from Court. M. Yūsuf Raẓawī pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwāna and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rāja Chandr Sen of Mārwār. During the expedition a Rājpūt introduced himself to him who pretended to be Devī Dās, who had been killed at Mīrtha, evidently with a view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kallā, son of Rām Rāy, and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detachment of imperialists was sent to Kallā's palace. Kallā now wished to take revenge on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimāl Khān (No. 154) to help him. Shimāl therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.'s men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men and entered one night a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimāl. But it happened to be that of Jalāl, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, *Akbarn.*, III, 140).

It was Jalāl who introduced the historian Badāonī at Court.

214. **Parmānand,** the Khatrī.

He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, p. 244.

215. **Timūr Khān Yakka.**

He served under Munʿim (No. 11) in Kābul, and, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (*Akbarn.*, II, 236, 326).

The Timūr-i Badakhshī mentioned several times in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 165, 174) appears to be another officer. *Vide* No. 142.

216. **Ṣānī Khān,** of Hirāt.

He was born at Hirāt, and belonged to the Arlāt (ارلات) clan. According to the *Akbarnāma* (I, 379), Mawlānā Ṣani, "who is now called *Ṣānī*

Khān ", was in the service of Mīrzā Hindāl; but after the Mīrzā's death (21st Zī Qaʿda, 958) he was taken on by Humāyūn. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān.

Badā,onī (III, 206) says that his real name was ʿAlī Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbīhī of Kāshān, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nuqṭawī doctrines (p. 502). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. **Sayyid Jamālᵘ 'd-Dīn**, son of Sayyid Aḥmad Bārha (No. 91).

Vide above, p. 447. He had also served in the final war with Khān Zamān.

218. **Tagmal**, the Pūwār.

He served in the second Gujrāt war after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458 note).

219. **Ḥusayn Beg**, brother of Ḥusayn Khān Buzurg.

220. **Ḥasan Khān Baṭanī.**[1]

The *Ṭabaqāt* classes him among the commanders of 1,000. He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulaymān, and was present with Sulaymān Manklī (p. 400) and Kālā Pahāṛ at the interview between Munʿim and Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). *Akbarn.*, II, 325.

Ḥasan was killed with Bīr Baṛ in the Khaybar Pass; *vide* p. 214. MSS. often call him wrongly *Ḥusayn* instead of *Ḥasan*.

221. **Sayyid Chhajhū,**[2] of Bārha.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that S. Chhajhū was a brother of S. Maḥmūd (No. 75) and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bārha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kūndlīwāl. His tomb still exists at Majhera, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. **Munṣif Khān**, Sulṭān Muḥammad of Hirāt.

223. **Qāẓī Khān Bakhshī.**

Some MSS. have *Badakhshī* instead of *Bakhshī*. *Vide* No. 144.

224. **Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān.**

He was at first in Kāmrān's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyā Khān (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yūsuf Khān, whom Khān Zamān (No. 13) besieged in Qanawj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) against M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, and was present in the battle of Sarnāl. In the 19th year, he went with Munʿim to Bengal and Oṛīsā, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 407).

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[1] *Baṭanī* is the name of an Afghān tribe, N.W. of Derā Ismāʿīl Khān.

[2] The spelling " Chhajhū " is preferable to " Jhajhū ".

225. **Rāwul Bhīm**, of Jaisalmīr.

The *Tuzuk* says (p. 159):—"On the 9th Khurdād (middle of 1025), Kalyān of Jaisalmīr was introduced at Court by Rājā Kishn Dās, whom I had sent to him. Kalyān's elder brother was *Rāwul Bhīm*, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhīm's daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of *Malika-yi Jahān*. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhīm's brother to Court, invested him with the *ṭīkā*, and made him Rāwul." [1]

For Kalyān, *vide* under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 163).

226. **Hāshim Beg**, son of Qāsim Khān (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulij Khān (No. 42), the new governor of Kābul, Hāshim returned to Court. In the 41st year, he served under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bāsū and other rebellious zamīndārs in the north-eastern part of the Panjāb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Maụ. In the 44th year, he served under Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99) before Āsīr. Later, he went with Saʿādat Khān to Nāsik.[2] After the conquest of Tiranbak, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500.

In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 2,000, fifteen hundred horse. In the 2nd year, his manṣab was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Oṛīsā. In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmīr, his uncle Khwājagī Muḥammad

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[1] The list of Jahāngīr's wives on p. 323 may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malika-yi Jahān, daughter of Rāwul Bhīm of Jaisalmīr. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zayn Koka, mentioned on p. 369. There is a curious discrepancy between *Tuzuk*, p. 8, and *Akbarnāma*, III, 594: Jahāngīr says that Parwīz was his son by Zayn Koka's daughter, and Abū 'l-Faẓl says that Parwīz's mother was the daughter of Khwājah Ḥasan, Zayn Khān's uncle (*vide* also p. 367), but there is no doubt that Parwīz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Ābān, 997, whilst Jahāngīr, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zayn Khān's daughter (p. 369). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Aḥmad's text of *Tuzuk*, p. 8, be correct, that Jahāngīr had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son (3) Nūrᵘ 'n-Nisā Begum (married in Jumādha, II, 1000), sister of Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, p. 464. (4) A daughter of the King of Khandesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar's reign (5) Ṣāliha Bānū, daughter of Qāsim Khan, p. 401. (6) A daughter of Khwāja Jahān-i Kābulī (Dost Muḥammad) (7) A daughter of Saʿīd Khān Gakkhar. Her daughter, ʿIffat Bānū, is mentioned, *Akbarnāma*, III, 561 (8) The mother of Dawlat Nisā, *Akbarn.*, III, 597. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mīrzā Sanjar, son of Khiẓr Khān Hazāra; *Akbarn.*, III, 607. (10) A daughter of Rām Chand Bundela (No. 248) married in 1018; *Tuzuk*, p. 77.

[2] This Saʿādat Khān had first been in the service of the Dākhin kings as commander of the Forts of Gālna and Tiranbak; but later he entered Akbar's service.

Ḥusayn (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Oṛīsā. His successor in Oṛīsā was Rāja Kalyān, brother of Bhīm (No. 225).

Hāshim's son is the renowned Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Ātish. He was, in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's, a commander of 1,000, five hundred and ninety horse. Dārogha of the Topkhāna and Koṭwāl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balkh, Andkhūd, received the title of Muʿtamid Khān,[1] and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse, and Ākhta Begī. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and also got the title of Qāsim Khān. He then served under Awrangzīb in Qandahār, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4,000, two thousand five hundred horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sāntūr (سانتور), which the ruler of Srīnagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dārā Shikoh a commander of 5,000, five thousand sihaspa-duaspa, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Aḥmadābād (Gujrāt), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Mālwa. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Murād Bakhsh in check. When the Prince left Gujrāt, the two commanders marched against him *viâ* Bāswāra; but when approaching Khāchrod, Murād suddenly retreated 18 *kos*, and joined, 7 *kos* from Ujjain, the army of Awrangzīb. The two chiefs had received no information of Awrangzīb's march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Awṛangzīb and Dārā, at Samogar,[2] Qāsim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murābādād as *tuyūl*, as Rustam Khān-i Dakhinī, the former jāgīrdār, had fallen at Samogar. Qāsim was then charged with the capture of Sulaymān Shikoh In the 3rd year of Awrangzīb's reign he was appointed to Mathurā. On the way, he was murdered by a brother of his, who is said to have led a miserable life (1071). The murderer was executed at Awrangzīb's order.

227. **Mirzā Farīdūn**, son of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 364. His death took place at Udaipūr in 1023 (*Tuzuk*, p. 181).

228. **Yūsuf Khān** [Chak], king of Kashmīr.

Yūsuf's father was ʿAlī Khān Chak, king of Kashmīr. He died from a hurt he received during a game at *chaugān* (p. 309), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (*pesh-koha-yi zīn*). On his death, Yūsuf was raised to the throne (*Akbarnāma*, III, 237). He first surrounded

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[[1] Succeeded by Kalyān, commander of 1,500, eight hundred.—B.]

[2] *Vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1870, p. 275.

the palace of his uncle Abdāl, who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdāl was shot. A hostile party thereupon raised one Sayyid Mubārak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the *maydān* of Srīnagar, where the ˁĪd prayer is said, Yūsuf was defeated. Without taking further part in the struggle, he fled, and came, in the 24th year, to Akbar's Court, where he was well received. During his stay at Court, Sayyid Mubārak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yūsuf's uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year (*Akbarn.*, III, 288) the Emperor ordered several Panjāb nobles to reinstate Yūsuf. When the Imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmīrīs sued for mercy, and Yūsuf, whom they had solicited to come alone, without informing Akbar's commanders, entered Kashmīr, seized Lohar Chak without fighting, and commenced to reign.

Some time after, Ṣāliḥ Dīwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaykh Yaˁqūb-i Kashmīrī, a trusted servant, with his son Ḥaydar to Kashmīr, to remind Yūsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the Emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yūsuf sent his son Yaˁqūb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the Court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjāb; and Yaˁqūb, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Ḥakīm ˁAlī (No. 192) and Bahāˀu 'd-Dīn Kambū to Yūsuf to persuade him to come, or, if he could not himself come, to send again his son. As the embassy was without result, Akbar ordered Shāhrukh Mīrzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmīr. The Imperial army marched over Pakhlī, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (*Akbarn.*, III, 492).[1] Shāhrukh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmīrīs raised Awlād Ḥusayn, and, soon after, Yaˁqūb, Yūsuf's son, to the throne, but he was everywhere defeated. Information of Yūsuf's submission and the defeat of the Kashmīrīs was sent to Court, and at Srīnagar the *khuṭba* was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar's name. The cultivation of *zaˁfarān* (p. 89)[2] and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the

[1] The *Akbarnāma* (III, 492) calls the pass near Bāra Mūlah, where Yūsuf surrendered, بلیاس. The *Maˀāṣir* has بولیاس. It is evidently the same pass which the *Tuzuk* (p. 292) calls بولیاس کوتل, 2½ *kos* from Bārah Mūlah. The *Tuzuk* says that Bārah Mūlah means "place of the boar (*bārā*), which is one of the avatārs".

[2] Regarding the cultivation of *zaˁfarān* (saffron) *vide* also *Tuzuk*, p. 45.

army returned with Yūsuf Khān, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Ṭoḍar Mal was made responsible for Yūsuf's person.

As Yaʿqūb Khān and a large party of Kashmīrīs continued the struggle, Qāsim (No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmīr to put an end to the rebellion. Yaʿqūb was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yūsuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jāgīr in Bihār (*Akbarn.*, III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Mān Singh to Oṛīsā, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jhāṛkand and Kokra [1] (Chutiyā Nāgpūr) to Mednīpūr (*Akbarn.*, III, 641).

Yaʿqūb Khān, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the Court had gone to Kashmīr (p. 412).

Yūsuf Khān is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. **Nūr Qulij**, son of Āltūn Qulij.

Altūn or *āltūn* is Turkish, and means "gold".

Nūr Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khān (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Īdar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmīr to Gogunda. In the fight with the zamāndār of Īdar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sulṭān Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khān, who had been made governor of Gujrāt. He continued to serve there under Khānkhānān (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to Court.

230. **Mīr ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥay, Mīr ʿAdl.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him *Khwāja* ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥay, and says that he was an Amīr. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468, 471.

231. **Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī.**

Abū 'l-Fazl says that Shāh Qulī was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He

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[1] *Kokra* was mentioned above on p. 438. It is the old name of Chutiya Nāgpūr, one of the parganas of which is still called Kokra or Khukra, as spelt on the survey maps. The Rāja, Col. Dalton informs me, once resided in Kokra, at a place in lat. 23° 20′ and long. 88° 87′, nearly, where there is still an old fort. *Vide* also Vth Report (Madras edition, vol. I, p. 503; old edition, p. 417).

The Rāja of Kokra, who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 438) is called Mādhū. In the 37th year, Mādhū and Lakhmī Rāy of Kokra, served in Yūsuf Khān's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrām Singh Shāhā of Kharakpūr (p. 446 and Proceedings A.S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Pūran Mal of Gidhor belonged (*Akbarnāma* III, 641).

Kokra is again mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihār and the Dakhin. It was run over in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang, governor of Bihār, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rājas sent him as tribute. The then Rāja is called Durjan Sāl. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihār.

The *Tuzuk* has (*l.c.*) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokra.

was an old servant of Humāyūn. In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Khiẓr Khān (p. 394, note 1) in the Panjāb. He was much attached to Bayrām. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gaḍha, when Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him a commander of 1,000.

His son, Pādishāh Qulī, was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Jaẕbī*. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. **Farrukh Khān**, son of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned on pp. 338 and 384. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. **Shādmān**, son of Khān-i Aʿẓam Koka (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 346.

234. **Ḥakīm ʿAynᵘ 'l-Mulk**, of Shīrāz.

He is not to be confounded with Ḥakīmᵘ 'l-Mulk; *vide* below among the Physicians of the Court.

He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician Muḥaqqiq-i Dawwānī. The historian Badā,onī was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much. In the 9th year he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khān of Gujrāt. In the 17th year he brought Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67) and Mīr Abū Turāb to the Emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to ʿĀdil Khān of Bījāpūr, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (*Badā,onī* II, 250). He was then made Fawjdār of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when ʿArab Bahādur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Barelī, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year he was made Ṣadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bakhshī of the Ṣūba of Āgra. He was then attached to the Dakhin corps of ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21), and received Handi,a as jāgīr. When ʿAzīz, for some reason, cancelled his jāgīr, he went without permission to Court (35th year), but was at first refused audience. On inquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handia on the 27th Zī Ḥijja, 1003 (*Badā,onī* II, 403).

The Mīrzā'ī Masjid, also called Pādishāhī Masjid, in Old Barelī, Mīrzā'ī Maḥalla, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Ḥakīm was Fawjdār of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of Dawā,ī.

235. **Jānish Bahādur.**

Jānish Bahādur was mentioned on p. 368. He was at first in the

service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm king of Kābul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Yūsufzāī's, and saved Zayn's life in the Khaybar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khānkhānān in Thathah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to Court. Later, he served in the Dakhin. He died in the 46th year (1009). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, *Shujāʿat Khān Shādī Beg*. He was made, in the 7th year of Shāhjahān's reign, a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shād Khān. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Naẓr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1,500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, *vide* Shāh Qulī Khān. Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrat Khān, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000. In the 19th year he was with Prince Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kābul, *vice* Sīwā Rām, and held, in the following year, an important command under Awrangzīb in the Qandahār expedition and the conquest of Bust. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand five hundred horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahār, and was made, on Shāhjahān's arrival in Kābul, a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse, with the title of *Shujāʿat Khān*. In the 26th year, he served under Dārā Shikoh before Qandahār, and with Rustam Khān Bahādur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muḥammad Saʿīd.

236. **Mīr** Ṭāhir-i Mūsawī.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, Mīr Ṭāhir is "the brother of Mīrzā Yūsuf Raẓawī (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery". It would thus appear that Abū 'l-Faẓl makes no difference between the terms *Raẓawī* and *Mūsāwī* (*vide* p. 414, under No. 61).

237. **Mīrzā ʿAlī Beg,** ʿAlamshāhī.

He is mentioned in the *Akburnāma* among the grandees who accompanied Munʿim to Bengal and Orīsā, and took part in the battle of Takaro,ī (p. 406). After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mīr Ẓakī, ʿAbdī Kor, Shihāb-i Badakhshī, and Kūjak Yasāwul, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned, but Mīr Ẓakī alone was executed. *Akbarnāma*, III, 262.

His epithet *ʿAlamshāhī* is not clear to me.

He must not be confounded with the more illustrious [**Mīrzā ʿAlī Beg-i** Akbarshāhī].[1]

He was born in Badakhshān, and is said to have been a highly educated man. When he came to India he received the title of *Akbarshāhī*. In the 30th year, he commanded the Aḥadīs on Shāhrukh's expedition to Kashmīr (p. 535).

Later, he served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Aḥmadnagar, Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) occupied Mahkar. But new disturbances broke out under the Dakhin leaders, Azhdar Khān and ʿĀyn Khān, against whom Ṣādiq sent a corps under M. ʿAlī Beg. He suddenly fell on them and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (*zanān-i akhāṛa*). In consequence of this defeat, Khudāwand Khān and other Amīrs of the Niẓāmshāh marched against the Imperialists with 10,000 horse, but Ṣādiq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Rāhūtara (راهوتره) near Dawlatābād, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Paṭan on the Dodāvarī, and took Fort Lohgaḍh. "Both forts," says the author of the *Maʾāṡir*, "have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (*mismār shuda*), and are so to this day." Later, M. A. B. served under Abū 'l-Faẓl, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khānkhānān, in the Dakhin.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 4,000, jāgīrdār of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmīr. He served in the pursuit of Khusraw (*Tuzuk*, p. 30). Later, he received a *tuyūl* in Audh. When Jahāngīr went to Ajmīr, he went to Court. One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn-i Chishtī. On seeing the tomb of Shāhbāz Khān (p. 439), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed: "Oh! he was an old friend of mine." The same moment, he fell forward a corpse, and was buried at the same spot (22nd Rabīʿ I, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five (*Tuzuk*, p. 163).

238. **Rām Dās,** the Kachwāha.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (اوردت), and lived at Lūnī (or Baolī, *vide* p. 435). Rām Dās was at first in the service of Rāy Sāl Darbārī (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the Emperor.

[1] The *Tuzuk* (p. 11) says he belonged to the *ulūs-i Dihlī*, a very doubtful term, as he belonged to Badakhshān. Perhaps we have to read *ulūs-i duldāy* (p. 422).

His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Ṭoḍar Mal was ordered to assist Munʿim in Bihār, he was made his *nāʾib* in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace at Āgra near Hatiyāpul, he lived in the guard house, "always watching with his 200 Rājpūts, spear in hand."

Immediately before Akbar's death he put his men over the treasures of the palace with a view to preserve them for the lawful heir. Jahāngīr, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān to Gujrāt and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Rāja and a flag, Rantanbhūr being assigned to him as jāgīr (*Tuzuk*, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of *Rāja Karan*. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahāngīr wished to make an example of the Amīrs who had brought disgrace on the Imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amīr right royally. Looking at Rām Dās's portrait, he said: "Now, when thou wert in Rāy Sāl's service, thou hadst a tanka *per diem*; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amīr. Do not Rājpūts think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Rāja Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." Rām Dās was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jāhāngīr heard of his death, he said, "My curse has come true; for the Hindūs believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus, will go straight to hell."

He was a liberal man, and gave rich presents to jesters and singers.

His eldest son, *Naman Dās*, in the 48th year of Akbar's reign, left the Court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Shāh Qulī Khān's men were to bring him back to Court by force. But Naman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Rām Dās was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, *Dalap Dās*, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the *Tuzuk* (p. 312) a villa near a spring called Inch (انچ), between Bānpūr[1] and Kākāpūr in Kashmīr, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rām Dās. *Vide* also *Tuzuk*, p. 39, l. 3.

239. **Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī.**

Abū 'l-Faẓl ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahāngīr he rose to a command of 2,000. Like Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafawī and Abū

[[1] Panipūr?—B.]

'l-Ḥasan Turbatī, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muḥammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shāhbāz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees *per annum*. Later, he served, under the Khānkhānān in the conquest of Thathah, and inflicted the final blow on Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47) near Lakhī,[1] where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khānkhānān was his friend.

Under Jahāngīr, he took a leading part in the Dakhin wars, especially in the fights with Malik ʿAmbar near Kharkī, a famous battlefield (*vide* note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shāhjahān.

He died in 1037. The *tārīkh* of his death is محمد خان اولیا بمرد, "Muḥammad Khān, the saint, is dead." He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qurʾān, conversing with holy men, sleeping and eating, each had its fixed time. Nor did he ever depart from his routine except on the march. He never neglected the ablution (*wūẓū*) prescribed by the law. People told many miraculous stories (*khawāriq*) of him.

During his long stay in the Dakhin, he held Āshtī (in the Warda district) as jāgīr, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. "At present," says the author of the *Maʿāṣir*, "there is only one of his hundred houses left, the store house where his lamps were kept; the whole town and the neighbourhood are deserted, and do not yield a tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (*kas-ī z.a-mānd ki rushd-ī dāshta bāshad*)."[2]

[1] *Vide* Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, Vol. I, p. 250.

[2] "The Emperor Jahāngir gave the Āshtī, Amner, Paunār, and Tāligāw (Barār) parganas in jāgīr to Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī. He restored Āshtī, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mughul style. Muḥammad Khān was succeeded by Aḥmad Khān, who died in 1061. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Āshtī. They are indeed striking monuments of art to find in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Aḥmad Khān, the power of the Niyāzīs gradually declined; in time Āshtī itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Marhatta officials, and now nothing remains to them save a few rent-free fields, sufficient merely for their subsistence. The tombs of their ancestors were already falling into disrepair, owing to the poverty of the family, when they were taken in hand by the district authorities as worthy objects of local interest, and restored from municipal funds. Lately, in consideration of the past history of the family, and the local respect which it commands, the Government conferred on Nawāb Wāḥid Khān, one of its representatives in Āshtī, the powers of an honorary magistrate."

"*Karanja*. A small octroi town in the Ārvī taḥṣīl of the Warda district. It was founded some 260 years by Nawāb Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī of Āshtī." Extracts from C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.

He was buried in Āshtī. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyāzī Afghāns. If one of them died, he gave a month's pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month's pay to his heirs.

His son, Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī, was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign a commander of 2,500 (*Pādishāhnāma*, II, 386, 725).

240. **Abū 'l-Muẓaffar**, son of Ashraf Khān (No. 74).

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderī and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihār rebels (III, 273). In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt (III, 423), and *Badā,oni*. II (323). *Vide* also under No. 74.

241. **Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusayn**, Mīr Barr.

He is the younger brother of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) and had the title of *Mīr Barr*, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th year with Munʿim (No. 11) from Kābul to India. When dissensions broke out between Ghanī Khān, Munʿim's son, and Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhtabegī (No. 66), whom Munʿim had left as his *nāʾibs* in Kābul, Ḥaydar was called to Court, and Abū 'l-Fatḥ,[1] son of Munʿim's brother, was sent there to assist Ghanī. Muḥammad Ḥusayn accompanied Abū 'l-Fatḥ. He remained a long time in Kābul. After his return to India, he accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kashmīr. His honesty and punctuality made him a favourite with the Emperor, and he was appointed *Mīr Bakāwal* (master of the Imperial kitchen) and was also made a commander of 1,000.

In the 5th year of Jahāngīr, he officiated for Hāshim (No. 226) as governor of Kashmīr. On Hāshim's arrival he returned to Court, and died in the end of the 7th year (1021; *Tuzuk*, p. 114).

He had no children. The *Tuzuk* says that he was quite bald, and had neither moustache nor beard. His voice was shrill like that of a eunuch.

242. **ʿAbū 'l-Qāsim**, brother of ʿAbū 'l-Qādir Ākhūnd.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. *Badā,oni* (II 323), calls him a native of Tabrīz, and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (*ākhūnd*). In 991, Abū 'l-Qāsim was made Dīwān of Gujrāt.

243. **Qamar Khān**, son of Mīr ʿAbdu 'l-Laṭīf of Qazwīn (No. 161).

He served under Munʿim (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takaro,ī (p. 406). In the 22nd year he served under Shihāb

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[1] Abū 'l-Fatḥ, who on p. 333, has erroneously been called ʿAbdu 'l Fatḥ, was the son of Faẓil Beg, Munʿim's brother. *Badā,onī*, II, 56, has *Faḍāʾil* Beg, but the *Akbarnāma* and the *Maʾāṣir* have *Faẓil*.

in Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 190) and in the 24th year under Ṭoḍar Mal in Bihār. In the 25th year he took part in the battle near Sulṭanpūr Bilhārī[1] (p. 400, and *Akbarn.*, III, 305).

His son, Kawkab, fell into disgrace under Jahāngīr for some fault. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, *vide Tuzuk*, p. 219.

244. **Arjum Singh,**
245. **Sabal Singh,** } sons of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).
246. **Sakat Singh,**

Some MSS. have *Durjan*[2] instead of *Arjun*. The name of Sakat Singh, moreover, recurs again at No. 342. There is little doubt that at the latter place we should read *Himmat Singh*, though all MSS. have *Sakat*.

Nor is it clear why Abū 'l-Faẓl has not entered the name of Bhā,o Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1,000, and was gradually promoted during Jahāngīr's reign to a manṣab of 5,000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the *Tuzuk*.

Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Oṛīsā. Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kābul. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghāns.

Col. J. C. Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXV, 1868) mentions six sons of Mān Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmat, Sakat, Bhīm, and Kalyān Singh. The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians; nor are Bhā,o and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. *Vide*, "A Chapter from Muhammadan History," in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871.

246. **Muṣṭafa Ghilzī.**

A Sayyid Muṣṭafa is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III. 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrāt, and was present in the battle near Maisāna, 18 *kos* S.E. of Paṭan, in which Sher Khān Fūlādī was defeated.

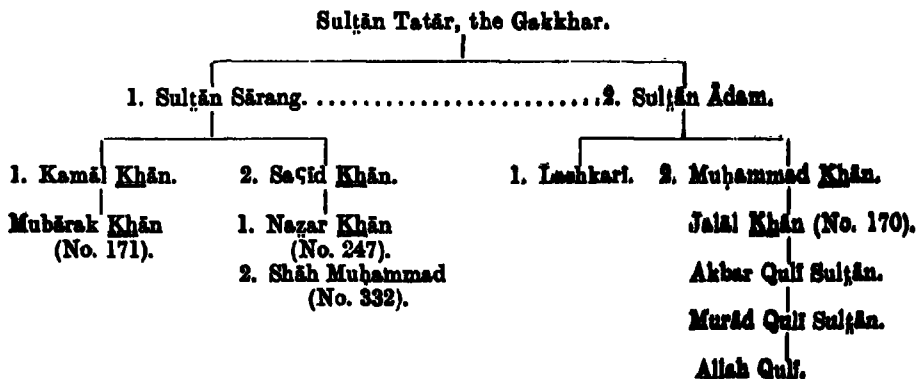
247. **Naẓar Khān,** son of Saʿīd Khān, the Gakkhar.

A brother of his is mentioned below. No. 232. *Vide* Nos. 170, 171.

[1 Or Bilahrī.—B.]

[2] The Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III, 642) has also *Durjan*, and (by mistake) *Sīl* for *Sabal* Singh. The Subhān Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Mān Singh.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Naẓar *Beg,* son of Saʿīd Khān, and says that in 1001 he was a Hazārī.

Mughul historians give the following tree of the Gakkhar chiefs :—

Jalāl Khān was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Qulī, who then served at Kāngṛa, was made a commander of 1,000, and sent to Bangash (*Tuzuk*, pp. 307, 308).

Jahāngīr, after the suppression of Khusraw's revolt, passed on his way to Kābul through the Gakkhar district (*Tuzuk*, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahat (1st Muḥarram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtās, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000,000 dāms, "which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindūstānī money, or 120,000 Persian tūmāns, or 1 *irb,* 2,175,000 silver Hālis of Turānī money." After a march of 4½ *kos*, he came to Ṭīla, *ṭīla* in the Gakkhar dialect meaning "a hill". He then came to Dih Bhakrāla, *bhakrā* meaning "forest". The way from Ṭīla to Bhakrā passes along the bed of the Kāhan river, the banks of which are full of *kanīr* [1] flowers. He then came to Hatyā, which was built by a Gakkhar of the name of Hāthī (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakkhars, *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1871). The district from Mārgala to Hatyā is called Poṭhwār ; and from Rohtās to Hatyā dwell the Bhūgiyāls, a tribe related to the Gakkhars. From Hatyā, he marched 4½ *kos* and reached *Pakka*, so called because it has a "*pucca*" sarā,ī. Four and a half *kos* further on, he came to Kuṛaṛ, which means in the Gakkhar dialect "rugged". He then went to Rāwalpinḍī, which is said to have been built by a Hindū of the name Rāwal, *pinḍī* meaning "a village", and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Rāwalpinḍī he went to Kharbūza, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (*kharbūza*). The Gakkhars used

[[1] *Kanīr*, probably *kaneṛ* m. "a species of oleander."—P.]

formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kālāpānī, and to the Mārgala pass, *mār* meaning "killing" and *gala* "a carawan". "Here ends the country of the Gakkhars. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not."[1]

The *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakkhar chiefs :—

1. Akbar Qulī Sulṭān, a commander of 1,500, 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His son Murād Qulī Sulṭān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 410, 485, 512, 523, 565, 595, 655, 730).

2. Jabbār Qulī (brother of Jalāl Khān),[2] 1,000, 800 horse.

3. Khizr Sulṭān (son of Naẓar Khān),[2] 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year Shāhj.'s reign.

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, p. 432) mentions these Gakkhars' mules as famous.

The *Maʾāṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (p. 155) also mentions Murād Qulī and his son Allah Qulī. Allah Qulī's daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, fourth son of Awrangzīb, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

248. **Rām Chand**, son of Madhukar [Bundela].

He is also called *Rām Sāh*, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmīr (1000). In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bīr Singh De,o, Rām Chand's younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān, who moved his jāgīr from Kālpī to Ūḍcha. On the 27th Ẕī Qaʿda, 1015, Rām Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahāngīr had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Rāja Bāsū of Dhamerī. "He never thought that he would be treated so kindly" (*Tuzuk*, p. 42). But Ūḍcha was handed over to Bir Singh De,o as a reward for the murder of Abū 'l-Faẓl.

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[1] For the geographical details of this passage, I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The *Tuzuk* has *Pīla* of *Tīla*; *Bhakrḍ* for *Bhakrāla*, and the Persian word *khāna* for *Kāhan* (کاهن), the name of the river near *Bhakrāla*—a most extraordinary mistake; *hor* for *Kuṛaṛ* or *Gūrā*, a village near Manikyāla: *Ponhāhār* for *Poṭhwār*. Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near Hatiyā or *Hāṭhiyā*, is called Kāsī, and that near Rāwalpinḍī is the Lahī, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohan. Sarāʾi Khārbūza is also called Sarāʾi Mādhū.

On the same page of Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk*, we have to read *Khattar* and *Dila-zāk for Khar* and *Dila-zāk*. The Khattars occupy the district called Khāṭar, and the Dila-zāks are found in the Chhach valley of the Indus. [*Vide* No. 373.—B.]

Poṭhwār is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohan; but Jahāngīr extends it to the Mārgala pass from Hatyā (30 miles from the Jhelam).

[2] So according to Mr. Delmerick.

In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahāngīr married Rām Chand's daughter at the request of her father (*vide Tuzuk*, p. 77; and also No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh. *Tuzuk*, p. 112.

Muhammadan historians give the following tree of the Ūḍcha Bundelas :—

Rāja Partā, founds Ūḍcha in A.D 1531.
- 1. Bhārat Chand (died childless).
- 2. Madhukar Singh (died 1000).
  - 1. Rām Chand (died 1021).
    - A son. Bhārat.
      - Debī Singh.
  - 2. Hoḍal Rā,o (killed, p. 382).
  - 3. Bīr Singh De,o, the murderer of Abū 'l-Faẓl (died 1036).
    - 1. Jhujhār Singh.
      - Bikramājīt.
    - 2. Pahār Singh.
      - Subhān Singh.
        - Prithī Singh.
          - Sāwal Singh.
    - 3. Chandr Man.
    - 4. Benī Dās.
    - 5. Bhagwān Dās.

The *Ma*ʾā*ṣir* contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. *Vide* also Thornton's *Gazetteer*, under *Oorcha*.

Benī Dās and Bhagwān Dās were killed by a Rājpūt in the 13th year of Shāhjahān's reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1,000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1,500, 800 horse.

Vide Pādishāhnāma, I, 172 (where another Bundela of the name of Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425; II, 731, 734.

The *Ma*ʾā*ṣir-i* ʿ*Ālamgīrī* mentions several Bundelas, as Satr Sāl, Jāswant Singh, Indarman (*died* 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (*l.c.*, pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). *Vide* also under No. 249.

Bīr Singh De,o, the murderer of Abū 'l-Faẓl is often called in bad MSS. *Nar* Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the *Tuzuk*, the 1st volume of *Pādishāhnāma*, the ʿĀlamgīrnāma, etc., and in Elphinstone's History. The temples which he built in Mathurā at a cost of 33 lacs of rupees, were destroyed by Awrangzīb in 1080. (*Ma*ʾā*ṣir-i* ʿ*Ālamgīrī*, p. 95.)[1]

[1] The Dutch traveller De Laët has an interesting passage regarding Abū 'l-Faẓl's death (*De Imperio Magni Mogulis*, Leyden, 1631, p. 209). He calls Bīr Singh *Radzia Bertsingh Bondela.*

249. **Râja Mukatman**, the Bhadauriya.

Bhadāwar is the name of a district S.E. of Āgra; its chief town is Hatkānth (*vide* p. 341, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadauryas. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted.

The next chief, Mukaṭman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a manṣab of 1,000. In 992, he served in Gujrāt (*Akbarnāma*, III, 423, 438).

Under Jahāngīr, we find a chief of the name of Rāja Bikramājīt, who served under ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh against the Rānā, and later in the Dakhin. He died in the 11th year of Jahāngīr and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 108) mentions a Bhadaurya chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash; but the name is doubtful.

Under Shāhjahān, the head of the Bhadauriya clan was Rāja Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahābat Khān against Jhujhār Singh, and in the 3rd year against Khān Jahān Lodī and the Niẓāmᵘ 'l-Mulk, who had afforded Khān Jahān protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Dawlatābād. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khān Zamān against Sāhū Bhōnsla. He died in the 17th year (1053).

In the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1,000, 600 horse.

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh,[1] grandson of Kishn's uncle. He was made a Rāja and a commander of 1,000. In the 21st year, at a darbār, a *mast* elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with its tusks, when Badan Singh stuck his dagger into the animal, which, frightened as it was at the same time by a fire wheel, dropped the unfortunate man. Shāhjahān rewarded the bravery of the Rāja with a *khilʿat*, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lacs which was the assessment of the Bhadāwar district. In the 22nd year he was made a commander of 1,500. In the 25th year he served under Awrangzīb, and in the 26th under Dārā Shikoh, before Qandahār, where in the following year he died.

His son Mahā Singh was then made a Rāja and received a manṣab of 1,000, 800 horse. He served in the 28th year in Kābul. After Dārā's defeat he paid his respects to Awrangzīb, in whose reign he served against

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[1] So *Pādishāhnāma*, II, 732. The *Maʾāṣir* calls him Bad Singh or Bud Singh.

the Bundela rebels. In the 10th year he served under Kāmil Khān against the Yūsufzā'īs. He died in the 26th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (*vide Ma'āṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bibl. Ind. edition has wrongly *Rūdar* Singh for *Odat* S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dakhin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chītor (*l.c.*, p. 196).

250. **Rāja Rām Chandr**, zamīndār of Oṛīsā.

Regarding him, *vide* Stirling's report of Oṛīsā, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. His name occurs often in the narrative of Mān Singh's conquest of Oṛīsā (37th year of Akbar's reign).

The province of Khurda (South Oṛīsā) was conquered and annexed to the Dihlī empire by Mukarram Khān (*vide* No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign (*Tuzuk*, p. 215).

251. **Sayyid Abū 'l-Qāsim**, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihār, and in the battle of Sulṭānpūr Bilharī; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzā'īs.

The Tārīkh Maʿṣūmī (Dowson, *Elliot's Historians*, I, p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mīr ʿAdl, *viz.* his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazān, 983, and his death there, 8th Shaʿbān, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abū 'l-Faẓl, who is not mentioned in the Ā'īn. On the 9th Ẕī 'l-ḥijjah, 985 (Feb., 1578), Īʿtimād (No. 119) *arrived* at Bhakkar.

252. **Dalpat**, son of Rāy Rāy Singh.

He has been mentioned above, p. 386.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.

253. **Shaykh Fayẓī**, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abū 'l-Fayẓ. Fayẓī is his *takhalluṣ*. Towards the end of his life in imitation of the form of the *takhalluṣ* of his brother ʿ*Allāmī*, he assumed the name of *Fayyāẓī*.

Fayẓī was the eldest son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor. Shaykh Mubārak (*vide* pp. 178, 195, 207, 219) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrah had settled in Sīwistān, where he married. In the 10th century, Mubārak's father went to Hindūstān and settled at Nāgor. Several of his children having died one after the other, he called his next child *Mubārak*. He was born in 911. When a young man, Mubārak went to Gujrāt and studied under

Khaṭīb Abū 'l-Faẓl of Kāzarūn and Mawlānā ˁImād of Lāristān. In 950, Mubārak settled at Āgra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shāh, he was a Mahdawī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shīˁism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Fayẓī and Abū 'l-Faẓl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shows that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaykh Mubārak wrote a commentary to the Qur'ān, in four volumes, entitled *Mambaˁu 'l-ˁuyūn*,[1] and another work of the title of *Jawāmiˁu 'l-kalām*. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Ẕī Qaˁda, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The *tārīkh* of his death will be found in the words *Shaykh-i kāmil*.

Shaykh Fayẓī was born at Āgra in 954. His acquirements in Arabic Literature, the art of poetry, and in medicine, were very extensive. He used to treat poor people gratis. One day he appeared with his father before Shaykh ˁAbdu 'n-Nabī, the Ṣadr (p. 282), and applied for a grant of 100 bīghas; but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shīˁism. But Fayẓī's literary fame reached Akbar's ears, and in the 12th year, when Akbar was on the expedition to Chītor, he was called to court. Fayẓī's bigoted enemies in Āgra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge and warned the governor of the town not to let Fayẓī escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak's house; but accidentally Fayẓī was absent from home. Mubārak was ill-treated, and when Fayẓī at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most favourably, and Fayẓī in a short time became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaykh Abdu 'n-Nabī.

In the 30th year he planned a *khamsa*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsa of Niẓāmī. The first, *Markizu 'l-adwār*, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a *jawāb* (imitation) of Niẓāmī's *Makhzanu 'l-asrār*; the *Sulaymān o Bilqīs* and the *Nal Daman* were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be *jawābs* of the *Khusraw o Shīrīn* and *Laylā o Majnūn* respectively; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the *Haft Paykar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. In the 33rd year he was made *Maliku 'sh-Shuˁarā*,

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[1] Badā,onī (III, 74) calls it *Mambaˁu nafāˁisi 'l-ˁuyūn*.

or Poet Laureate (*Akbarn.*, III, 559). Though he had composed portions of the Khamsa, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the Nal Daman. Fayẓī thereupon finished the poem and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Fayẓī suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Ṣafar, 1004 (40th year). The *tārīkh* of his death is *Fayyāẓ-i ʿAjam*. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the *Sawāṭiʿu 'l-Ilhām*, and the *Mawāridu 'l-Kalām*, regarding which *vide* below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4,300 choice MSS., was embodied with the imperial library.

Fayẓī had been employed as teacher to the princes; sometimes he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badā,onī, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 112, 113, 192, 194, 207, 216, 218; and *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. **Ḥakīm Miṣrī.**

According to Badā,onī (III, 165) Ḥakīm Miṣrī was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwāja Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khawāfī (No. 159). He died in Burhānpūr and was buried there.

Miṣrī is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abū 'l-Faẓl's date with Badā,onī's statement; for Bādā,onī died in 1004 (*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, p. 143). But both Abū 'l-Faẓl and Badā,onī speak of the Ḥakīm as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Īrij, son of Mīrzā Khānkhānān (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was made Ṣūbadār of Barār and Aḥmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik ʿAmbar, especially as Kharkī,[1]

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[1] کھرکی. Lachmī Narā,in Shafīq, the author of the *Ḥaqīqat-i Hindūstān*, says that it was called Kharkī from the Dakhin word کھرک, which means "stony", "a stony place". It lies 5 *kos* S.E. of Dawlatābād (the old Dhārāgaṛh and De,ogīr of ʿAlāʾu 'd-Dīn Khiljī). Kharkī under Jahāngīr was called Fatḥābad. In 1024 a canal was dug from Kharkī to Dawlatābād Its name was *Chahārnahrī*, and the *tārīkh* of its completion is *khayr-i jārī* (pr. a running benefit). Later Awrangzīb changed the name of Kharkī to Awrangābād, under which name it is now known. Kharkī was the seat of Malik ʿAmbar.

for which victories he was made a commander of 5,000. In the 12th year he served under Prince Shāhjahān in the Dakhin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy, and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramaẓān, 1026) to Prince Shāhjahān. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahān-afroz, was born at Āgra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhānpūr, at the age of 1 year 9 months (*Padishāhnāma*).

According to Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces* (2nd edition, p. 128), Īrij's tomb is at Burhānpūr. "The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure." The statement of the *Gazetteer* that Īrij, towards the end of his life, "lived as a recluse" at Burhānpūr, is not borne out by the histories; for according to the *Tuzuk* (p. 270) he died of excessive wine drinking.

At his death (1028) he was only thirty-three years of age. The manṣab of 400, which Ābū 'l-Faẓl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him when he was a mere child.

256. **Sakat Singh,** son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

Vide above, under No. 244.

257. **ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh** [Sarfarāz Khān] son of Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā Koka (No. 21).

Vide p. 316.

It was stated (p. 316) on the authority of the *Maʾāṣir* that he received the title of *Sardār Khān*, which had become vacant by the death of Takhta Beg (No. 195). But the *Tuzuk* (p. 71) gives him the title of *Sarfarāz Khān*. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the *Maʾāṣir*; for the title of *Sardār Khān* was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwāja Yādgār, brother of ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān Fīrūz-jang (*Tuzuk*, p. 116) when ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Sarfarāz Khān was still alive.

The *Maʾāṣir* also says that ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh accompanied his father to Gwālyār (p. 317); but the *Tuzuk* (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rantanbhur, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

358. **ʿAlī Muḥammad Asp.**

Badā,oni says (II, p. 57) that "ʿAlī Muḥammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jūjak[1] Begum, killed Abū 'l-Fatḥ Beg (p. 333)." In the 9th year he was in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989) he served under Prince Murād against his former

[[1] *Chuchuk*, Turk.—B.]

master (*Akbarnāma*, III, 345); in the 30th year (993) he served in Kābul (III, 487, 490). In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under ʿAbdu ʾl-Maṭlab (No. 83) against the Tārīkīs (III, p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* he is wrongly called ʿAlī Muḥammad *Alif*.

259. **Mīrzā Muḥammad.**

A. Mīrzā Muḥammad was mentioned on p. 399.

260. **Shaykh Bāyazīd** [Muʿaẓẓam Khān], grandson of Shaykh Salīm of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.

Bāyazīd's mother nursed Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) on the day he was born (*Tuzuk*, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar's reign B. was a commander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000. After Jahāngīr's accession he received a manṣab of 3,000 and the title of Muʿaẓẓam Khān. Soon after he was made Ṣūbahdār of Dihlī (*l.c.*, p. 37), and in the 3rd year a commander of 4,000, 2,000 horse. On his death he was buried at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (*l.c.*, p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khān was son-in-law to Islām Khān Shaykh ʿAlāʾu ʾd-Dīn (another grandson of Shaykh Salīm), under whom he served in Bengal.[1] He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kūch Hājū, and brought the zamīndār Parīchhit before the governor.[2] At the death of his father-in-law, Muḥtashim Khān Shaykh Qāsim, brother of Islām Khān, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khān continued for one year in his office as governor of Kūch Hājū; but as he could not agree with Qāsim he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Oṛīsā, and conquered the province of Khurdah (*l.c.*, pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse. He seems to have remained in Oṛīsā till the 11th year (1029) when Ḥasan ʿAlī Turkmān was sent there as governor (*Tuzuk*, p. 308). In the 16th year M. Kh. came to court and was made Ṣūbadār of Dihlī and Fawjdār of Mewāt (*l.c.*, p. 352).

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[1] Islām Khān was married to a sister of Abū ʾl-Faẓl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islām Khān died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022 (*Tuzuk*, p. 126).

[2] The *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 64) where Mukarram Khān's expedition is related, distinguishes between Kūch Hājū and Kūch Bihār. The former was in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign under Parīchhit, the latter under Lachmī Narā,in. Hājū is the name of a famous leader of the Kūch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachāris and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise *jura regalia* in Kūch Bihār Proper. Materials for a history of Kūch Bihār will be found in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 208, annals of the 41st year); in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (pp. 147, 220, 221, 223); in the *Pādishāhnāma*, I, 496; II, 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the *Fatḥ-i Āshām*; *vide* also *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. vii; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.

In the 21st year he was sent to Bengal as governor, *vice* Khānazād Khān. He travelled by boat. One day he ordered his ship to be moved to the bank, as he wished to say the afternoon prayer, when a sudden gale broke forth, during which he and his companions were drowned.

261. **Ghaznīn Khān**, of Jālor.

Ghaznīn Khān was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, 167)[1] as having served during the reign of Jahāngīr against the Rānā.

Bird, in his *History of Gujrāt* (pp. 124, 405), calls him *Ghaznawī Khān* and *Ghaznī Khān*, and says he was the son of Malik Khanjī Jālorī. Ghaznīn Khān seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. The Khānkhānān, on the 9th Muḥarram, 998, sent a detachment against Jālor; but perceiving that he was not in a fit condition to offer reṣistance, Ghaznīn went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pahāṛ was executed by Jahāngīr. "When I came to Dih Qāẓiyān, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahāṛ. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jālor, his ancestral home. He is a young man, and was often checked by his mother for his bad behaviour. Annoyed at this, he entered with some of his companions her apartments, and killed her. I investigated the case, found him guilty, and had him executed." (Ṣafar, 1026; *Tuzuk*, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznīn Khān is Niẓām who died in the 6th year of Shāhjahān's reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 313).

Ghāznīn's brother Fīrūz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 319).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 739) mentions also a Mujāhid of Jālor, who in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.

262. **Kījak Khwāja**, son of Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh.

The first volume of the *Akbarnāma* (p. 411) mentions a Kījak Khwāja among the grandees who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The third

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[1] Wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, 167), Ghazālī Khān.

Ghaznīn's *jāgīr*, before Akbar's conquest of Gujrāt, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nāgor and Mirtha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abū 'l-Faẓl, in his description of Ṣūba Ajmīr, IIIrd book, mentions 3½ lacs of rupees, with 2,000 horse, as the *jamaʿ* of Jālor and Sāṇchor (S.W. of Jālor).

volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kījak Khwāja, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohānī in Bengal. *Vide* No. 109.

263. **Sher Khān Mughul.**

264. **Fatḥu 'llāh,** son of Muḥammad Wafā.

He appears to be the Fatḥu 'llāh mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 825) as the *sharbatdār* of the emperor. Akbar made him an Amīr. For some fault he was sent to the Dakhin; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered and went on sick leave to Māndū, where he died (1008).

265. **Rāy Manohar,** son of Rāja Lōkaran.

Rāja Lōkaran belonged to the Shaykhāwat branch of the Kachhwāhas. He served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, against the Rānā, and went in the same year with Rāja Bīr Baṛ to Dongarpūr,[1] the zamīndār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar's harem. In the 24th year he served under Toḍar Mal in Bihār, and in the 24th year under the Khān Khānān in Gujrāt.

Manohar, in the 22nd year, reported to the emperor on his visit to Amber that in the neighbourhood an old town existed the site of which was marked by huge mounds of stone. Akbar encouraged him to rebuild it, and laid the foundation himself. The new settlement was called Mol Manoharnagar.[2] In the 45th year he was appointed with Rāy Durgā Lāl (No. 103) to pursue Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 516), who was caught by Khwāja Waisī.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr's reign he served under Prince Parwīz against the Rānā, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1,500, 600 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 64). He served long in the Dakhin and died in the 11th year.

His son Prithī Chānd received after the death of his father the title of Rāy, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (*l.c.*, p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mīrzā Manohar; *vide* my article, "A Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871.

266. **Khwāja ʿAbdu 's-Ṣamad,** Shīrīn-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwāja ʿAbdu 's-Ṣamad was a Shīrāzī. His father Khwāja Niẓāmu

[1] The word *dongar*, which occurs in the names of places from Soraṭh to Mālwa and Central India, is a Gond word meaning *a forest*. There are many Dongarpūrs, Dongargāwa, Dongartāls, Dongars, etc. Similarly, the word *bir* in Mundārī signifies a jungle, whence Birbhūm (Western Bengal). Thus also Jhāṛkand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutya Nāgpūr. The above-mentioned Dongarpūr lies on the N.W. frontier of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 169, 170, 477).

[2] The maps give a Manoharpūr north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20′.

'l-Mulk was Vazīr to Shāh Shujā^ʿ of Shīrāz. Before Humāyūn left Īrān he went to Tabrīz, where ʿAbd[u] 's-Ṣamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. Humāyūn invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kābul.

Under Akbar ʿA. was a commander of 400; but low as his *manṣab* was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year he was in charge of the mint at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (*Akbarnāma*, III, 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several ṣūbas, he was appointed Dīwān of Multān.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the *Sūrat[u] 'l-ikhlāṣ* (Qur'ān, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (*dānah-y khashkhāsh*). *Vide* p. 114.

For his son, *vide* No. 351.

267. **Silhadī, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal** (No. 23).

268. **Rām Chand** Kachhwāha.

Vide p. 422.

[**Rām Chand Chauhān.**] The *Ma'āṣir* says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year he served under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Gujrat, and in the 26th year under Sulṭān Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul. In the 28th year he was under M. Shāhrukh in the Dakhin. In the fight, in which Rāja ʿAlī of Khandesh fell, R. Ch. received twenty wounds and fell from his horse. Next day he was found still alive. He died a few days later (41st year, 1005).

269. **Bahâdur Khân** Qūrdār.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrāt (*Akbarnāma*, III, 25), in the 25th in Kābul (*l.c.*, 333) and in the siege of Āsīr (1008).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I. b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abābakr and ʿUsmān, sons of Bahādur Khān Qūrbegī, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shāhjahān.

270. **Bânkâ**, the Kachhwāha.

He served in the 26th year in Kābul (*Akbarn.* III, 333). His son Harīit Ram was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty

271. **Mirzâ Abū Saʿid** }
272. **Mirzâ Sanjar** } sons of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzâ.

They were mentioned above on p. 328. Mīrzā Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mīrzā Sankar mentioned on p. 533, note 1.

273. ʿ**Alī Mardān Bahādur.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulij Khān (No. 42) at Īdar, who was to go to Gujrāt to see the ships off which under Sulṭān Khwāja (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind,[1] and in the 41st year in the Dakhin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingāna corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pāthrī to assist Sher Khwāja (No. 176) when he heard that Bahādur Khān Gīlānī, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingāna, had been defeated. He returned and attacked the enemies who were much stronger than he; his men fled and he himself was captured. In the same year Abū 'l-Faẓl made peace, and ʿAlī Mardān was set at liberty. In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mīrzā Īrij (No. 255) against Malik ʿAmbar.

In the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign he was attached to the corps commanded by ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Fīrūz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrāt army over Nāsik into the Dakhin, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khān Jahān Lodī. ʿAbdu 'llāh entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrāt, now pursued by the enemies. In one of the fights which ensued, ʿA. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik ʿAmbar, and though the doctors did everything to save him, he died two days later of his wounds, in 1021 A.H. (*Tuzuk*, p. 108).

His son Karamu 'llāh served under Jahāngīr (*Tuzuk*, p 269) and was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,000, 1,000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Odgīr, and died in the 21st year of Shāhj.'s reign.

274. **Raẓā Qulī**, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

Vide above, p. 351.

275. **Shaykh Khūbū** [Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Khān-i Chishti] of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.

His father was a Shaykhzāda of Badā,on, and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salīm. Khūbū was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr.[2] When the prince was at Ilāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Khān, and made him Ṣūbadār of Bihār.

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[1] *Vide* Dowson, *Elliot's Historians*, I, p. 248.
[2] Jahāngīr says that Khūbū's mother was dearer to him than his own mother.

On his accession he made him Ṣūbadār of Bengal, *vice* Mān Singh (9th Jumāda I, 1015; *Tuzuk*, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afkan ʿAlī Qulī Istajlū (*vide* No. 394) was tuyūldār of Bardwān, and as his wife Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā [Nūr Jahān] was coveted by the emperor, Quṭb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however, refused to go. Quṭb, therefore, went to Bardwān, sending Ghiyāṣā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Quṭb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. "What is all this?" exclaimed Sher. Quṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Quṭb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Quṭb and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Quṭb was a stout man, and seizing the protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Amba Khān, a Kashmīrī noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword cut over the head; but he fell at the same time, pierced through by Sher's sword (p. 529, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Quṭb[u] 'd-Dīn was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyāṣā to bring his effects and his family to Bardwān. He then was removed in a *pālkī*. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and buried.

In 1013 he built the Jāmiʿ mosque of Badāʾon.

His son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of *Kishwar Khān*. He was for some time governor of Rohtās, and served in the beginning of 1021 against ʿUsmān.

Ilahdiya, son of Kishwar Khān, is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. **Ẓiyāʾ[u] 'l-Mulk**, of Kāshān.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 490, 628) and the *Tuzuk* (p. 11) mention a *Ẓiyāʾ[u] 'd-Dīn*.

The Hakīm Ẓiyāʾ[u] 'd-Dīn of Kāshan, who under Shāhjahān held the title of Raḥmat Khān, can scarcely be the same.

277. **Hamza Beg Ghatrāghalī.**

He may be the brother of No. 203. The *Akbarnāma* (III, 255) mentions also a Ḥusayn Beg Ghatrāghalī.

278. **Mukhtar Beg**, son of Āghā Mullā.

Mukhtār Beg served under Aʿẓam Khān Koka (No. 21) in Bihār,

Gadha-Rā,isīn (*Akbarn.* III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa.

Naṣru 'llāh, son of Mukhtār Beg, was under Shāhjahān a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fatḥu 'llāh, son of Naṣru 'llāh, was under Shāhjahān a commander of 500, 50 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 318; II, 752).

Abū 'l-Faẓl calls Mukhtār Beg the son of Āghā Mullā. This would seem to be the Āghā Mullā Dawātdār, mentioned on p. 398. If so, Mukhtār Beg would be the brother of Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn ʿAlī (No. 126), The Āghā Mullā mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the *Tuzuk* (p. 27), is the brother of Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Badīʿu 'z-Zamān, who under Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 100 horse (*Pād.*, I, b., 327; II, 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. **Ḥaydar ʿAlī ʿArab.**

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghānistān (*Akbarn.*, III, 540, 548).

280. **Peshraw Khān** [Mihtar Saʿādat].

Mihtar Saʿādat had been brought up in Tabrīz, and was in the service of Shāh Ṭahmasp, who gave him as a present to Humāyūn. After Humāyūn's death he was promoted and got the title of *Peshraw Khān*. In the 19th year Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihār, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpatī, the great zamīndār (p. 437, note 2). When Jagdespūr, the stronghold of the Rāja, was conquered, Gajpatī ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshraw. The executioner, however, did not kill him, and told another man to do so. But the latter accidentally could not get his sword out of the scabbard; and the Rāja, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P. on his elephant. The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P. fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the *kalāwa* (p. 135) of the driver and thus sat firm; but the driver, unable to manage the brute, threw himself to the ground and ran away, leaving P. alone on the elephant. Next morning it got quiet, and P. threw himself down, when he was picked up by a trooper who had been searching for him.

In the 21st year he reported at court the defeat of Gajpatī[1] (*Akbarn.*, III, 163). In the 25th year he served in Bengal (*l.c.*, p. 289). Later he

[1] Gajpatī's brother, Bairī Sāl, had been killed (*Akbarn.*, III, 162).

was sent to Niẓām[u] 'l-Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahādur Khān, son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Āsīr. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Māligaḍh.

Jahāngīr made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the *Farrāsh-khāna* (Quartermaster).

Ṗ. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahāngīr says (*Tuzuk*, p. 71) " He was an excellent servant, and though ninety years old, he was smarter than many a young man. He had amassed a fortune of 15 lacs of rupees. His son *Ryāyat* is unfit for anything ; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the *Farrāsh-khāna*.

281. **Qāẓī Ḥasan** Qazwīnī.

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qāẓī *Ḥusayn*), and later in the siege of Āsīr (*l.c.*, III, 825).

282. **Mīr Murād**-i Juwaynī.

He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 380.

Juwayn is the Arabic form of the Persian Gūjān, the name of a small town,[1] in Khurāsān, on the road between Bisṭām and Nīshāpūr. It lies, according to the *Maʾāṡir* in the district of Bayhaq, of which Sabzwār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets.

Mīr Murād belongs to the Sayyids of Juwayn. As he had been long in the Dakhin, he was also called *Dakhinī*. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshī of Lāhor. He had two sons, Qāsim Khān and Hāshim Khān.

Qāsim Khān was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islām Khān, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the ṣūba. Later, he married Manīja Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāngīr. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāngīr asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handled to the emperor it broke. Looking at Qāsim, J. said (metre *Ramal*) :—

کاسه نازک بود آب آرام نتوانست کرد

The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—

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[1] *Vide* Wüstenfeld's Yacut, II, 164

when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied :—

دید حالم را وچشمش ضبط اشک خود نکرد

It saw my love-grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Ṣūbadār of Āgra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dakhin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Bāgh-i Dahra (Āgra), which in honour of Jahāngīr had been called *Nūr Manzil*, and was soon after made a commander of 5,000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, *vide* Fidāʿī Khān.

As Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūglī. In the 5th year, in Shaʿbān, 1041, or February, A.D. 1632 (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son ʿInāyatu 'llāh and Allah Yār Khān to Hūglī. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power were liberated. One thousand Musulmāns died as martyrs for their religion.[1]

Three days after the conquest of Hūglī, Qāsim died (*l.c.*, p. 444). The Jāmiʿ Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Āgrah was built by him.

283. **Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī.**

He served in the Dakhin (*Akbarn.*, III, 830).

284. **Banda ʿAlī Maydānī.**

Maydānī is the name of an Afghān clan ; *vide* No. 317. Banda ʿAlī served in the 9th year with Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul, who was attacked by Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān (No. 5) and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years he served in Kābul (*Akbarn.*, II, 299 ; III, 477, 540).

The *Akbarnāma* (II, 209) also mentions a Banda ʿAlī Qurbegī.

285. **Khwājagī Fatḥu 'llāh**, son of Ḥājī Ḥabību 'llāh of Kāshān.

He was mentioned above on pp. 386, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). *Akbarn.*, III, 473.

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[1] The siege of Hūglī commenced on the 2nd Zī Ḥijjah, 1041, or 11th June, 1632, and the town was taken on the 14th Rabīʿ I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Haldīpūr, mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* as having for some time been the head-quarters of the Mughul army, is called on our maps *Holodpūr*, and lies N.W. of Hūglī.

The Portuguese church of Bandel (a corruption of *bandar* ?) bears the year 1599 on its keystone.

286. **Zāhid**
287. **Dost** [Muḥammad] } sons of Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43).
288. **Yār** [Muḥammad]

They have been mentioned above on p. 384. Zāhid, in the end of 1025, served against Dalpat (No. 252).

Regarding Zāhid, *vide* also a passage from the *Tārikh-i Maʿṣūmī*, translated Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, 246.

289. **ʿIzzatᵘ 'llāh** Ghujdwānī.

Ghujduwān is a small town in Bukhārā.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 548) mentions a Qāẓī ʿIzzatᵘ 'llāh, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghānistān.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. **Āltūn Qulij.**

291. **Jān Qulij.**

Two MSS. have Āltūn Qulij, *son* of Khān Qulij, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khān. They are not the sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42), *vide* Nos. 292 and 293.

Āltūn Qulij is mentioned in the *Akbārnāma* (III, 554) as having served in Baglāna with Bharjī, the Rāja who was hard pressed in Fort Molher by his relations. Bharjī died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. **Sayfᵘ 'llāh** [**Qulijᵘ 'llah**] } sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42).
293. **Chīn Qulij**

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish *qulij*, a sword. Sayfᵘ 'llāh was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) in Afghānistān.

Regarding Mīrzā Chīn Qulij, the *Maʾāṣir* says that he was an educated, liberal man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullā Muṣṭafa of Jaunpūr, and was for a long time Fawjdār of Jaunpūr and Banāras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mīrzā Lāhaurī, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chīn Qulij in Jaunpūr. He had not been long there when he interfered in government matters and caused disturbances, during which Chīn Qulij lost his life. His immense property escheated to the state. it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory.

In 1022, when Jahāngīr was in Ajmīr, he summoned Mullā Muṣṭafa, who had been the Mīrzā's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm.

While at court he got acquainted with Mullā Muḥammad of Thathah, a teacher in the employ of Āṣafjāh (or Āṣaf Khān IV; *vide* p. 398), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muṣṭafa was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mīrzā Lāhaurī was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (*yaumiyya*). He had a house in Āgra, near the Jamna, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The *Ma*ᵉ*āṣir* mentions a few instances of his wicked behaviour. Once he buried one of his servants alive, as he wished to know something about Munkir and Nakīr, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muhammadans, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers if the dead man is found wanting in belief. When the man was dug out he was found dead. Another time, when with his father, in Lāhor, he disturbed a Hindū wedding-feast and carried off the bride; and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that they were now related to the Ṣūbadār of Lāhor.

The other sons of Qulij Khān, as Qulij[u] 'llāh, Chīn, Qulij, Bāljū Q., Bayrām Q., and Jān Q., held mostly respectable manṣabs.

The *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* relates the story differently. Both M. Chīn Qulij and M. Lāhaurī are described as wicked men. Chīn Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Ṣafar, 1023; *Tuzuk*, p. 127) and received Jaunpūr as jāgīr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lāhaurī, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Aḥadī to Jaunpūr to bring him to court, when Chīn Qulij fled with him to several zamīndārs. The men of Janāngīr Qulī Khān, governor of Bihār, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chīn died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, who sent it with his family and property to Ilāhābād. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamīndārs (1024; *Tuzuk*, p. 148).

294. **Abū 'l-Fattāḥ Atālīq.**

295. **Sayyid Bāyazīd of Bārha.**

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1031) he received the title of Muṣṭafa Khān (*Tuzuk*, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Shāhjahān's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, 700 horse (*Pād.*, I, 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the *Pādishāhnāma*.

296. **Balbhadr**, the Rāṭhor.

297. **Abū 'l-Maʿālī**, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl (No. 140).

298. **Bāqir Anṣārī.**

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year he served under Mān Singh in the expedition to Oṛisā (*Akbarn.*, III, 267, 641).

299. **Bāyazīd Beg** Turkmān.

He was at first in Munʿim's service (*Akbarn.*, II, 238, 253). The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 328) mentions Maḥmūd Beg, son of Bāyazīd Beg. *Vide* No. 335.

300. **Shaykh Dawlat** Bakhtyār.

301. **Ḥusayn**, the Pakhlīwāl.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qārlūqs under Tīmūr (*vide* p. 504) is given in the *Tuzuk* (p. 290). Jahāngīr adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief. At present they are common Panjābīs (*Lāhaurī-yi maḥaẓ*) and speak Panjābī. This is also the case with Dhantūr" (*vide* No. 392).

Sulṭān Ḥusayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above on p. 504. When Jahāngīr in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Ḥusayn was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahāngīr promoted him to a manṣab of 600, 350 horse.

Ḥusayn died in the 18th year (end of 1032; *Tuzuk*, p. 367). His command and the district of Pakhlī were given to his son Shādmān.

Shādmān served under Dārā Shikoh in Qandahār (beginning of 1052) and was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse. *Pādishāhnāma*, II, 293, 733.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhlī, and has a remark on the thick strong beer which the inhabitants made from bread and rice.

302. **Kesū Dās**, son of Jai Mal.

Vide No. 408. One MS. has *Jait Mal*, instead of *Jai Mal*. The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 310) mentions a Rāja Girdhar, son of Kesū Dās, grandson of Jat Mal of Mirtha. The *Tuzuk* frequently mentions a Kesū Dās Mārū (*Tuzuk*, pp. 9, 37, 203)

303. **Mīrzā Khān** of Nīshāpūr. One MS. has *Jān* for *Khān*.

304. **Muẓaffar**, brother of Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly *Khān-i Aʿẓam* for *Khān ʿĀlam*.

305. **Tulsī Dās Jādon.**

He served in 992 against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 422).

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jādō Rāja Gopāl. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* as a commander of 2,000.

306. **Raḥmat Khān**, son of Masnad-i ʿĀlī.

Masnad-i ʿĀlī is an Afghān title, as *Majlisᵘ 'l Majālis*, *Majlis-i Ikhtiyār*, etc. It was the title of Fattū Khān, or Fatḥ Khān, a courtier of Islam Shāh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Ḥusayn Qulī Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkoṭ (*Badāʾonī*, II, 161). The *Ṭabaqāt* makes him a commander of 2,000). He seems to be the same Fatḥ Khān whom Sulaymān Kararānī had put in charge of Rohtās in Bihār (*Bad.*, II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (*Akbarn.*, III, 599).

A Raḥmat Khān served in the 45th year in the Dakhin. Raḥmat Khān's brother, Shāh Muḥammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. **Aḥmad Qāsim Koka.**

He served in 993 against the Yūsufzāʾīs, and in 996 under Ṣādiq Khān, against the Tārīkīs (*Akbarn.*, III, 490, 552).

The *Tuzuk* (p. 159) mentions a Yār Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308. **Bahādur** Gohlot.

309. **Dawlat Khān** Lodī.

He was a Lodī Afghān of the Shāhū-khayl clan, and was at first in the service of ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). When ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm (No. 29) married the daughter of ʿAzīz, Dawlat Khān was transferred to ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥīm's service, and ʿAzīz, in sending him to his son-in-law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (Khān Khānān)." Dawlat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrāt (p. 355, l. 24, where for *Dost* Khān, as given in the *Maʾāṣir*, we have to read *Dawlat* Khān), in Thatha and the Dakhin. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1,000. Sulṭān Dānyāl won him over, and made him a commander of 2,000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Shaʿbān, 1009) at Aḥmadnagar (*Akbarn.*, III, 846). It is said that Akbar stood in awe of him, and when he heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "To-day Sher Khān Sūr died."

Dawlat Khān's eldest son, whom the *Maʾāṣir* calls Maḥmūd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolīs near Pāl, and perished.

Dawlat's second son is the renowned Pīr Khān, or Pīrū, better known in history under his title *Khān Jahān Lodī.* If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

Pīr Khān, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the *Maʿāṣir* here calls Muḥammad Khān, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh. Muḥammad Khān died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sulṭān Dânyāl, who treated him like a friend, and called him "son". On the death of the Prince, Pīr, then twenty years old, joined Jahāngīr's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Ṣalābat Khān (*Tuzuk*, p. 42). He gradually rose to a manṣab of 5,000, and received the title of Khān Jahān, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khān Khānān. Although Jahāngīr treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khān Jahān never got his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwīz, Rāja Man Singh and Sharīf Khān (No. 351) were sent to the Dakhin to reinforce the Khān Khānān and matters took an unfavourable turn, Khān Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12,000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahāngīr came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh. J.'s head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting. Without delaying in Burhānpūr, Kh. J. moved to Bālaghāt, where the imperial army was. At Mulkāpūr, a great fight took place with Malik ʿAmbar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinīs, lost heavily. The Khān Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bālāghāt. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dakhin corps, and ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān the Gujrāt army, upon Daulatābād (under No. 273). Malik ʿAmbar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khān Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Ẓafarnagar; and ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died off, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhānpūr.

Kh. J. accused the Khān Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bījāpūr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power. This Jahāngīr agreed to, and the Khān-i Aʿẓam (No. 21) and Khān ʿĀlam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khān Khānān had been removed, the duplicity of the Amīrs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The command

was therefore given to the Khān-i Aʿẓam and Kh. J. received Thālner as jāgīr, and was ordered to remain at Īlichpūr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Kh. J. was made governor of Multān. Two years later, in the 17th year, Shāh ʿAbbās took Qandahār after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Shāh ʿAbbās, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahār, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multān to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afghān tribes from near Qandahār came to him in Multān, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankas, and each foot soldier two tankas *per diem* to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Iṣfahān, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahāngīr would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Afghāns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Shāhjahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken. The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khān Sūr, in spite of his enmity, would after so many requests have obeyed. The delay, it is said, was caused by severe illness. On his arrival at court, Kh. J. was made commandant of Fort Āgra, and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khān-i Aʿẓam, he was made governor of Gujrāt, and when Mahābat Khān was sent to Bengal, he was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Parwīz, whom he joined at Burhānpūr.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parwīz died, and the Dakhin was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fatḥ Khān, son of Malik ʿAmbar, to Bālāghāt. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Ḥamīd Khān Ḥabshī, the minister of the Niẓām Shāh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of hūns though the revenue was 55 krors of dāms (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdārs and Thānahdārs to give up their places to the agents of the Niẓām Shāh and repair to Burhānpūr. Only Sipahdār Khān, who stood in Aḥmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the emperor.

Soon after, Mahābat Khān joined Shāhjahān at Junīr, and was honoured with the title of *Sipahsālār*. On the death of Jahāngīr, which

took place immediately afterwards, Shāhjahān sent Jān Nis̤ār Khān to Kh. J., to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Ṣūbadār of the Dakhin; but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Jān Nis̤ār without answer. He intended to rebel. It is said that he was misled by Daryā Khān Rohīla and Fāẓil Khān, the Dīwān of the Dakhin; Dāwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryār had proclaimed himself in Lāhor, whilst Shāhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsālār on Mahābat Khān, who only lately had joined him; he, too, should aim at the crown, as he was a man of great power, and would find numerous adherents.

Shāhj. sent Mahābat to Māndū, where Kh. J.'s family was. Kh. J. renewed friendly relations with the Niẓām Shāh, and leaving Sikandar Dutānī in Burhānpūr, he moved with several Amīrs to Māndū, and deposed the governor Muẓaffar Khān Maʿmūrī. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amīrs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Shāhj.; the proclamation of Dāwar Bakhsh proved to be a scheme made by Āṣaf Khān in favour of Shāhj., and Kh. J. sent a vakīl to court and presented, after Shāhj.'s accession, a most valuable present. The emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Mālwah.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhār Singh, Kh. J. came to court and was treated by the emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Shāhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Āgra, and several parganas of his jāgīrs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbār, Mīrzā Lashkarī, son of Mukhliṣ Khān, foolishly said to the sons of Kh. J., "He will some of these days imprison your father." Kh. J., on hearing this, shut himself up at home, and when the emperor sent Islām Khān to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an *amān-nāma*, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Shāhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Āṣaf Khān tried to console him, the old suspicions were never forgotten. In fact it would seem that he only feared the more for his safety, and on the night from the 26th to the 27th Ṣafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Āgra. When passing the Hatyāpul[1] Darwāza, he humbly threw the reigns of his horse over

[1] The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Awrangzīb in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. *Maʾās̤ir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 77.

his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honour; to rebel is not my intention." On the morning before his flight, Āṣaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Shāhj. said that he could take no steps to prevent Kh. J. from rebelling; he had given him the guarantee, and could use no force before the crime had actually been committed.

An outline of Kh. J.'s rebellion may be found in Elphinstone's history, where the main facts are given.

When he could no longer hold himself in the Dakhin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjāb. He entered Mālwah, pursued by ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān and Muẓaffar Khān Bārha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājah. But Jagrāj Bikramājīt, son of Jhujhār Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumāda, II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryā Khān (a commander of 4,000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (*Padishāhn.*, I, 339; I, b., 296). On arriving in Bhānder,[1] Kh. J. met Sayyid Muẓaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men. During the fight Maḥmūd Khān, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kālinjar, he was opposed by Sayyid Aḥmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Ḥasan Khān, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehōdā, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān and S. Muẓaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mādhū Singh with a spear. Before Muẓaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son ʿAzīz to pieces (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 351). Their heads were sent to Shāhjahān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7,000 (*Pādishāhn.*, I, b., 293).

Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Ḥusayn ʿAẓmat, Maḥmūd, and Ḥasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Aṣālat Khān, a commander of 3,000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muẓaffar had left his father and gone to court. Farīd and Jān Jahān

[1] So the *Maʾāṣir*. The Bibl. Ind. Edition of the *Pādishāhnāma*, I, 348, has *Bāndhū*. So likewise for *Salwānī* (*Pād.*, I, 290), the *Maʾāṣir* has Lānjhī (Gondwānah), where Kh. J., after the fight near Dholpūr and his march through the Bundela State, for the first time rested.

Bhānder lies N.E. of Jhānsī. Sehōdā lies N. of Kālinjar, on the Ken.

were captured ; ʿĀlam and Aḥmad had fled, and went after some time to court. " But none of his sons ever prospered."

The historical work entitled *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khān Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahān Lodī*.

310. **Shāh Muḥammad**, son of Quraysh Sulṭān (No. 178).

311. **Ḥasan Khān** Miyāna.

He was at first a servant of Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), but later he received a *manṣab*. He died in the Dakhin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (*Tuzuk*, p. 200). The second is *Buhlūl Khān*. He rose to a manṣab of 1,500 under Jāhangīr (*l.c.*, pp. 184, 200), and received the title of *Sarbuland Khān*. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwāna.

At the accession of Shāhjahān, B. was made a commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and jāgirdār of Bālāpūr. He joined Khān Jahān Lodī on his march from Gondwāna to Bālāghat. When he saw that Khān Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Niẓām Shāh.

A grandson of Buhlūl, Abū 'l-Muḥammad, came in the 12th year of Awrangzīb's reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of *Ikhlāṣ Khan* (*Maʾāṣ. ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 81).

For other Miyāna Afghāns, *vide Pādishāhn.*, I. 241 ; *Maʾāṣ. ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 225.

312. **Ṭāhir Beg**, son of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

313. **Kishn Dās** Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahāngīr accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1,000. A short time before he had received the title of Rāja (*Tuzuk*, p. 110).

314. **Mān Singh** Kachhwaha.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 333, 335) mentions a Mān Singh Darbārī.

315. **Mīr Gadāʾī**, son of Mīr Abū Turāb.

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmī Sayyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather, Mīr Ghiyāṣ[u] 'd-Dīn, had come to Gujrāt during the reign of Quṭb[u] 'd Dīn, grandson of Sulṭān Aḥmad (the founder of Aḥmadābād) ; but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrāt, where he arrived during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd

Bīgara.[1] He settled with his son Kamālᵘ 'd-Dīn (Abū Turāb's father) in Champānīr-Maḥmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (*darsiya kitāb*). Kamālᵘ 'd-Dīn also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family has for a long time been attached to the *Silsila-yi Maghribyya*, or Maghribī (Western) Sect, the "lamp" of which was the saintly Shaykh[2] Aḥmad-i Khaṭṭū. The name "Salāmī Sayyids" is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary *salām*, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abū Turāb was a highly respected man. He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrāt, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master. Thus he was instrumental in preventing Iʿtimād Khān (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar's departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Ikhtīyārᵘ 'l-Mulk. Later, Akbār sent him to Makkah as Mīr Ḥajj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begams. On his return he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (*qadam-i sharīf*, or *qadam-i mubārak*); *vide* p. 207. The "tarīkh" of his return is *khayrᵘ 'l aqdām* (A.H. 987), or "the best of footprints". The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī at the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz had brought to Dihlī. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great *éclat*, Abū Turāb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When Iʿtimād was made governor of Gujrāt, Abū Turāb followed him as Amīn of the Ṣūba, accompanied by his sons Mīr Muḥibbᵘ 'llāh and Mīr Sharīfᵘ 'd-Dīn.

Abū Turāb died in 1005, and was buried at Aḥmadābād.

His third son Mīr Gadāʾī, though he held a manṣab, adopted the saintly

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[1] بیگره. This word is generally pronounced بیکره, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (*garh*), because Maḥmūd's army conquered on one day the forts of Champānīr and Jūnāgarh. But Jahāngīr in his "Memoirs", says that بیکره means *burūt-i bargashta*, "having a turned up, or twisted, moustache," which Sulṭān Maḥmūd is said to have had (*Tuzuk*, p. 212).

Champānīr, according to Bird, is also called Maḥmūdābād. The *Maʾāṣir* has Champānīr-*Muḥammadābād*.

[2] Born A.H. 738 died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwāl, 849. Shaykh Aḥmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Aḥmadābād. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujrātī Aḥmads, in the foundation of Aḥmadābād (founded 7th Zī Qaʿda, 813). *Khazīnatᵘ 'l Aṣfiyā* (Lāhor), p. 957.

Khaṭṭū, where Shaykh Aḥmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Is-ḥāq-i Maghribī (died A.H. 776) lies east of Nāgor.

mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year he served in the Dakhin.

316. **Qāsim Khwāja**, son of Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Bārī. *Vide* No. 320.

317. **Nādi ʿAlī** Maydānī.

In MSS. he is often wrongly called *Yād* ʿAlī.

The word *nādⁱ* is an Arabic Imperative, meaning " *call* ". It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nādⁱ ʿAliyᵃⁿ maẓharᵃ 'l-ʿajāʾib,
Tajid-hū ʿawnᵃⁿ fī kullⁱ 'l-maṣāʾib.
Kullᵘ hammⁱⁿ wᵃ ghammⁱⁿ sa-yanjalī
Bi-nubuwati-kᵃ yā Muhammad, bi-wilāyiti-kᵃ yā ʿAlī.
Yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī.

Call upon ʿAlī in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,
Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions.
Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish
Through thy prophetship, O Muḥammad, through thy saintliness,
O ʿAlī.
O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī !

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 26th year Nādⁱ ʿAlī served against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kābul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Tārīkīs.

In the 6th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500. chiefly for his services against the Kābul rebel Aḥdād. In the 10th year he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse. He died in the following year (1026) ; *vide Tuzuk*. p. 172. His sons were provided with manṣabs.

His son Bizan (or Bizhan) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (*l.c.*, pp. 307, 309).

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 322) mentions a Muḥammad Zamān, son of Nādi ʿAlī *Arlāt*, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 350 horse

Nādi ʿAlī is not to be confounded with the Ḥāfiẓ Nādi ʿAlī, who served under Jahāngīr as Court Ḥāfiẓ (*Tuzuk*, p. 155, and its *Dībāja*, p. 19), nor with the Nādi ʿAlī who served under Shāhjahān (*Pādishāhn*., II, 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.

318. **Nīl Kanṭh, Zamīndār of Oṛīsā.**

319. **Ghiyās Beg** of Ṭihrān [Iʿtimādᵘ 'd-Dawla].

His real name is Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ[u] 'd-Dīn Muḥammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayās, a corruption of *Ghiyāṣ*, not of Ayāz (ایاز).

Ghiyāṣ Beg's father was Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of *Hijrī*. He was Vazīr to Tātār Sulṭān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sharaf[u] 'd-Dīn Ughlū Taklū, who held the office of Beglar Begī of Khurāsān. After Tātār Sulṭān's death, the Khwāja was continued in office by his son Qazāq Khān, and on Qazāq's death, he was made by Shāh Ṭahmāsp Vazīr of Yazd.[1]

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is said to have died in A.H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwāja Mīrzā Aḥmad, and Khwājagī Khwāja. The son of Kh. Mīrzā Aḥmad was the well-known Khwāja Amīn Rāzī (رازي, i.e., of the town of Ray of which he was *kalāntar*, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled *Haft Iqlīm*, A.H. 1002. Khwājagī Khwāja had a son of the name of Khwāja Shāpūr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiyāṣ Beg was married to the daughter of Mīrzā ʿAlā[u] 'd-Dawlah, *son of*[2] Āghā Mullā. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahār, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā (" the Sun of Women "), a name which her future title of Nūr Jahān has almost brought into oblivion.[3] In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas'ūd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiyāṣ Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī,[4] Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year he was made Dīwān of Kābul, and was in course of time promoted to a manṣab of 1,000, and appointed *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt*.

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[1] The *Dībāja* (preface) of the *Tuzuk* (p. 20) and the *Iqbālnāma* (p. 54) agree *verbatim* in Ghiyāṣ Beg's history. They do not mention Qāzāq Khān. For *Yazd* of the *Ma'āṣir*, Sayyid Aḥmad's text of the *Tuzuk* has *Marw*; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the *Iqbālnāma* has [illegible] " he made him his *own* Vazir."

[2] The words *son of* are not in the *Ma'āṣir*, but in the *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbālnāma*. Two Āghā Mullās have been mentioned on p. 398, and under Nos. 278, 319, and 376.

[3] It is said that Nūr Jahān at her death in 1055 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A.H. 984; hence Ghiyāṣ Beg's flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nūr Jahān was married by Jahāngīr (in 1020), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

[4] Where he had some distant relations, as Jaʿfar Beg (No. 98).

Regarding Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā's marriage with ʿAlī Qulī, *vide* No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, Ghiyās Beg received the title of Iʿtimād[u] 'd-Dawla. In the second year, his eldest son, Muḥammad Sharīf,[1] joined a conspiracy to set Khusraw at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharīf was executed, and Iʿtimād himself was imprisoned. After some time he was let off on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. At the death of Sher Afkan (under 275) Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā was sent to court as a prisoner "for the murder of Quṭb[u] 'd-Dīn", and was handed over to Ruqayya Sulṭān Begum,[2] with whom she lived "unnoticed (*ba-nākāmī*) and rejected". In the 6th year (1020) she no longer slighted the emperor's proposals, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. She received the title of *Nūr Maḥall*, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān.[3]

Ghiyās, in consequence of the marriage, was made *Vakīl-i kul*, or prime-minister, and a commander of 6,000, 3,000 horse. He also received a flag and a drum, and was in the 10th year allowed to beat his drum at court, which was a rare privilege. In the 16th year, when J. was on his way to Kashmīr, Ghiyās fell ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kāngṛa Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the emperor, Nūr Jahān asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as answer a verse from Anwarī :—

آنکه نابینای مادرزاد اگر حاضر بود   در جبین عالم‌آرا پس به بیند مهتری

"If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead."

He died after a few hours. The *Tuzuk* (p. 339) mentions the 17th Bahman, 1031 (Rabīʿ I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken-hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mihr, 1030, i.e., 13th Ẕī Qaʿda, 1030).

Ghiyās Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we saw, showed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful *Shikasta* hand. Jahāngīr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand *mufarriḥ-i yāqūts*.[4] He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. "Chains,

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[1] Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather; *vide* p. 497, No. 378.

[2] The *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbālnāma* have Ruqaiya Sulṭān Begum (p. 309). The *Maʾāṡir* has *Salīma* Sulṭān Begum (p. 309). The *Iqbālnāma* (p. 56) has wrongly نه, for به.

[3] In accordance with the name of her husband *Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn Jahāngīr*.

[4] As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (*yāqūt*) [garnet ?—P.] supposed to possess exhilarating properties. *Mufarriḥ* means an exhilarative.

the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house." He protected the wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death. He never was idle, but wrote a great deal; his official accounts were always in the greatest order. But he liked bribes, and showed much boldness in demanding them.[1]

His mausoleum near Āgra has often been described.

Nūr Jahān's power over Jahāngīr is sufficiently known from the histories. The emperor said, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant," and, "I have conferred the duties of government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have a *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat per *diem*." With the exception of the *khuṭba* (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on farmāns, and even on coins. The jāgīrs which she held would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30,000. A great portion of her zamīndārīs lay near Rāmsir, S.E. of Ajmīr (*Tuzuk*, p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dā,ī Dilārām, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of "Ṣadr of the Women" (*ṣadr-i anās*), and when she conferred lands as *suyūrghāls*, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Ṣadr of the empire. Nūr Jahān is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave outfits to is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the *ʿatr-i jahāngīrī* (a peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her *dudāmī* for *peshwāz* (gowns), her *pāchtoliya* for *orhnīs* (veils), her *bādla* (brocade), *kināri* (lace), and *farsh-i chandanī*,[2] are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahāngīr's death and the capture of Shahryār, fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afkan) Lāḍlī Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.[3]

She died at Lāhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwāl, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 475).[4] She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

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[1] So the Tuzuk and the Iqbālnāma.

[2] *Dudāmī*, weighing two dāms; *pāchtoliya*, weighing five tolas. The latter was mentioned on p. 101. *Farsh-i chandanī* carpets of sandalwood colour.

[3] Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs *per mensem*. The highest allowance of Begams on record is that of Mumtāz Maḥall, *viz* 10 lacs *per annum*. *Vide Pādishāhn.*, I, 96.

[4] In the *Pādishāhnāma*, Nūr Jahān is again called *Nūr Maḥall*.

like Salīma Sulṭān Begum and Zeb[u] 'n-Nisā Begum wrote under the assumed name of *Makhfī*.

Ghiyāṣ Beg's sons. The fate of his eldest son Muḥammad Sharīf has been alluded to. His second son, Mīrzā Abū 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān (IV), also called *Āṣaf-jāh* or *Āṣaf-jāhī*, is the father of Muntāz Maḥall (Tāj Bībī), the favourite wife of Shāhjahān whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II. He received from Shāhjahān the title of *Yamīn[u] 'd-Dawla* and *Khān Khānān Sipahsālār*, and was a commander of 9,000. He died on the 17th Shaʿbān, 1051, and was buried at Lāhor, north of Jahāngīr's tomb. As commander of 9,000 *du-aspa* and *sī-aspa* troopers, his salary was 16 krors, 20 lacs of *dāms*, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jāgīrs yielding a revenue of five millions of rupees. His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of rupees in gold muhurs, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, etc., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Lāhor which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dārā Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his three sons and five daughters. The rest escheated to the State.

Āṣaf Khān was married to a daughter of Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ[u] 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān II (p. 398).

His eldest son is the renowned Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Shā'ista Khān, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E.I. Company. Shā'ista was married to a daughter of Īrij Shāhnawāz Khān (No. 255), son of ʿAbd[u] 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, by whom he had, however, no children. He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzīb's reign. His eldest son, Abū Ṭālib,[1] had died before him. His second son was Abū 'l-Fatḥ Khān. One of his daughters was married to Rūḥ[u] 'llāh (1), and another to Ẕū 'l-Faqār Khān Nuṣrat-jang.

Āṣaf Khān's second son, Bahmanyār, was in the 20th year of Shāhj. a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 728).

Ghiyāṣ Beg's third son is Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang, who was the governor of Bihār (*vide* note to Kokra under No 328) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Shāhjahān's rebellion. His son had died young and was buried near Rājmaḥall, on the banks of the Ganges (*Tuzuk*, p. 383). Ibrāhīm Khān was married to Ḥājī Ḥūr Parwar Khānum, Nūr Jahān's maternal aunt (*khāla*). She lived up to the middle of Awrangzīb's reign, and held Kol Jalālī as *āltamghā*.

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[1] Also called Muḥammad Ṭālib. *Vide Pādishāhn.*, II, 248.

An Aḥmad Beg Khān is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nūr Jahān's brother.[1] He was with Ibrāhīm Fatḥ-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhākā, where he handed over to Shāhjahān 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (*Tuzuk*, p. 384). On Shāhj.'s accession he received a high manṣab, was made governor of Thathah and Sīwistān, and later of Multān. He then returned to court, and received as jāgīr the Parganas of Jāis and Ameṭhī, where he died. In the 20th year of Shāhj. he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, II, 727).

A sister of Nūr Jahān Manīja Begum was mentioned under No. 282.

A fourth sister, Khadīja Begum, was married to Ḥākim Beg, a nobleman of Jahāngīr's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable :—

1. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf (*d.* 984).
   - 1. Āghā Muḥammad Ṭāhir, *Waṣlī.*
   - 2. Mīrzā Ghyāṣ Beg Iʿtimādu 'd-Dawla (*d.* 1031).
     - 1. Muḥammad Sharīf (executed)
       - ? Aḥmad Beg Khān
     - 2. Mīrzā Abū-'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān (IV) (*d.* 1051).
       - 1. Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Shāista Khān (*d.* 1105)
         - 1. Abū Ṭālib
         - 2. Abū 'l-Fatḥ Khān.
       - 2. Bahmanyār.
       - 3. A son.
       - 4. Mumtāz Maḥall, wife of Shāh Jahan (*died* 1040).
       - 5. 6 Two daughters.
     - 3. 4. Two daughters Manīja and Khadīja.
     - 4. Nūr Jahān (wife of Jahāngīr (*d* 1055).
     - 5. Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang (left no children).
2. Khwāja Mīrzā Aḥmad.
   - Mīrzā Amīn-i Rāzī (author of the *Haft Iqlīm*).
3. Khwājagī Khwāja
   - Khwāja Shāpūr.

320. **Khwāja Ashraf,** son of Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l-Bārī.

One MS. has *Sharaf* for *Ashraf*. *Vide* No. 316.

321. **Sharaf Beg,** of Shīrāz.

322. **Ibrāhīm Qulī,** son of Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46).

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

323. **Abū 'l-Fatḥ,** son of Muẓaffar, the Mughul.

324. **Beg Muḥammad** Toqbāʾī.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrāt and was present in the fight near Maisāna, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fūlādī was defeated, and also against Muẓaffar of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 423).

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[1] It seems therefore that he was the son of Muḥammad Sharīf.

Regarding *Toqbā*ᶜ*i*, *vide* No. 129.

325. **Imām Qulī** Shighālī.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) mentions an Imām Qulī, who, in the 37th year served under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa.

The meaning of *Shighālī* is unclear to me. A Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī played a part in Badakhshān history (*Akbarn.*, III, 132, 249).

326. **Ṣafdar Beg**, son of Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (No. 66).

A Ṣafdar Khān served, in the 21st year, against Daudā of Bundī (*vide* under No. 96).

327. **Khwāja Sulaymān** of Shīrāz.

He has been mentioned on p. 383 and under No. 172.

328. **Barkhurdār** [Mīrzā Khān Āᶜlam], son of ᶜAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān Dulday (No. 186).

Mīrzā Barkhurdār was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250. His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat.[1] This Bihār Zamīndār was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy *peshkash*, he was allowed to return to his home. But B. wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace that he gave orders to hand over B. to Dalpat; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As Jahāngīr was fond of him, he released him after his accession,[2] and made him *Qūshbegī*, or superintendent of the aviary.[3] In the fourth

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[1] Dalpat is called in the *Akbarnāma* اجينيه, *Ujjainiya*, for which the MSS. have various readings, as [illegible], [illegible], etc. Under Shāhjahān, Dalpat's successor was Rāja Pratāb, who in the 1st year received a manṣab of 1,500, 1,000 horse (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the Ujjainiya Rājas was Bhojpūr, west of Āra and north of Bhārām (Saseram), a pargana in Sarkār, Rohtās, Bihār. Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shāhjahān's reign, when ᶜAbdᵘ 'l-Allāh Khān Fīrūz-jang besieged and conquered Bhojpūr (8th Ẓi-Ḥajja, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shāhj.'s order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to Abdᵘ 'l-Allāh's grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., pp. 271 to 274).

The maps show a small place of the name of Pratāb near Bhojpūr.

It is said that the Bhojpūr Rājas call themselves *Ujjainiyas*, because they claim descent from the ancient Rājas of Ujjain in Mālwa.

In the 17th year of Shāhjahān, Dharnīdhar Ujjainiya is mentioned to have several in the second expedition against Palāmau; *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

[2] If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma*, B. could not have been imprisoned for a long time; for in the end of the 44th year of Akbar's reign he served again at court (*Akbarn.*, III, 825).

[[3] Grand Falconer or superintendent of the *qūsh-khāna* or mews.—P.]

year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khān ʿAlam (*Tuzuk*, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia sent Yādgār ʿAlī Sulṭān Ṭālish as ambassador to Āgra, and B. was selected to accompany him on his return to Persia. The suite consisted of about twelve hundred men, and was, according to the testimony of the *ʿĀlamārā-i Sikandarī*, the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Hirāt and Qum, caused by the absence of the Shāh in Āzarbājān on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one-half of the suite were sent back. In 1027 the Shāh returned to Qazwīn and received the numerous presents, chiefly elephants and other animals, which B. had brought from India. The embassy returned in 1029 (end of the 14th year), and B. met the emperor at Kalānūr on his way to Kashmīr. Jahāngīr was so pleased that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5,000, 3,000 horse.

The author of the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he had not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On Shāhjahān's accession, B. was made a commander of 6,000, 5,000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihār, *vide* M. Rustam Ṣafawī. But as he was given to *koknār* (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Shāhj. returned from Burhānpūr to Āgra, B. was pensioned off, as he was old and given to opium and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 426). He died a natural death at Āgra. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwāja Barkhurdār, a brother of ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Fīrūz-jang.

B.'s brother Mīrzā ʿAbdu 's-Subḥān (No. 349) was Fawjdār of Ilāhābād. He was then sent to Kābul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Āfrīdīs (*Tuzuk*, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

ʿAbdu 's-Subḥān's son, Sherzād Khān Bahādur, was killed in the last fight with Khān Jahān Lodī at Sehōdah (*vide* under No. 309). *Pādishāhn.*, I, 349.

329. **Mīr Maʿṣūm** of Bhakkar.

Mīr Maʿṣūm belongs to a family of Tirmizī Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bukhārā, and settled at Qandahār, where his ancestors were *mutawallīs* (trustees) of the shrine of Bābā Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mīr Sayyid Ṣafāʾī, settled in Bhakkar, and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd (*vide* under No. 47). He was related by marriage to

the Sayyids of كهابروت in Sīwistān. Mīr Maʿṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mullā Muḥammad of Kingrī كنكري, S.W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrāt, where Shaykh Is-ḥāq-i Fārūqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwāja Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, then Dīwān of Gujrāt. Niẓām was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and soon became the friend of M. M., who was likewise well versed in history. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān (No. 26), the governor of the province, and was at last recommended to Akbar for a manṣab. In the 40th year he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Īrān, where he was received with distinction by Shāh 'Abbās.

On his return from Irān, in 1015, Jahāngīr sent him as Amīn to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1,000.

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 416, 423, 546) and Bird's *History of Gujrat* (p. 426) we see that M. M. served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrāt, was present in the fight of Maisāna, and in the final expedition against Muẓaffar in Kachh.

M. M. is well known as a poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of *Nāmī*. He composed a Dīwān, a Masnawī entitled *Maʿdanᵘ 'l-afkār* in the metre of Niẓāmī's Makhzan, the Tārīkh-i Sindh, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Mufridat-i Maʿṣūmī*. The author of the *Riyāẓᵘ 'sh Shuʿarā* says that he composed a *Khamsa*, and the Taẕkira by Taqī (*vide* under No. 352) says the same, viz., one maṣnawī corresponding to the Makhzan, the *Husn o Nāz* to the Yūsuf Zulaykhā, the *Parī Ṣūrat* to the Lailī Majnūn, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnāma. Badāʾonī (died 1004) only alludes to the *Husn o Nāz*, though he gives no title (III, 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyāẓᵘ 'sh-Shuʿarā says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Iṣfahān and Tabrīz, where he was presented to Shāh ʿAbbās, there are numerous mosques and public buildings which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Āgra, on the Jāmiʿ Mosque of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, in Fort Māndū (*vide* under No. 53 and *Tuzuk*, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Aḥmad in his edition of the *Tuzuk* (Dībāja, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the

side of the entrance to Salīm-i Chishtī's shrine at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, the last words of which are:—"*Said and written by Muḥammad Maʿṣūm poetically styled Nāmī, son of Sayyid Ṣafāʾī of Tirmiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who was born at Sabzwār and settled at Qandahār.*" Dowson, in his edition of *Elliot's Historians*, mentions Kirmān as the residence of Sayyid Ṣafāʾī, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Tarīkh-i Sindh, regarding the saint Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who lived under Mīrzā Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr. The town of Ḥasan Abdāl in the Panjāb, east of Aṭak, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Sakhar opposite to Bhakkar, and in the midst of the branch of the Indus which flows round Bhakkar he built a dome, to which he gave the name of Satyāsur (ستیاسر). "It is one of the wonders of the world, and its *Tārīkh* is contained in the words گنبذ دریائی," water-dome, which gives A.H. 1007.

He was a pious man and exceedingly liberal; he often sent presents to all the people of Bhakkar, great and small. But when he retired, he discontinued his presents, and the people even felt for some cause oppressed (*mutaazzī*). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jāgīr lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Tārīkh-i Sindh, was Mīr Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusraw's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahāngīr asked him why he had his armour on. "My father," replied he, "advised me to dress in full armour when on guard," and as the *Chaukīnawīs*, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahāngīr is said to have left Mīr Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakhshī of Qandahār, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Ṣūbahdārs. He spent the 30 or 40 lacs of rupees which he had inherited from his father. His contingent was numerous and well mounted. He subsequently served in the Dakhin; but as his jāgīr did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bkakkar, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited. He died in 1044. Some of his children settled in Multān.

330. **Khwaja Malik ʿAlī, Mīr Shab.**

His title of Mīr Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 232).

331. **Rāy Rām Dās Dīwān.** *Vide* No. 238.

332. **Shāh Muḥammad**, son of Saᶜīd Khān, the Gakkhar.

For his relations, *vide* under No. 247.

333. **Raḥīm Qulī**, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

334. **Sher Beg**, Yasāwulbāshī.

Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 623).

XXII. Commanders of Two Hundred.

335. **Iftikhar Beg**, son of Bāyazīd Beg (No. 299).

He was alive in the end of A.H. 1007 (*Akbarn.*, III, 804).

336. **Pratāb Singh**, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was mentioned under No. 160.

337. **Ḥusayn Khān Qazwīnī**. *Vide* No. 281.

338. **Yādgār Ḥusayn**, son of Qabūl Khān (No. 137).

He was mentioned under No. 137. In the 31st year he served under Qāsim Khān in Kashmīr. The Yādgār Ḥusayn mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (p. 146) may be the same. He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign, to a command of 700, 500 horse, for his services in the Dakhin. *Vide* also *Pādishāhnāma*, I, b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.

He is not to be confounded with Khwāja Yādgār, a brother of ᶜAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān Fīrūz-jang.

339. **Kāmrān Beg** of Gīlān.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrāt and Kachh against Fatḥ Khān, the younger son of Amīn Khān Ghorī and Muẓaffar, and in the 36th year against Muẓaffar and the Jām. *Akbarn.*, III, 553, 621.

340. **Muḥammad Khān** Turkmān.

341. **Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad**, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān (No. 95).

He is not to be confounded with the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

342. **Sakat Singh**, son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

Vide No. 256.

343. **ᶜImādᵘ 'l-Mulk**.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions a Qāẓī ᶜImādᵘ 'l-Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. **Sharīf-i Sarmadī**.

He was a poet. *Vide* below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

345. **Qarā Bahā**, son of Qarātāq.

Qarātāq, whose name in the *Akbarnāma* is spelled *Qarāṭāq*, was killed by Gajpatī in the same fight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farhat Khān (No. 145), was slain (No. 145).

346. **Tātar Beg**, son of ʿAlī Muḥammad Asp. (No. 258).

347. **Khwāja Muḥibb ʿAlī** of Khawāf.

Vide No. 159, note.

348. **Ḥakīm** [Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn] **Muẓaffar** of Ardistān.

Ardistān is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and emigrated when young to India, where he was looked upon as a very experienced doctor, though his theoretical reading is said to have been limited. *Badāʾonī* (III, 169) and the *Tuzak* (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrāt and Kachh. *Akbarn.*, III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahāngīr he was made a commander of 3,000, 1,000 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Ilāhābād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Ḥakīm's death reached J. on the 22nd Jumāda I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from *qarḥa*[1]*-yi shush*, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (*yakṭawrī*) prolonged his life. His cheeks and eyes often got quite red, and when he got older, his complexion turned bluish. He was accidentally poisoned by his compounder.

349. **ʿAbdᵘ 's-Subḥān**, son of ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Raḥmān, Dulday (No. 186).

He was mentioned under No. 328.

350. **Qāsim Beg** of Tabrīz.

He served in the 36th year under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa, and died on the 23rd Ābān (end of) 1007; *vide Akbarn.*, III, 628, 803. *Vide* below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. **Sharīf** (Amīrᵘ 'l-Umarā), son of Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'ṣ-Ṣamad (No. 266).

Muḥammad Sharīf was the school companion of Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Ilāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, Sharīf was sent to him to advise him; but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendancy over Salīm, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salīm and Akbar, Sh. had to fly for his life, and concealed himself in the hills and jungles. He was reduced to starvation, when he heard of Akbar's death. He went at once to court,

[[1] *Qarḥa*, ulceration ?—P.]

and Jahāngīr, true to his promise, made him Amīr[u] 'l-Umarā, Vakīl, entrusted him with the great seal (*ūzuk*) and allowed him to select his jāgīr lands. The emperor says in his Memoirs, "He is at once my brother, my friend, my son, my companion. When he came back, I felt as if I had received new life. I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amīr[u] 'l-Umāra and a commander of 5,000. My father never did more."

Sharīf seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghāns from India; but the Khān-i Aʿẓam (No. 21) warned Jahāngīr against so unwise a step. Though Sh.'s position at court was higher than that of Mīrzā ʿAzīz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill ʿAzīz for the part he had played in Khusraw's rebellion. But ʿAzīz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharīf, and invite him to his house. The Khān-i Aʿẓam did so, and invited him and the other Amīrs. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blandest way, "I say, Nawāb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father Abd[u] 'ṣ-Ṣamad, the *Mullā*, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in." Khān Jahān (*vide* under 309) and Mahābat Khān could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahāngīr heard of it, he said to Sh., "The Khān cannot bridle his tongue; but don't fall out with him."

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kābul, but fell so ill that he had to be left in Lāhor, Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khān Khānān (No. 29). It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahāngīr was on the point of making him retire, when Khān Jahān interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dakhīn, and died there a natural death.

Like his father, Sh. was a good painter. He also made himself known as a poet, and composed a Dīwān. His *takhalluṣ* is *Fārsī* (*Badāʿonī*, III, 310).

Sh.'s eldest son, Shāhbāz Khān, died when young. A Sarāʿi near Lakhnau, about a *kos* from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mīrzā Gul and Mīrzā Jār[u] 'llāh used to play with Jahāngīr at chess and *nard*; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jār[u] 'llāh was married to Miṣrī Begam, a daughter of Āṣaf Khān (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Āṣaf's death, Jahāngīr made him divorce his wife,

and married her to Mīrzā Lashkarī (No. 375), son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (under No. 35).

Both brothers followed Mahābat Khān to Kābul, where they died.

352. **Taqiyā** of Shustar.

Taqiyā is the Īrānī from for *Taqī*. The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Taqī Muḥammad. *Badāʿonī* (III, 206) has Taqiyu 'd-Dīn and says that he was a good poet and a well-educated man. At Akbar's order he undertook a prose version of the *Shāhnāma*. He is represented as a "murīd" or disciple of Akbar's Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017) when he received for his attainments the title of *Muʾarrikh Khān* (*Tuzuk*, p. 69, where in Sayyid Aḥmad's edition we have to read *Shushtarī* for the meaningless *Shamsherī*).

Taqiyā is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyā of Balbān (a village near Iṣfahān), who, according to the *Mirʾ-ātu 'l-ʿAlam*, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign to India. He is the author of the rare *Tazkira*, or Lives of Poets, entitled *ʿArafāt o ʿAraṣāt*, and of the Dictionary entitled *Surma-yi Sulaymānī*, which the lexicographer Muḥammad Ḥusayn used for his *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ*.

353. **Khwāja ʿAbdu 'ṣ-Ṣamad** of Kāshān.

354. **Ḥakīm Luṭfu 'ullāh**, son of Mullā ʿAbdu 'r-Razzāq of Gīlān.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Badāʾonī (III, 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. **Sher Afkan** }
356. **Amānu 'llāh** } sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

Amānu 'llāh died in the 45th year of Akbar's reign at Burhānpūr. "He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking." *Akbarnāma*, III, 835.

357. **Salīm Qulī** }
358. **Khalīl Qulī** } sons of Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46).

359. **Walī Beg**, son of Pāyanda Khān (No. 68).

He served under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmīr.

360. **Beg Muḥammad** Uighūr.

361. **Mīr Khān** Yasāwul.

When Akbar during the first Gujrātī war (p. 480, note 2) had left Patan for Chotāna (Rajab, 980) it was reported that Muẓaffar of Gujrāt had fled from Sher Khān Fūlādī and was concealed in the neighbourhood; *vide* under No. 67. Akbar therefore sent Mīr Khān the Yasāwul and Farīd the Qarāwul, and afterwards Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (No. 199) and Karam ʿAlī, in search of him. Mīr Khān had not gone far when he

found the *chatr* and *sāyabān* (p. 52) which Muẓaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Muẓaffar himself in a field. Mīr Khān took him to Akbar.

362. **Sarmast Khān**, son of Dastam Khān (No. 79).

363. **Sayyid Abū 'l-Ḥasan**, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl (No. 140).

364. **Sayyid ʿAbdu 'l-Wāḥid**, son of the Mīr ʿAdl's brother.

365. **Khwāja Beg Mīrzā**, son of Maʿṣūm Beg.

366. **Sakrā**, brother of Rānā Pratāb.

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udai Singh, son of Rānā Sānkā (*died* A.H. 934). When his brother Pratāb, also called Rānā Kīkā, was attacked by Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr's reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Parwīz against Rānā Amrā, Pratāb's successor. In the end of the same year he served against Dalpat (*vide* under No. 44), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2,500, 1,000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a manṣab of 3,000, 2,000 horse.

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another son of Udai Singh, of the name of *Sakat Singh*, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court. The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khān Zamān when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mīrzās. He therefore resolved to punish the Rānā, and on a hunting tour in Pargana Bārī told Sakat Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him. Sakat, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions. This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay. Udaipūr was invaded, and Chītor surrendered.

367. **Shādī Be Uzbak** }
368. **Bāqī Be Uzbak** } sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).

They have been mentioned above. From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jāgīr in Handia, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. **Yūnān Beg**, brother of Murād Khān (No. 54).

Some MSS. have *Mīrzā Khān* for *Murād Khān*.

370. **Shaykh Kabīr**[1]**-r Chishtī** [Shujāʿat Khān, Rustam-i Zamān].[2]

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[1] He is not to be confounded with another Shaykh Kabīr, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kābul; and in the 32nd year, against the Tārīkīs under Maṭlab Khān (No. 83). He died in the 36th year, in the war with the Jām and Muẓaffar of Gujrāt (*Akbarn.*, III, 283, 406, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him *the son of Mukammal Khān*).

[2] Khāfī Khān calls him wrongly (I, 273) *Shujāʿ Khān* and *Rustam Khān*.

The *Ma*ᵉ*āṣir* calls him "an inhabitant of Mau". He was a relation of Islām Khān-i Chishtī, and received the title of Shujāʿat Khān from Prince Salīm, who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He served under Khān Jahān (*vide* under No. 309) in the Dakhin as *harāwal*, an office which the Sayyids of Bārhā claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with ʿUṣmān. During the fight he wounded ʿU.'s elephant, when the Afghān chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Walī Khān, ʿUṣmān's brother, and Mamrez Khān, ʿUṣmān's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kabīr, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh. K. to Islām Khān in Jahnāgīrangar (Dhākā), 6th Ṣafar, 1021 (*Tuzuk*, p. 104).

Jahāngīr gave him for his bravery the title of *Rustam-i Zamān*. The *Ma*ᵉ*āṣir* says that Islām Khān did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afghāns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road they were executed by ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān at the emperor's orders. Sh. K., annoyed at this breach of faith, left Bengal. While on the way he received an appointment as governor of Bihār. At his entry in Patna he sat upon a female elephant, when another elephant suddenly came up against his. Sh. K. jumped down and broke his neck.

The *Tuzuk* tells the story differently, and says that Islām Khān appointed Sh. K. to Oṛīsā, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about ʿUṣmān's relations.

Note on the death of ʿUṣmān Lohānī.

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of ʿUṣmān. Khwāja ʿUṣmān, according to the *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, was the second son of Miyān ʿIsā Khān Lohānī, who after the death of Qutlū Khān was the leader of the Afghāns in Oṛīsā and Southern Bengal. Qutlū left three sons—Naṣib Shāh, Lodī Khān, Jamāl Khān. ʿIsā Khān left five sons, Khwāja, Sulaymān, ʿUṣmān, Walī, Ibrāhīm. Stewart makes ʿUṣmān a son of Qutlū (*History of Bengal*, p. 133). Sulaymān "reigned" for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (*vide* No. 244) held lands near the Brāhmaputra, and subjected the Rājas of the adjacent countries. ʿUṣmān succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Oṛīsā and Sātgāw, and later in Eastern Bengal,

with a revenue of 5 to 6 lacs *per annum*. His residence is described to have been the *Kohistān-i Dhākā*, or "hills of Dhākā" (Tipārah ?), the *vilāyat-i Dhākā*, or District of Dhākā, and Dhākā itself. The fight with ʿUsmān took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612,[1] at a distance of 100 *kos* from Dhākā. My MS. of the Makhzan calls the place of the battle *Nek Ujyāl.*[2] Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrīkhā river" in Orīsā, which is impossible, as Shujāʿat Khān arrived again in Dhākā on the 6th Ṣafar, or 26 days after the battle. According to the *Tuzuk*, Islām Khān was in Dhākā when the fight took place, and Walī Khān submitted to Shujāʿat, who had been strengthened by a corps under ʿAbdu 's-Salām, son of Muʿaẓẓam Khān (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Islām besieged Walī in the Maḥalls where ʿUsmān used to live, between the battlefield and Dhākā, and afterwards in the Fort of Dhākā itself. Walī, on his submission, was sent to court with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from ʿUsmān, received a title of jāgīr, and was made a commander of 1,000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the *Mâʾaṣir*, as said above, he was murdered before he came to court. The *Tuzuk* says nothing about him.

Stewart says (p. 136) that he was taken to court by Hoshang, Islām Khān's son: but the *Tuzuk*, p. 115, though it has a long passage on the Mugs which he brought with him, does not mention the Afghān prisoners.

The Makhzan also says that ʿUsmān, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favour, was carried off by Walī in a litter and buried on the road. When Shujāʿat came up to the place where he had been buried, he had ʿUsmān's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

ʿUsmān is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laët (p. 488. note) has the following interesting passage: *Rex* (Jahāngīr) *eodem tempore misit Tseziad ghanum Chiech zaden* (Shujāʿat Khān Shaykhzāda) *ad Tzalanghanum* (Islām Khān) *qui Bengalae praeerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae* (Orīsā) *mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daeck* (between Orīsā and Dhākā, i.e., the Sunderban) *interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit, Daeck oppugnaturus. Tzalanchanus autem praemisit adversus ipsum*

[1] According to Prinsep's Useful Tables, the 9th Muḥarram was a Monday, not a Sunday, *Tuzuk*, p. 102.

[2] There are several Ujyāls mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Maḥmūdābād (Bosnah) and Sarkār Bāzūhā (Mymensing-Bogra).

(ʿUsmān) *Tzesiad chanum, una cum Mirza Ifftager et Ethaman chano* (Iftikhār Khān and Ihtimām Khān [1]) *et aliis multis Omerauvvis, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftager et Mierick Zilaier* (Mīrak Jalāir—not in the *Tuzuk*) *tam acrem impressionem decerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regii vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efftager caederetur; Tzesiad gaunus autem et ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetum ferocientis belluae, declinaret, se e suo dejecit, et crus prefregit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, et regii passim fugam capescerent; actumque fuisset de regiis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisset; miles quidem saucius humi jacens, casu Osmano, qui elephanto vehebatur, oculum globo trajecit, e quo vulnere paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius ita fuerunt consternati ut statim de fuga cogitarent. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restitutis, eventum proelii Tzalanchano perscripsere: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzedsiatgano e vulnere defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem* (Walī Khān) *et biduam atque liberos Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daeck Bengalae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno* . . . (the year is left out).

De Laët says that Shujāʿat Khān died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The *Maʾāṣir* says that he was on horseback when ʿUsmān's elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls *Gajpatī*, and Stewart *Bukhta* (?), knocked him over, but Sh. quickly disentangled himself and stuck his dagger into the animal's trunk.

The Makhzan says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.

371. **Mīrzā Khwāja**, son of Mīrzā Asad^{u} 'llāh. *Vide* No. 116.

372. **Mīrzā Sharīf**, son of Mīrzā ʿAlāʾ^{u} 'd-Dīn.

373. **Shukr^{u} 'llāh** [Ẓafar Khān], son of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

He was mentioned above on p. 369. On the death of his father, he was made a commander of 700, and appears to have received, at the end of Akbar's reign, the title of Ẓafar Khān.

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[1] The *Tuzuk* (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khān (p. 497). Iftikhār Khān, Sayyid Ādam Bārhā, Shaykh Achhe, brother's son of Muqarrab Khān, Muʿtamid Khān, and Ihtimām Khān, as under Shujāʿat's command. Sayyid Ādam (the *Tuzuk*, p. 132, l. 4 from below, has wrongly Sayyid Aʿẓam), Iftikhār, and Shaykh Achhe were killed. Later, ʿAbd^{u} 's-Salām, son of Muʿaẓẓam Khān (No. 260) joined and pursued ʿUsmān.

As his sister was married to Jahāngīr (*vide* under No. 37, and note 2, to No. 225) Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Lāhor for Kābul, he halted at Mawẓaʿ Ahroʾī,[1] near Fort Aṭak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khatar (p. 506, note 2) and Dilahzāk (note to No. 247). Ẓafar was appointed to Aṭak, *vice* Aḥmad Beg Khān (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Lāhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahāngīr's return from Kābul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a manṣab of 2,000, 1,000 horse. In the 7th year he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse, and governor of Bihār. In the 10th year he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 500 horse, and then served in Bangash. "Nothing else is known of him." *Maʾāṣir*.

From the *Tuzuk* (p. 343) we see that Ẓafar Khān died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāngīr made his son Saʿādat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Saʾādat Khān, his son. He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a commander of 1,500, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3,000 horse. He again served in Kābul, and under Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshān, was made commandant of Tirmiz and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subḥān Qulī Khān, ruler of Bukhārā (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahār wars, was in the 29th year Fawjdār of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kābul.

In 1069, the second near of Awrangzib's reign, he was killed by his son Sherullāh. Mahābat Khān, Ṣūbahdār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. **Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Mūmin**, son of Mīr Samarqandī.

Mīr Samarqandī was a learned man who came during Bayrām's regency of Āgra. *Badāʾonī*, III, 149.

375. **Lashkari**, son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35).

Vide above, p. 405, and for his wife under No. 351.

376. **Āgha Mullā Qazwīnī.** *Vide* No. 278.

377. **Muhammad ʿAlī of Jām.**

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[1] The *Maʾāṣir* has اهرولی ; the *Tuzuk*, p. 48, امروهی. I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. The Khatars and Dilahzāks are estimated in the *Tuzuk* at 7 to 8,000 families.

Jām is a place in Khurāsān, famous for its *Bābā Shaykhī* melons. It has given name to the two poets Pūr Bahā and the renowned ʿAbdu r'-Raḥmān Jāmī.

378. **Mathurā Dās**, the Khatrī.

379. **Sathurā Dās**, his son.

The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sulṭān Murād in Kābul. *Akbarn.*, III, 333.

380. **Mīr Murād**, brother of Shāh Beg Kolabī (No. 148). *Vide* No. 282.

381. **Kallā**, the Kachhwāha.

He served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul.

382. **Sayyid Darwīsh**, son of Shams-i Bukhārī.

383. **Junayd Murul.**

A Shaykh Junayd served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) in Gujrāt. He was killed in the Khaibar catastrophe (*Akbarn.*, III, 190, 498).

384. **Sayyid Abū Is-ḥāq**, son of Mīrzā Rafīʿu 'd-Dīn-i Ṣafawī.

He was mentioned under No. 149. In the 36th year he served against the Jām and Muẓaffar of Gujrāt.

His father Rafīʿu 'd-Dīn was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Āgra in 954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn, author of a commentary to the Qurʿan entitled *Tafsīr-i Maʿānī*.

385. **Fatḥ Khān**, superintendent of the leopards.

In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abū 'l-Faẓl describes, according to his custom, as a miracle. F. K. was in charge of the hunting leopards.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the Fatḥ Khān of Akbar's reign. *First*, there is Fattū Khān Afghān. *Fattū* is the same as *Fatḥ*. His title is *Masnad-i ʿAlī*, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. *Secondly*, Fatḥ Khān Fīlbān, who when young was Akbar's elephant driver (*fīlbān*). He was subsequently made Amīr, and according to my two MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, died in 990. But Badāʾonī (II, 352) mentions Fatḥ Khān Fīlbān as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qāsim Khān (No. 59) on his march to Kashmīr; but the *Akbarnāma*, in the corresponding passage (III, 512) calls him *Fatḥ Khān Masnad-i ʿAlī*. Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians* (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fatḥ Khān Bahādur. A Fatḥ Khān Taghluq was mentioned under No. 187.

386. **Muqīm Khān**, son of Shujāʿat Khān (No. 51).

He served in the siege of Āsīr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin. *Akbarn.*, III, 825, 865.

387. **Lāla**, son of Rāja Bīr Bar (No. 85).

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 865) calls him the *eldest* son of Rāja Bīr Baṛ. *Vide* under 85.

388. **Yūsuf-i Kashmīrī.** *Vide* No. 228.

389. **Ḥabī Yasāwul.**

Ḥabī is an abbreviation of *Ḥabīb*.

390. **Ḥaydar Dost,** brother of Qāsim ʿAlī Khān (No. 187).

391. **Dost Muḥammad,** son of Bābā Dost.

392. **Shāhrukh** Dantūrī.

Dantūr, Dhantūr or Dhantāwar, is a district near the Kashmir[1] frontier. The *Tuzuk* (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantūr, during Akbar's reign, was ruled over by Shāhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahāngīr's) by his son Bahādur. Bahādur was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahābat in Bangash.

393. **Sher Muḥammad.**

He served in 993 in the Dakhin. *Akbarn.*, III, 472.

A *Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna* was mentioned on p. 332. He had at first been in the service of Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam, brother of Akbar's mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaunpūr, engaged with the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna plundered several places in Pargana Samāna, the fawjdār of which was Mullā Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn Tarkhān. The Mullā had left his vakīl Mīr Dost Muhammad in Samāna. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Māler, when he was surprised by the Mullā at a place called Dhanūrī in Samāna. Sh. M. D. fled, but his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and threw him down. He was captured and executed, A.H. 973. *Akbarn.*, II. 332.

394. **ʿAlī Qulī** [Beg, Istajlū, Sher Afkan Khān].

He was the *safarchī*,[2] or table-attendant of Ismāʿīl II, king of Persia. After his death he went over Qandahār to India, and met at Multān, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), who was on his march to Thatha. At his recommendation, he received a *manṣab*. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā (the future Nūr Jahān), daughter of Mīrzā Ghiyāṣ Ṭahrānī (No. 319). Ghiyāṣ's wife had accession to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salīm saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to ʿAlī Qulī.

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[1] *Vide* Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 131. It lies on the Dor River, near Nawshahra.

[[2] *Sufra-chī*.—P.]

ʿAlī Qulī accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rānā, and received from him the title of Sher Afkar Khān. On his accession, he received Bardwān as *tuyūl*. His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khūbū (No. 275) was related on p. 551. The *Maʾāṣir* says that when he went to meet the Ṣūbahdār, his mother put a helmet (*dubalgha*) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

ʿAlī Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihrᵘ 'n-Nisā, was later married to Prince Shahryār, Jahāngīr's fifth son.

Jahāngīr, in the *Tuzuk*, expresses his joy at ʿA. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell". Khāfī Khān (I, p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nūr Jahān's mother. According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihrᵘ 'n-Nisā had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions."

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahrām Saqqā (*vide* below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwān.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahān killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (*Tuzuk*, p. 186) and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngīr to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafīs. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment :—

نورجهان گرچه بصورت زن اشت　　درصف مردان زن شیر افکن است

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman she is in the array of men a *zan-i sher afkan*," i.e., either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (*afkan*) tigers (*sher*).

395. **Shāh Muḥammad**, son of Masnad-i ʿAlī.

Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. **Sanwaldās Jādon.**

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul. In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhāṭī. Akbar visited him, as he was given up by the doctors; but he recovered after an illness of three years.

He was the son of Rāja Gopāl Jādon's brother (*vide* No. 305) and Abū 'l-Faẓl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. *Akbarn.*, III, 24, 333, 435.

397. **Khwāja Ẓahīr[u] 'd-Dīn**, son of Shaykh Khalīl[u] 'llāh.

He served in the 31st year under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmīr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin.

His father is also called *Shāh* Khalīl[u] 'llāh. He served in the 10th year against Khān Zamān, and under Mun'im Khān in Bengal and Oṛīsā, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 407).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mīr Khalīl[u] 'llāh of Yazd and his son Mīr Ẓahīr[u] 'd-Dīn, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhor. The history of this noble family is given in the *Ma'āṣir*.

398. **Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim** of Nīshāpūr.

399. **Ḥājī Muḥammad** Ardistānī.

400. **Muḥammad Khān**, son of Tarson Khān's sister (No. 32).

401. **Khwāja Muqīm**, son of Khwāja Mīrakī.

He served under 'Azīz Koka in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993 he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Ṭāhir Sayf[u] 'l-Mulūk (No. 201) in Fort Ghorāghāt by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made *Bakhshī*. *Akbarn.*, III, 418, 470, 610.

Vide Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, pp. 248, 251.

402. **Qādir Qulī**, foster-brother of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrāt. *Akbarn.*, III, 621.

403. **Fīrūza**, a slave of the emperor Humāyūn.

Badā'onī (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humāyūn, who brought him up with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144).

Badā'onī also says that he was a Langā

404 **Tāj Khān Khatriya**. *Vide* No. 172.

405. **Zayn[u] 'd-Dīn 'Alī**.

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

406. **Mīr Sharīf** of Kolāb.

407. **Pahāṛ Khān**, the Balūch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjan Hāḍā (No. 96),

and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was *tuyūldār* of G͟hāzīpūr, and hunted down Maʿṣūm K͟hān Farank͟hūdī, after the latter had plundered Muḥammadābād (*vide* under No. 175). In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisānā, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher K͟hān Fulādī was defeated. *Akbarn.*, III, 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., states in his "Memoir of the Ghazepoor District" (p. 80) that Fawjdār Pahāṛ K͟hān is still remembered in G͟hāzīpūr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

408. **Keshū Dās**, the Rāṭhor.

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year) he served in Gujrāt. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salīm (*vide* under No. 4). From the *Akbarnāma*, III, 623, it appears that he is the son of Rāy Rāy Singh's brother (No. 44) and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. **Sayyid Lād Bārha.**

In 993, Sayyid Lāḍ served with the preceding in Gujrāt, and in the 46th year, in the Dakhin.

410. **Naṣīr Maʿīn.**

Maʿīn (معين) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rājpūts, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Duʿāb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced is ʿIsā K͟hān Maʿīn. He served under Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh." *Maʿāṣir.*

411 **Sānga**, the Pūwar.

412 **Qābil**, son of ʿAtīq.

413. **Adwand** }
414. **Sundar** } Zamīndārs of Oṛīsā.

415. **Nūram**, foster-brother of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.

He served in the 31st year against the Afg͟hāns on Mount Terāh, and in 1000, under Mān Singh in the expedition to Oṛīsā. *Akbarn.*, III, 532, 642.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.

The above list of grandees includes the names of such Manṣabdārs above the rank of commanders of Five Hundred as were alive and dead in the 40th year of his Majesty's reign, in which this book was completed; but the list of the commanders from Five hundred to Two hundred, only contains such as were alive in that year. Of those who hold a lower rank and are now alive, I shall merely give the number. There are at present:—

of Commanders of 150	. . . .	53
Do.	120	1
Do.	100, or *Yūzbāshīs* . . .	250
Do.	80	91
Do.	60	204
Do.	50	16
Do.	40	260
Do.	30, or *Tarkashbands* . . .	39
Do.	20	250
Do.	10	224

[Total, 1,388 Manṣabdārs below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to manṣabs or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabians and Persians also come from distant countries, and are honoured with commissions in the army, whereby they obtain the object of their desires. A large number again, both of old and young servants, receive their discharge, and are rewarded by his Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land, that render them independent.

As I have mentioned the Grandees of the state, both such as are still alive and such as have gone to their rest, I shall also give the names of those who have been employed in the administration of the government, and thus confer upon them everlasting renown.

The following have been *Vakīls*, or prime-ministers [1] :—

Bayrām Khān (No. 10); Munʿim Khān (No. 11); Atga Khān (No. 15); Bahādur Khān (No. 22); Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khān Khānān Mīrzā Khān (No. 29); Khān-i Aʿẓam Mīrzā ʿKoka (No. 21).

The following have been *Vazīrs* or ministers of finances :—

Mīr ʿAzīzu 'llāh Turbatī; Khwāja Jalālu 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd [2] of Khurāsān (No. 65); Khwāja Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn Farankhūdī (No. 128); Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān (No. 49); Vazīr Khān (No. 41); Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37); Rāja Toḍar Mal (No. 39); Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz (No. 122); Qulij Khān (No. 42), Khwāja Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khawāfī (No. 159).

The following have been *Bakhshīs* :—

Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khwāja Ṭāhir of Sijistān (No. 111); Mawlānā Ḥabī Bihzādī,[3] Mawlānā Darwish Muḥammad of Mashhad;

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[1] Abū 'l-Faẓl's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged

[2] The MSS. and my text have wrong *Masʿūd* for Maḥmūd.

[3] Some MSS. have *Hai* instead of *Habī* (an abbreviation for *Habīb*).

Mawlānā ʿIshqī,[1] Muqīm of Khurāsān (No. 410); Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Badakhshān; Lashkar Khān (No. 90); Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80); Rāy Purukhotam; Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99); Qāẓī ʿAlī of Baghdād; Jaʿfar Beg ʿĀṣaf Khān (No. 98); Khwāja Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn Aḥmad;[2] Khwājagī Fatḥᵘ 'llāh (No. 258).

The following have been *Ṣadrs*[3]:—

Mīr Fatḥᵘ 'llāh; Shaykh Gadā'ī, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i Kambū; Khwājagī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, descendant in the third generation from Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Marwārīd; Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Bāqī; Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī; Sulṭān Khwāja (No. 108); Ṣadr Jahān (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar's Manṣabdārs.

The principal facts which Abū 'l-Faẓl's list of Grandees discloses are, *first*, that there were very few Hindūstānī Musulmāns in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghāns; *secondly*, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindū Amīrs, as among the 415 Manṣabdārs there are 51 Hindūs.

The Mansabdārs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mīr Shāh Abū 'l-Maʿālī; Khwāja Maʿaẓẓam, brother of Akbar's mother; Bābā Khān Qāqshāl; Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī (p. 476, note); ʿArab Bahādur; Jabārī, etc. But there are also several left out, as Khiẓr Khwāja (p. 394, note 2), Sulṭān Ḥusayn Jalā'ir (*vide* under No. 64), Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar (*vide* p. 507), Mīr Gesū (p. 464), Nawrang Khān, son of Quṭbᵘ 'd-Dīn Khān (No. 28), Mīrzā Qulī (p. 418), Rāja Āskaran (under No. 174), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abū 'l-Faẓl's list with that in the *Ṭabaqāt*, or the careful lists of Shāhjahān's grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma*, we observe that Abū 'l-Faẓl has only given the *manṣab*, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (*tābīnān*). In other words, Abū 'l-Faẓl has merely given the *ẓātī* rank (p. 251). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn in the *Ṭabaqāt*, which may advantageously be given here. Niẓām gives only manṣabdārs of higher rank, viz.:—

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[1] Regarding him *vide Akbarnāma*, III, 210. He was of Ghaznī.
[2] The Historian.
[3] *Vide* pp. 280 to 285. Regarding Maulānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Bāqī, who was *Ṣadr* in the fifth year, *vide Akbarnāma*, II, 143.

In the Ṭabaqāt.[1]	In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.
1. Khān Khānān Bayrām Khān .	No. 10. Manṣab, 5,000.[1]
2. Mīrzā Shāhrukh, 5,000 . .	„ 7 ; 5,000.
3. Tardī Beg Khān . . .	„ 12 ; do.
4. Munʿim Khān . . .	„ 11 ; do.
5. Mīrzā Rustam, 5,000 . .	„ 9 ; do.
6. Mīrzā Khān Khānān . .	„ 29 ; do.
7. ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān . .	„ 13 ; do.
8. Adham Khān . . .	„ 19 ; do.
9. Mīrzā Sharafu 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn .	„ 17 ; do.
10. Shamsu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Khān	„ 15 ; do.
11. Muḥammad ʿAzīz Kokultāsh, 5,000	„ 21 ; do.
12. Khiẓr Khwāja . . .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* p. 394.
13. Bahādur Khān, 5,000 . .	No. 22 ; 5,000
14. Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atga .	„ 16 ; do.
15. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās*	„ 31 ; do.
16. Khān Jahān, 5,000 . .	„ 24 ; do.
17. Shihābu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, 5,000	„ 26 ; do.
18. Saʿīd Khān, 5,000 . . .	„ 25 ; do.
19. Pīr Muḥammad Khān . .	„ 20 ; do.
20. Rāja Bihārā Mal[2] . .	„ 23 ; do.
21. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 5,000 .	„ 27 ; do.
22. Mān Singh, 5,000	„ 30 ; do.
23. Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān, maintained 20,000 horse	„ 49 ; 3,000.
24. Sikandar Khān Uzbak[2] .	„ 48 ; 3,000.
25. ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak .	„ 14 ; 5,000.
26. Qiyā Khān Gung[2] . . .	„ 33 ; 5,000.
27. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Koka, 5,000	„ 18 ; 5,000.
28. Zayn Khān Koka, 5,000 .	„ 34 ; 4,500.
29. Shujāʿāt Khān, 5,000 . .	„ 51 ; 3,000.

[1] According to MS. No. 87, of the Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, and my own MS. The occasional differences in the names are mostly traceable to Akbar's hatred, which Abū 'l-Faẓl shared, of the names "Muhammad", "Aḥmad".

[2] Mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt as belonging to the Umarāʾ-i kibār, "the great Amīrs," i.e., probably, the commanders of 5,000.

In the *Ṭabaqāt*.	In *Abū 'l-Faẓl's list*.
30. Shāh Budāgh Khān . .	No. 52 ; 3,000.
31. Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbak, 4,000 .	„ 64 ; 2,500.
32. Tarsō Muḥammad Khān, 5,000	„ 32 ; 5,000.
33. Vazīr Khān, 5,000 . . .	„ 41 ; 4,000.
34. Muḥammad Murād Khān [1] . .	„ 54 ; 3,000.
35. Ashraf Khān [1]	„ 74 ; 2,000.
36. Mahdī Qāsim Khān [2] . .	„ 36 ; 4,000.
37. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān .	„ 40 ; 4,000.
38. Khwāja Sulṭān ʿAlī . .	„ 56 ; 3,000.
39. Rāja Todar Mal, 4,000 . .	„ 39 ; 4,000.
40. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Raẓawī, 4,000	„ 35 ; 4,500.
41. Mīrzā Qulī Khān [1] . .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* p. 418.
42. Muẓaffar Khān . . .	No. 37 ; 4,000.
43. Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān, 2,000	„ 66 ; 2,500.
44. Shāham Khān Jalāʾir, 2,000 .	„ 97 ; 2,000.
45. Ismāʾīl Sulṭān Dulday . .	„ 72 ; 2,000.
46. Muḥammad Khān Jalāʾir [2] .	not in the Āʾīn.
47. Khān-i ʿĀlam, 3,000 . .	No. 58 ; 3,000.
48. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, maintained 5,000 horse .	„ 28 ; 5,000.
49. Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, 4,000 .	„ 107 ; 1,000.
50. Qulij Khān, 4,000	„ 42 ; 4,000.
51. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān, 4,000	„ 43 ; 4,000.
52. Mīrzā Jānī Beg, 3,000 . .	„ 47 ; 3,000.
53. Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān, 3,000 [3] .	„ 46 ; 3,500.
54. Iʿtimād Khān Gujrātī, 4,000 .	„ 67 ; 2,500.
55. Rāja Rāy Singh, of Bīkānīr and Nagor, 4,000	„ 44 ; 4,000.
56. Sharīf Muḥammad Khān, 3,000	„ 63 ; 3,000.
57. Shāh Fakhru 'd-Dīn, Naqābat Khān, 1,000	„ 88 ; 2,000.
58. Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān	„ 133 ; 1,000.
59. Shāh Qulī Maḥram, 1,000 .	„ 45 ; 3,500.

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[1] Mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* as belonging to the *Umarāʾ-i kibār*, "the great Amirs," i.e., probably the commanders of 5,000.

[2] He got insane. *Ṭabaqāt*.

[3] MS., 1,000.

In the Ṭabaqāt.	In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.
60. Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī, 4,000	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* p. 466.
61. Muʿīnu ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad . .	No. 128 ; 1,000.
62. Iʿtimād Khān Khwājasarā .	„ 119 ; 1,000.
63. Dastam [1] Khān	„ 79 ; 2,000.
64. Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar, 5,000 5,000	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* p. 507, and under No. 247.
65. Ṭāhir Khān Mīr Farāghat, 2,000	No. 94 ; 2,000.
66. Sayyid Ḥāmid of Bukhārā, 2,000	„ 78 ; 2,000.
67. Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān, Bārha, 4,000	„ 75 ; 2,000.
68. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Bārha, 3,000	„ 91 ; 2,000.
69. Qarā Bahādur Khān,[2] 4,000 (?)	„ 179 ; 700.
70. Bāqī Muḥammad Khān Koka, 4,000	„ 60 ; 3,000.
71. Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl .	„ 140 ; 1,000.
72. Maʿṣūm Khān Farankhūdī, 2,000	„ 157 ; 1,000.
73. Nawrang Khān, 4,000 . .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* p. 354.
74. Shāh Muḥammad Khān Atga, younger brother of Shamsu d'Dīn Atgah [3] . . .	not in the Āʾīn.
75. Maṭlab Khān, 2,000 .	No. 83 ; 2,000.
76. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, 2,000 . .	„ 82 ; 2,000.
77. ʿAlī Qulī Khān, 2,000 .	„ 124 , 1,000.
78. Tolak Khān Qūchīn, 2,000 .	„ 158 ; 1,000.
79. Shāh Beg Khān Kābulī, 3,000	„ 57 ; 3,000.
80. Fattū Khān Afghān, 2,000 .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* No. 385.
81. Fatḥ Khān Fīlbān, 2,000 .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* under No. 385.
82. Samānjī Khān Mughul, 2,000 .	No. 100 ; 1,500.
83. Bābū Manklī, 1,000 . .	„ 202 ; 700.
84. Darwish Muḥammad Uzbak, 2,000	„ 81 , 2,000.
85. Shāhbāz Khān Kambū, 2,000 .	„ 80 ; 2,000.
86. Khwāja Jahān Khurāsānī .	„ 110 ; 1,000.

[1] The MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt* also have wrongly *Rustam Khān*.
[2] MS. Bahādur Khān.
[3] This is probably a mistake of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

In the Ṭabaqāt.	*In Abū 'l-Fażl's list.*
87. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, kept 5,000 horse . . .	No. 50; 3,000.
88. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān,[1] 3,000	„ 40; 4,000.
89. Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 1,000	„ 180; 700.
90. Rāja Jagannāth, 3,000 .	„ 69; 2,500.
91. Rāja Āskaran, 3,000 . .	not in the Āʾīn; *vide* No. 174.
92. Rāy Lonkaran, 2,000 . .	not in the Āʾīn; *vide* No. 265.
93. Mādhū Singh, "brother of R. Mān Singh," 2,000 . .	No. 104; 1,500.
94. Sayf Khān Koka . . .	„ 38; 4,000.
95. Ghiyāṣu 'd-Dīn ʿAli Āṣaf Khān	„ 126; 1,000.
96. Pāyanda Khān Mughul, 2,000	„ 68; 2,500.
97. Mubārak Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,000	„ 171; 1,000.
98. Bāz Bahādur Afghān, 2,000 .	„ 120; 1,000.
99. Mīrak Khān Jinkjank (?) .	not in the Āʾīn.
100. Sayyid Qāsim Bārha, 2,000 .	No. 105; 1,500.
101. Rāja Kangār, 2,000 . .	not in the Āʾīn; *vide* under No. 134.
102. Muḥammad Husayn Lashkar Khān, kept 2,000 horse .	No. 90; 2,000.
103. Ḥusayn Khān Tukriyah, 2,000	„ 53; 3,000.
104. Jalāl Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,500	„ 170; 1,000.
105. Saʿīd Khān, the Gakkhar, 1,500	not in the Āʾīn; *vide* p. 508, and under No 247.
106. Iʿtibār Khān, Eunuch, 2,000 .	No. 84; 2,000.
107. Khwājah Ṭāhir Muḥammad Tātār Khān . . .	„ 111; 1,000.
108. Moth Rāja, 1,500 . . .	„ 121; 1,000.
109. Mihtar Khān Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000	„ 102; 1,500.
110. Ṣafdar Khān, Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000[1]	not in the Āʾīn.
111. Bahār Khān, Khāṣa Khayl 2,000	No. 87 (?); 2,000.

[1] The same as No. 37 on p. 598?

In the *Ṭabaqāt.*	In *Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.*
112. Farḥat Khān Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000	No. 145; 1,000.
113. Rāy Sāl Darbārī, 2,000 . . .	„ 106; 1,250.
114. Rāy Durgā, 1,500 [1] . . .	„ 103; 1,500.
115. Mīrak Khān Bahādur,[2] 2,000 .	„ 208; 500.
116. Shāh Muḥammad Qalātī .	„ 95; 2,000.
117. Maqṣūd ʿAlī Kor	„ 136; 1,000.
118. Ikhlāṣ Khān, the Eunuch, 1,000	„ 86; 2,000.
119. Mihr ʿAlī Sildoz, 1,500 . .	„ 130; 1,000.
120. Khudāwand Khān Dakhinī, 1,500	„ 151; 1,000.
121. Mīr Murtaẓā Dakhinī, 1,000 .	„ 162; 1,000.
122. Ḥasan Khān, a Batanī Afghān, 1,000	„ 220; 500.
123. Naẓar Beg, son of Saʿīd, the Ghakkhar, 1,000 . . .	„ 247; 500.
124. Rāja Gopāl, 2,000 . . .	not in the Āʾīn: *vide* under No. 305.
125. Qiyā Khān, 1,000 . . .	No. 184; 700.
126. Sayyid Hāshim Bārha, 2,000 .	„ 143; 1,000.
127. Razawī Khān, 2,000 . .	„ 141; 1,000.
128. Rāja Bīr Bal, 2,000 . . .	„ 85; 2,000.
129. Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī, 1,500	„ 99; 1,500.
130. Rāja Surjan, 2,000 . .	„ 96; 2,000.
131. Jaʿfar Beg, Āṣaf Khān, 2,000	„ 98; 2,000.
132. Rāja Rūpsī Bairāgī, 1,500 .	„ 118; 1,000.
133. Fāẓil Khān, 1,500	„ 156; 1,000.
134. Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī, 1,000	„ 231; 500.
135. Shaykh Muḥammad Khān Bukhārī, 2,000	„ 77; 2,000
136. Lāl Khān Badakhshī . .	„ 209; 500.
137. Khanjar Beg Chaghtā [3] . .	not in the Āʾīn.
138. Makhṣūṣ Khān, 2,500 . .	No. 70; 2,500.
139. Sānī Khān Arlāt . . .	„ 216; 500.

[1] MS., 1,000.
[2] He died in the explosion of a mine before Chitor.
[3] "He belongs to the old Amirs of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well-known Masnawī by him, *dar bāb-i akhārā*, on the subject of dancing girls." *Ṭabaqāt*. *Vide Akbarnāma*, II, 82.

	In the Ṭabaqāt.	*In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.*
140.	Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān . .	No. 149; 1,000.
141.	Jagat Singh, 1,500 . .	„ 160; 1,000.
142.	Mīrzā Najāt Khān . .	„ 142; 1,000.
143.	ʿAlī Dost Khān, 1,000 [1] . .	not in the Āʾīn.
144.	Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān . .	not in the Āʾīn.
145.	Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī .	No. 122; 1,000.
146.	Salīm Khān, 1,000 . .	„ 132; 1,000.
147.	Sayyid Chhajhū Bārha . .	„ 221; 500.
148.	Darbār Khān, 1,000 . .	„ 185; 700.
149.	Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī, 1,000 (?)	„ 55; 3,000.
150.	Muḥammad Zamān [2] . .	not in the Āʾīn.
151.	Khurram Khān, 2,000 [3] . .	not in the Āʾīn.
152.	Muḥammad Qulī Toqbāy, 1,000	No. 129; 1,000.
153.	Mujāhid Khān, 1,000 [4] . .	not in the Āʾīn.
154.	Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Awbahī [5] .	not in the Āʾīn.
155.	Shāh Ghāzī Khān Turkmān .	not in the Āʾīn.
156.	Sheroya, 1,000 . . .	No. 168; 1,000.
157.	Kākar ʿAlī Khān, 1,000 .	„ 92; 2,000.
158.	Naqīb Khān, 1,000 . .	„ 161; 1,000.
159.	Beg Nūrīn Khān, 1,000 . .	„ 212; 500.
160.	Qutlū Qadam Khān, 1,000 .	„ 123; 1,000.
161.	Jalāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000 .	„ 213; 500.
162.	Shimāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000 .	„ 154; 1,000.
163.	Mīrzāda ʿAlī Khān . .	„ 152; 1,000.
164.	Sayyid ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān .	„ 189; 700.
165.	Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī, 1,000 .	No. 166; 1,000.
166.	Farrukh Khān	„ 232; 500.
167.	Dost Khān [6]	not in the Āʿīn.
168.	Jaʿfar Khān Turkmān, 1,000 .	No. 114; 1,000.

[1] "He was a servant of Humāyūn. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1,000, and died at Lāhor." One MS. calls him ʿAlī Dost Khān *Nārangī*, the other has *Bārbegī*, an unusual title for the Mughul period.

[2] "Muḥammad Zamān is the brother of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and was killed in Gaḍha." *Ṭabaqāt.*

[3] According to the *Ṭabaqāt*, he was dead in 1000. *Vide Akbarnāma*, II, 98, 108, 200 284, 287.

He is not to be confounded with Mīrzā Khurram (No. 177).

[4] Mujāhid Khān was the son of Muṣāhib Khān, one of Humāyūn's courtiers. He was killed at Konbhalmīr. *Akbarnāma*, III, 146, 168.

[5] He was the *khāl*, or maternal uncle, of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kamāʾon.

[6] One MS. calls him بابا, the other بهاری. "He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and is now (A.H. 1001) dead."

	In the Ṭabaqāt.	*In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.*
169.	Rāy Manohar . . .	No. 265 ; 400.
170.	Shaykh ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau	„ 197 ; 700.
171.	Mīrzā Abū 'l-Muẓaffar . .	„ 240 ; 500.
172.	Rāj Singh, son of Rāja Āskaran	„ 174 ; 1,000.
173.	Rāy Patr Dās . . .	„ 196 ; 700.
174.	Jānish Bahādur . . .	„ 235 ; 500.
175.	Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī .	„ 239 ; 500.
176.	Rām Dās Kachhwāha . .	„ 238 ; 500.
177.	Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim . .	„ 251 ; 500.
178.	Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥay, Mīr ʿAdl	„ 230 ; 500.
179.	Shamsu 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, son of Aʿẓam Khān . . .	„ 163 ; 1,000.
180.	Khwāja Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khawāfī	„ 159 ; 1,000.
181.	Mīr Jamalu 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū, 1,000	„ 164 , 1,000.
182.	Shaykh ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān, son of Muḥammad Ghaws, 1,000 .	„ 173 ; 1,000.
183.	Sayyid Rājū Bārha, 1,000 .	„ 165 ; 1,000.
184.	Mednī Rāy Chauhān, 1,000 .	„ 198 ; 700.
185.	Mīr Ṭāhir Raẓawī, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān . . .	„ 236 ; 500.
186.	Tāsh Beg Kābulī . . .	„ 172 ; 1,000.
187.	Aḥmad Beg Kābulī, keeps 700 horse	„ 191 ; 700.
188.	Sher Khwāja	„ 176 ; 800.
189.	Muḥammad Qulī Turkmān .	„ 203 ; 600.
190.	Mīrzā ʿAlī Alamshāhī [1] . .	„ 237 ; 500.
191.	Wazīr Jamīl . . .	„ 200 ; 700.
192.	Rāy Bhoj, 1,000 . . .	„ 175 ; 1,000
193.	Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān . .	„ 204 ; 600.
194.	Mīr Ṣadr Jahān . . .	„ 194 ; 700.
195.	Ḥasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmarī .	„ 167 : 1,000.
196.	Shādmān, son of ʿAzīz Koka .	„ 233 ; 500.
197.	Rāja Mukatmān Bhadaurya .	„ 249 ; 500.
198.	Bāqī Safarchī,[2] son of Ṭāhir Khān Farāghat . . .	not in the Āʾīn ; *vide* No. 94.

[1] " He is the brother of ʿAlamshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." *Ṭabaqāt*. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded under No. 237.

[[2] Or *Sufra-chī* ?—P.]

In the Ṭabaqāt.	*In Abū 'l-Faẓl's list.*
199. Farīdūn Barlās . . .	No. 227 ; 500.
200. Bahādur Khān Qurdār, a Tarīn Afghān	„ 269 ; 400.
201. Shaykh Bāyazīd-i Chishtī .	„ 260 ; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abū 'l-Faẓl classes among the commanders of 400. Niẓām, however, adds the following note to his own list—" Let it be known that the title of *Amīr* is given to all such as hold Manṣabs from 500 upwards. *None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank.*"

The Historian Badā'onī has not given a list of Amīrs, but has compiled instead a very valuable list of the poets, doctors, learned men, and saints of Akbar's reign, together with biographical notices, which make up the third volume of the edition printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With his usual animus he says (III, 1)—" I shall not give the names of the Amīrs, as Niẓām has given them in the end of his work, and *besides most of them have died without having obtained the pardon of God.*

I have seen none that is faithful in this generation ;
If thou knowest one, give him my blessing."

Of the Manṣabdārs whose names Abū 'l-Faẓl has not given, because the *Ā'īn* list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahābat Khān, Khān Jahān Lodī (*vide* under No. 309), and ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Fīrūz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahāngīr's reign ; but the Dutch traveller De Laët, in his work on India (p. 151) has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahāngīr's Manṣabdārs, which may be compared with the lists in the *Ā'īn* and the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 717). Leaving out the princes, whose *manṣabs* were above 5,000, we have :—

Commanders of	*Under Akbar.* (Ā'īn)	*Under Jahāngīr.* (De Laët)	*Under Shāhjahān* (*Pādishāhnāma*)
5,000	30	8	20
4,500	2	9	0
4,000	9	25	20
3,500	2	30	0
3,000	17	36	44
2,500	8	42	11
2,000	27	45	51
1,500	7	51	52
1,250	1	0	0

Commanders of	*Under Akbar.* (Āʾīn)	*Under Jahāngīr.* (De Laët)	*Under Shāhjahān* (*Pādishāhnāma*)
1,000	31	55	97
900	38	0	23
800	2	0	40
700	25	58	61
600	4	0	30
500	46	80	114
Total	249	439	563
400	18	73	not specified.
350	19	58	
300	33	72	
250	12	85	
200	81	150	
Total	163	438	
150	53	242	not specified.
120	1	0	
100	250	300	
80	91	245	
60	204	397	
50	16	0	
40	260	298	
30	39	240	
20	250	232	
10	224	110	
Total	1,388	2,064	

The number of Aḥadīs under Jahāngīr, De Laët fixes as follows :—

Chahāraspas	741
Sihaspas	1,322
Duaspas	1,428
Yakaspas	950
	4,441 Aḥadīs.

Under Shāhjahān, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to manṣabs above 5,000. There is no Hindū among them.

De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amīrs were Hindūs. But we may compare the lists of the *Āʾīn* and the *Pādishāhnāma*.

We find under Akbar:—

among 252 manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 500 . . 32 Hindūs.
among 163 manṣabdārs from 400 to 200 . . 25 ,,

Under Shāhjahān (20th year of his reign), we have:—

among 12 manṣabdārs above 5,000 . . . no Hindūs.
among 580 manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 500 . . 110 Hindūs

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the *Pādishāhnāma*. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindūs and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my "Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871.

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Āʾīn 30 (continued).

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME.

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty, who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention. And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world. The *first* class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views, fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty. The *second* class pay less attention to the external world; but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge. The *third* class do not step beyond the arena of observation (*naẓar*) and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony. The *fourth* class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof. The *fifth* class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony. Each class has many subdivisions.

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people. The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings; but truthfulness helps on the pen.

First Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds.

1. Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.[1]

Vide under No. 253. The *Ṭabaqāt* also mentions a Shaykh Mubārak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubārak of Gwālyār.

2. Shaykh Niẓām.

Abū 'l-Faẓl either means the renowned Niẓamu 'd-Dīn of Amethī, near Lakhnau, of the Chishtī sect, who died A.H. 979; or Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn of Nārnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaykh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtīs, and died at Jaunpūr in 970.

4. Miyān Wajīhu 'd-Dīn.

Died at Aḥmadābād in 998. The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a contemporary, *Shaykh* Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Gujrātī, who died in 995.

5. Shaykh Ruknu 'd-Dīn.

He was the son of Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l-Quddūs of Gango. Badāʾonī saw him at Dihlī at the time of Bayrām's fall.

6. Shaykh Abdu 'l-Azīz (of Dihlī).

7. Shaykh Jalālu 'd-Dīn.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (*khalīfa*) of ʿAbdu 'l-Quddūs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaykh Ilāhdiya.

Ilāhdiya is Hindūstānī for the Persian *Ilāhdād*, "given (*diyā*) by God," "Theodore." He lived at Khayrābād and died in 993.

9. Mawlānā Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn.

"Mawlānā Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn Surkh of Lāhor. He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious." *Ṭabaqāt.*

10. Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l-Ghafūr.

He belongs to Aʿẓampūr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of ʿAbdu 'l-Quddūs. Died in 995.

11. Shaykh Panjū.

He was wrongly called Bechū on p. 110, note 3. He died in 969. *Badāʾonī*, II, 53.

12. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Ḥusayn, who taught in Humāyūn's Madrasa at Dihlī. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

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[1] The notes are taken from the *Ṭabaqāt*, the third volume of *Badāʾonī*, and the *Mirʾat 'l-ʿĀlam.*

13. Madhū Sarsutī.
14. Madhūsūdan.
15. Nārāyn Asram.
16. Harijī Sūr.
17. Damūdar Bhat.
18. Rāmtīrth.
19. Nar Sing.
20. Parmindar.
21. Ādit.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaykh Rukn^u 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd [1] Kamāngar (the bow maker).
23. Shaykh Amān^u 'llāh.
24. Khwāja ʿAbd^u 'sh-Shahīd.

He is the son of Khwājagān Khwāja, son of the renowned Khwāja Aḥrār. *Vide* No. 17 and No. 108. He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jāgīr in Pargana جمهاری, in the Bārī Duāb, where he maintained two thousand poor.

25. Shaykh Mūsā.

He was a smith (*āhangar*), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and was buried at Lāhor. The elder brother of Shaykh Salīm-i Chishtī also was called Shaykh Mūsā; *vide* under No. 82. *Vide* also below, No. 102.

26. Bābā Balās.
27. Shaykh ʿAlā'^u 'd-Dīn Majẕūb. *Vide Badā'onī*, III, 61.
28. Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun.

The *Tabaqāt* calls him Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun Majẕūb of Lāhor.

29. Shaykh Burhān.

He lived as a recluse in Kālpī, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Qurān. He was a Mahdawī. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell.

30. Bābā Kipūr.

Shaykh Kipūr Majẕūb of Gwālyār, a Ḥusaynī Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a *bihishtī*, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

31. Shaykh Abū Is-ḥāq Firang. *Vide Badā'onī*, III, 48.
32. Shaykh Dā'ūd.

He is called Jhannīwāl from Jhannī near Lāhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sītpūr in Multān, where Dā'ūd was born. *Badā'onī* (III, p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

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[1] *Badā'onī* (III, p. 151) mentions a *Zayn^u 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.*

33. Shaykh Salīm-i Chishtī.

He was a descendant of Shaykh Farīd-i Shakarganj, and lived in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī highly honoured by Akbar. Jahāngīr was called after him Salīm. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above.

34. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws of Gwālyār.

Vide No. 173.

35. Rām Bhadr. 36. Jadrūp.

Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology.[1]

37. Mīr Fatḥu 'llāh of Shīrāz.

Vide pp. 34, 110, 208, 284. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of *Fārighī*; *vide Badā'onī*, III, 292. His two sons were Mīr Taqī and Mīr Sharīf.

38. Mīr Murtaẓā.

He is not to be confounded with Mīr Murtaẓā, No. 162. Mīr Murtaẓā Sharīf of Shīrāz died in 974 at Dihlī, and was buried at the side of the poet Khusraw, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the Ḥadīs under the renowned Ibn Ḥajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dakhin to Āgra. *Vide Akbarnāma*, II, 278, 337.

39. Mawlānā Saʿīd, of Turkistān.

He came in 968 from Māwara 'n-nahr to Āgra. *Bad.*, II, 49. He died in Kābul in 970; *l.c.*, III, 152.

40. Ḥāfiẓ of Tāshkand.

He is also called Ḥāfiẓ Kumakī. He came in 977 from Tāshkand to India, and was looked upon in Māwara 'n-nahr as a most learned man. He had something of a soldier in him, and used to travel about, like all Turks, with the quiver tied to his waist. He went over Gujrāt to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazīrship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. *Vide Badā'onī*, II, 187.

41. Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad.

Vide p. 112; *Bad.*, II, 295, *ll.*

42. Mawlānā Alāʿu 'd-Dīn.

He came from Lāristān, and is hence called *Lārī*. He was the son of Mawlānā Kamālu 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn and studied under Mawlānā Jalāl Dawwānī Shāfiʿī. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a darbār he placed himself before the Khān-i Aʿẓam, when the Mīr Tozak

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[1] *Maʿqūl o manqūl*, pr. that which is based on reason (ʿaql) and traditional testimony (*naql*).

told him to go back. "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again. He got 4,000 bīghas as sayūrg͟hāl in Sambhal, where he died.

43. Ḥakīm Miṣrī. *Vide* No. 254.

44. Mawlānā Shayk͟h Ḥusayn (of Ajmīr).

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Muʿīn-i Chishtī of Ajmīr, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. *Badāʾonī*, III, 87.

45. Mawlānā Mīr Kalān.

He died in 981, and was buried at Āgra. He was Jahāngīr's first teacher. *Bad.*, II, 170.

46. G͟hāzī K͟hān. *Vide* No. 144.

47. Mawlānā Ṣadīq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The *Tabaqāt* calls him Mullā Ṣādiq Ḥalwāʾī. *Badāʾonī* (III, 255, where the Ed. Bibl. India has wrongly *Halwānī*) puts him among the poets.

48. Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad.

Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition. Other Histories only mention one Mawlānā of that name.

Fourth Class.—Such as know philosophy (ʿaqlī kalām).[1]

49. Mawlānā Pīr Muḥammad. *Vide* No. 20.

50. Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Bāqī.

He was a Ṣadr; *vide* pp. 282, 528 [and *Akbarnāma*, II, 143].

51. Mīrzā Muflis.

He was an Uzbak, came from Māwarā 'n-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmiʿ Masjid of Muʿīnᵘ 'd-Dīn Farank͟hūdī (*vide* No. 128) at Āgra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. *Vide Bad.*, II, 187.

52. Mawlānāzāda Shukr.

53. Mawlānā Muḥammad.

He lived at Lāhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. *Badāʾonī* (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muftī.

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[1] This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abū 'l-Faẓl evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.

Abū 'l-Faẓl, however, means perhaps Mawlānā Muḥammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shīʿah, who was well received by Akbar and Abū 'l-Faẓl, to whose innovations he at first agreed. But he got tired of them and asked for permission to go to Makkah. He was plundered on the road to Sūrat. *Mirʾāt*. But *Badāʾonī* tells quite a different story; *vide* p. 198.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qāsim Beg.

Vide No. 350, p. 112. The *Ṭabaqāt* also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the *ʿaqlī ʿulūm*.

55. Mawlānā Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn Tarkhān.

Vide under No. 393. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawallī of Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī, where he died.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the *Maʾāṣir*, he was born in Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar, and was a private friend of Humāyūn's, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to ʿIrāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of "Nūrī". He is also called "Nūrī of Safīdūn", because he held Safīdūn for some time as jāgīr. Akbar gave him the title of Khān, and later that of Tarkhān,[1] and appointed him to Samānah.

56. Nārāyn.
57. Madhūbhat.
58. Srībhat.
59. Bishn Nāth.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Bāsūdev Misr.
63. Bāmanbhat.
64. Bidyāniwās.
65. Gorīnāth.
66. Gopīnāth.
67. Kishn Paṇḍit.
68. Bhaṭṭāchārj.
69. Bhagīrat Bhaṭṭāchārj.
70. Kāshī Nāth Bhaṭṭāchārj.

Physicians.

71. Ḥakīm Miṣrī. *Vide* No. 254.

72. Ḥakīm[u] 'l-Mulk.

His name is Shams[u] 'd-Dīn and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gīlān on the Caspian, to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innova-

[1] The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; *vide* p. 393. The *Maʾāṣir* has some verses made by Nūrī on his empty title.

tions commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died.

73. Mullā Mīr.

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Mullā Mīr Ṭabīb of Hairāt, grandson of Mullā ʿAbdu ʾl-Ḥay Yazdī.

74. Ḥakīm Abū ʾl-Fatḥ. *Vide* No. 112, p. 468.

75. Ḥakīm Zanbīl Beg. *Vide* No. 150, p. 490.

76. Ḥakīm ʿAlī of Gīlān. *Vide* No. 192, p. 519.

77. Ḥakīm Ḥasan.

He also came from Gīlān. His knowledge, says *Badāʾonī* (III, 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Ḥakīm Aristū.

79. Ḥakīm Fatḥu ʾllāh.

He also came from Gīlān, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy. He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qānūn. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign he was a Commander of 1,000, three hundred horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 34). The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Fatḥu ʾllāh, was a doctor at Shājahān's court.

80. Ḥakīm Masīḥu ʾl-Mulk.

He came from the Dakhin, where he had gone from Shīrāz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sulṭān Murād. He died in Mālwah.

81. Ḥakīm Jalālu ʾd-Dīn Muẓaffar. *Vide* No. 348, p. 582.

82. Ḥakīm Luṭfu ʾllāh. *Vide* No. 354, p. 584.

83. Hakīm Sayfu ʾl-Mulk Lang.

Badāʾonī and the *Ṭabaqāt* call him Sayfu ʾl-Mulūk. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of *Sayfu ʾl-Ḥukamā*, "the sword of the doctors." He came from Damāwand, and was in Āgra during Bayrām's regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of "Shujāʿī". He is not to be confounded with No. 201, p. 528.

84. Ḥakīm Ḥumām. *Vide* No. 205, p. 529.

85. Ḥakīm ʿAinu ʾl-Mulk. *Vide* No. 234, p. 480.

86. Ḥakīm Shifāʾī.

The *Mirʾāt* mentions a Ḥakīm Shifāʾī, who in his poetical writings calls himself Muẓaffar ibn-i Muḥammad Al-ḥusaynī As-shifāʾī. He was born at Iṣfahān, and was a friend of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Ṣafawī. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his Masnawī in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 795).

87. Ḥakīm Niʿmatᵘ ʾllāh.

88. Ḥakīm Dawāʾī.

Dawāʾī was also the *takhalluṣ* of No. 85.

89. Ḥakīm Ṭalab ʿAlī.

90. Ḥakīm ʿAbdᵘ ʾr-Raḥīm.

91. Ḥakīm Rūḥᵘ ʾllāh.

92. Ḥakīm Fakhrᵘ ʾd-Dīn ʿAlī.

93. Ḥakīm Is-ḥāq.

94. Shaykh Ḥasan, and 95. Shaykh Bīnā.

Shaykh Ḥasan of Pānīpat, and his son Shaykh Bīnā were renowned surgeons. Instead of "Bīnā", the MSS. have various readings. The *Maʾāṣir* has *Phanıyā*, the *Ṭabaqāt Phaniyā*.

Shaykh Bīnā's son is the well-known Shaykh Ḥasan, or Hassū, who under Jahāngīr's rose to great honours, and received the title of *Muqarrab Khān*. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassū was physician to Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5,000 and governor of Gujrāt, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Sūrat. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027) he was made governor of Bihār, and in the 16th, governor of Āgra In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, he was pensioned off, and received the Pargana of Kayrāna, his birthplace, as jāgir. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharafᵘ ʾd-Dīn of Pānīpat, and die dat the age of ninety. In Kayrāna, he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful garden with an immense tank. He obtained excellent fruit-trees from all parts of India, and the Kayrāna mangoes, according to the *Maʾāṣir*, have since been famous in Dihlī.

Muqarrab's son, Rizqᵘ ʾllah, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800. Awrangzeb made him a Khān. He died in the 10th year of Awrangzeb.

Muqarrab's adopted son is Masīḥā-i Kairānawī. His real name was Saʿadᵘ ʾllah. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sītā. Rāmchandra's wife.

96. Mahādev.

97. Bhīm Nāth.

98. Nārāyin.

99. Siwajī[1]

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[1] The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a few other Hindū doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar's reign, *viz.* Bhīrad, Durgā Mal, Chandr Sen ("an excellent surgeon"), and Illī (one MS. has Abī).

Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql).[1]

100. Miyān Hātim.

He lived at Sambhal. The historian Badā*onī, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hātim died in 969.

101. Miyān Jamāl Khān.

He was Muftī of Dihlī and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambū.

102. Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir.

He was the pupil of Shaykh Ḥāmid Qādirī (buried at Ḥāmidpūr, near Multān), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Mūsā, regarding the right of succession. ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir used to say the *nafl*-prayers[2] in the audience-hall of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders." Akbar called him a fool, and cancelled his grant of land, whereupon ʿAbdᵘ l-Qādir went back to Uchh. Shaykh Mūsā did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. *Vide* below, Nos. 109, 131.

The *Mir*-āt* mentions a Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Qādir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar's age.

103. Shaykh Aḥmad.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Ḥājī Aḥmad of Lāhor, and a Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥājī Pūlādī Majẕūb of Sind.

104. Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk. *Vide* p. 172.

This is the title of Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh of Sulṭānpūr, author of the *ʿAṣmat-i Anbiyā*, and a commentary to the *Shamā*ilᵘ 'n-Nabī*. Humāyūn gave him the titles of Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk and Shaykhᵘ 'l-Islām. He was a bigoted Sunnī, and looked upon Abū 'l-Faẓl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrāt after his return from Makkah.

105. Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 's-Salām.

The *Ṭabaqāt* says, he lived at Lāhor and was a learned man.

The *Mir*āt* mentions another Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 's-Salām of Lāhor, who was a great lawyer (*faqīh*) and wrote a commentary to Baiẓāwī. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shāhjahān's reign.

106. Qāẓī Ṣadrᵘ 'd-Dīn.

Qāẓī Ṣadrᵘ 'd-Dīn Qurayshī ʿAbbāsī of Jālindhar was the pupil of Makhdūmᵘ 'l-Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held such broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven

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[1] As religious law, Ḥadīs, history, etc.

[2] Voluntary prayers.

from court, he was sent as Qāẓī to Bharōch, where he died. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrāt.

107. **Mawlānā Saʿadu 'llāh.**

He lived at Bīyana, and was looked upon as the best grammarian of the age. He was simple in his mode of life, but liberal to others. Towards the end of his life he got silent, and shut himself out from all intercourse with men, even his own children. He died in 989.

108. **Mawlānā Is-ḥāq.**

He was the son of Shaykh Kākū, and lived at Lāhor. Shaykh Saʿadu 'llāh Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996

109. **Mīr ʿAbdu 'l-Laṭīf.** *Vide* No. 161, p. 496.

110 **Mīr Nūru 'llāh.**

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ. He was a Shīʿah, but practised *taqiya* among Sunnīs, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Ḥanīfa. When Shaykh Muʿīn Qāẓī of Lāhor retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahāngīr's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word and was executed

111. **Mawlānā ʿAbdu 'l-Qādir.**

He was Akbar's teacher (*ākhūnd*) *Vide* No. 242. p. 542.

112. **Qāẓī Abdu 'l-Samī**

He was a Miyānkālī,[1] and according to *Badāʾonī* (II, 314) played chess for money and drank wine. Akbar made him in 990, Qāẓiyu 'l-Quẓāt, in place of Qāẓī Jalālu 'd-Dīn Multānī (No. 122). *Vide Akbarnāma*, III. 593

113. **Mawlānā Qāsim.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār.

114. **Qāẓī Ḥasan.** *Vide* No. 281, p. 559

115. **Mullā Kamāl.**

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salīm.

116. **Shaykh Yaʿqūb (of Kashmīr).** *Vide* below among the poets.

117. **Mullā ʿĀlam.** *Vide* p. 159, note

He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled *Fawātiḥu 'l-Wilāyat*. *Bad.*, II, 337.

118. **Shaykh ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī.** *Vide* pp 182, 186, 195, 197, 549, 616, note

He was the son of Shaykh Aḥmad, son of Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l-Quddūs

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[1] Miyānkāl is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Ḥadīs̱. When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brāhman, the details of which are related in *Badā*ᵉ*onī* (III, 80) led to the Shaykh's deposal.

*Badā*ᵉ*onī* (III, 83) places his death in 991, the *Mir*ʿ*āt* in 992. ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī's family traced their descent from Abū Ḥanīfa.

119. Shaykh Bhīk.

The *Ṭabaqāt* has also " Bhīk ", while *Badā*ᵉ*onī* (III, 24) has " Bhīkan ". Shaykh Bhīk lived in Kākor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fatḥ.

Shaykh Abū 'l-Fatḥ of Gujrāt was the son-in-law of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawī. He was in Āgra at the time of Bayrām Khān.

121. Shaykh Bahāʿᵘ 'd-Dīn Muftī.

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man.

122. Qāẓī Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Multānī. *Vide* pp. 183, 195.

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhin, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123. Shaykh Ẓiyāʿᵘ 'd-Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ẓiyāʿᵘ 'llāh were intended ; *vide* No. 173.

124. Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wahhāb.

125. Shaykh ʿUmar.

126. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr Adl. *Vide* No. 140, p. 485, and No. 251, p. 548.

127. Mawlānā Jamāl.

The *Ṭabaqāt* has a Mullā Jamāl, a learned man of Multān. *Badā*ᵉ*onī* (III, 108) mentions a Mawlānā Jamāl of تلله, which is said to be a Maḥalla of Lāhor.

128. Shaykh Aḥmadī.

Shaykh Aḥmadī Fayyāẓ of Amethī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Niẓāmᵘ 'd-Dīn of Amethī (p. 607).

129. Shaykh Abdᵘ 'l-Ghanī.[1]

He was born at Badā,on and lived afterwards in Dihlī a retired life. The Khān Khānān visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wāḥid.

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[1] Sayyid Aḥmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 91, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahāngīr when a child read the Ḥadīs̱ under " *Shaykh* ʿ*Abd*ᵘ *'l-Ghanī*, whose fate is related in the *Akbarnāma*." This is a mistake for ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī (No. 118).

He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhatᵘ 'l-Arwāḥ*, and several treatises on the technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) of the Ṣūfis, one of which goes by the name of *Sanābil*.

131. Ṣadr-i Jahān. *Vide* No. 194, p. 522.

132. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl. *Vide* above, No. 12.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Ismāʿīl Muftī of Lāhor, and a Mullā Ismāʿīl of Awadh.

133. Mullā Abdᵘ 'l-Qādir.

This is the historian Badā'onī. Abū 'l-Faẓl also calls him *Mullā* in the *Akbarnāma*.

134. Mawlānā Ṣadr Jahān.

This seems a repetition of No. 131.

135. Shay<u>kh</u> Jawhar.

136. Shay<u>kh</u> Munawwar.

Vide p. 112. He was born at Lāhor, and was noted for his memory and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the *Mashāriqᵘ 'l-anwār* (Ḥadīs), the *Badīʿᵘ 'l-bayān*, the *Irshād-i Qāẓī*, etc. When the learned were banished from court, he was imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in 1011.

His son, Shay<u>kh</u> Kabīr, was also renowned for his learning. He died in 1026, in Aḥmadābād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Aḥmadābādī saint Shāh ʿĀlam. *Mirʿāt*.

137. Qāẓī Ibrāhīm.

Vide pp. 181, 183, 198. *Badā'onī* and the *Ṭabaqāt* mention a Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Āgra, a teacher of the Ḥadīs.

138. Mawlānā Jamāl. *Vide* above, No. 127.

139. Bijai Sen Sūr.

140. Bhan Chand.

Ā'īn 30 (continued)

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store: they pass their time in praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed; for by this means lofty ideas are understood.

He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart.[1]

Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action.[2]

I do not mean a mere external union. Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, though far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity. I mean a spiritual union; and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh it still more so.

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets; he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination. Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *dīwān*, or have written a *mas̱nawī*. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayẓ-i Fayẓī.

(*Vide* p. 548.)

He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world. His Majesty understood the value of his genius, and conferred upon him the title of *Malik*ᵘ *'sh-shuʕarā* or king of the poets.[3] He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of *Fayẓī*, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to *Fayyāẓī*, as he himself says in his "Nal Daman":—

Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was "Fayẓī".
But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the "Fayyāẓī" of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love).[4]

His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius He was

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[1] i.e., gives men something valuable.

[2] Saints perform wonderful actions (*karāmāt*), prophets perform miracles (*muʕjizāt*) Both in miracles, but the *karāmāt* are less in degree than the *muʕjizāt*. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "*karāmat, karāmat*", "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" *De Laët.*

[3] Ghazālī of Mashhad (*vide* below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Fayẓī got it. Under Jahāngīr Ṭālib of Āmul was *malik*ᵘ *'sh-shuʕarā*, and under Shāhjahān, Muḥammad Jān Qudsī and, after him, Abū Ṭālib Kalīm. Awrangzīb hated poetry as much as he hated history and music.

[4] *Fayẓ* is an Arabic word meaning "abundance"; *Fayẓī* would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. *Fayyāẓ* is the intensive form of *Fayẓī*, giving superabundantly. *Fayyāẓī*, originally, is the abstract noun, "the act of giving superabundantly," and then becomes a title.

The form of *fayyāẓī* agrees with the form of *ʕAllāmī* Abū 'l-Faẓl's *takhalluṣ*, and some historians, as Badāʼonī, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of *Fayẓī* to *Fayyāẓī*.

eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāṭiʕu 'l-ilhām* [1] ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the *Qurʕān* in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the *Sūratu 'l-ikhlāṣ* [2] contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,[3] and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends, and foes; and the poor were comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead [4] of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He studied medicine deeply, and gave poor people advice gratis.

The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. Should leisure permit, and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his verses.[5] But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

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[1] I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the *Mawāridu 'l-kilam*, because the latter also is written *be nuqat*, without the use of dotted letters. The *Mawārid* was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasa and Maulawi Muḥammad ʕAlī of Rāmpūr. It contains sentences, often pithy on the words *Islām, salām. ʕilmu 'l-kalām, Ādam, Muḥammad, kalāmu 'llāh, ahlu 'llāh*, etc., and possesses little interest. Fayẓī displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

[2] This is the 112th chapter of the *Qurʔān*, which commences with the words *Qul huwa 'allāhu aḥad*. The letters added give 1002; Fayẓī, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever *tārīkh* was found out by *Mīr Ḥaydar Muʕammāʔī* of Kāshān, poetically styled *Rafīʕī*. *Vide* below the 31st poet.

[3] i.e., the more he had, the more he gave away, and thus he became poor, *or*, he considered that riches make a man poor in a spiritual sense.

[4] *Tārak*, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *salām*. Abu 'l-Faẓl wishes to say that Fayẓī was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

[5] Abū 'l-Faẓl kept his promise, and collected, two years after Fayẓī's death, the stray leaves of the *Markazu 'l-adwār* (p. 549) regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abū 'l-Faẓl in the 3rd book of his *Maktūbāt*. The same book contains an elegy on Fayẓī's death.

MSS. of Fayẓī's Nal Daman are very numerous. His Dīwān, exclusive of the *Qaṣāʕid*, was lithographed at Dihlī, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubāʕī (by Fayẓī), which shows that the words *Dīwān-i Fayẓī* contain the *tārīkh*, i.e., A.H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The *Mir'atu 'l-ʕĀlam* says that Fayẓī composed 101 books, Badāʔonī estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abū 'l-Faẓl at 50,000. The *Akbarnāma* (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Fayẓī's works. Dāghistānī says in his *Riyāẓu 'sh-shuʕarā* that Fayẓī was a pupil of Khwāja Ḥusayn Sanāʔī of Mashhad, and it seems that Abū 'l-Faẓl has for this reason placed Sanāʔī immediately after Fayẓī. The same writer remarks that Fayẓī is in Persia often wrongly called *Fayẓī-yi Dakhinī*.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Fayẓī's works.

not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write down some of his verses.

Extracts from Fayẓī's Qaṣīdas (Odes).

1. O Thou, who existest from eternity and abidest for ever, sight cannot bear Thy light, praise cannot express Thy perfection.

2. Thy light melts the understanding, and Thy glory baffles wisdom; to think of Thee destroys reason, Thy essence confounds thought.

3. Thy holiness pronounces that the blood drops of human meditation are shed in vain in search of Thy knowledge: human understanding is but an atom of dust.

4. Thy jealousy, the guard of Thy door, stuns human thought by a blow in the face, and gives human ignorance a slap on the nape of the neck.

5. Science is like blinding desert sand on the road to Thy perfection; the town of literature is a mere hamlet compared with the world of Thy knowledge.

6. My foot has no power to travel on this path which misleads sages; I have no power to bear the odour of this wine, it confounds my knowledge.

7. The tablet of Thy holiness is too pure for the (black) tricklings of the human pen; the dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone.

8. Man's so-called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.

9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love.

10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being, is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.

11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee; but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers.

12. Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee; the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought.

13. How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts [1] of saints?

14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my restlessness (*quṭrub*) [2] will end in madness.

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[1] *Literally*, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.

[2] My text has *fitrat*; but several MSS. of Fayẓī's Qaṣīdas have *quṭrub*, which signifies incipient madness, restlessness of thought.

15. For him who travels barefooted on the path towards Thy glory, even the mouths of dragons would be as it were a protection for his feet (*lit.* greaves).[1]

16. Compared with Thy favour, the nine metals of earth are but as half a handful of dust; compared with the table of Thy mercies, the seven oceans are a bowl of broth.

17. To bow down the head upon the dust of Thy threshold and then to look up, is neither correct in faith, nor permitted by truth.

18. Alas, the stomach of my worldliness takes in impure food like a hungry dog, although Love, the doctor,[2] bade me abstain from it.

---

1. O man, thou coin bearing the double stamp of body and spirit, I do not know what thy nature is; for thou art higher than heaven and lower than earth.

2. Do not be cast down, because thou art a mixture of the four elements; do not be self-complacent, because thou art the mirror of the seven realms (the earth).

3. Thy frame contains the image of the heavenly and the lower regions, be either heavenly or earthly, thou art at liberty to choose.

4. Those that veil their faces in Heaven [the angels] love thee; thou, misguiding the wise, are the fond petted one of the solar system (lit. the seven planets).

5. Be attentive, weigh thy coin, for thou art a correct balance [i.e., thou hast the power of correctly knowing thyself], sift thy atoms well: for thou art the philosopher's stone (اکسیر اکبری).

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (*mushtari*)[3] thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; set not thy heart on illusions for it (the heart) is a lying fool.

8. Why art thou an enemy to thyself, that from want of perfection thou shouldst weary thy better nature and cherish thy senses (or tongue)?

9. The heart of time sheds its blood on thy account [i.e., the world is dissatisfied with thee]; for in thy hypocrisy thou art in speech like balm, but in deeds like a lancet.

10. Be ashamed of thy appearance; for thou pridest thyself on the title of "sum total", and art yet but a marginal note.

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[1] i.e., the terror of the mouths of dragons is even a protection compared with the difficulties on the road to the understanding of God's glory.

[2] *Literally*, Hippocrates.

[3] This is a pun. *Mushtari* also means Jupiter, one of the planets.

11. If such be the charm of thy being, thou hadst better die; for the eye of the world regards thee as an optical illusion (*mukarrar*).

12. O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain; thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes.

13. If on this hunting-ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phœnix with sparrow feathers.[1]

14. Do not be proud (*farbih*) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (*miyān*) when it is thin? [2]

15. Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thyself, when thou seest the doings of such as from zeal wander barefooted on the field of love; since thou ridest upon a swift camel [i.e., as thou hast not yet reached the higher degree of zeal, that is, of walking barefooted] thou shouldst not count thy steps [i.e., thou shouldst not be proud].

16. If thou wishest to understand the secret meaning of the phrase "to prefer the welfare of others to thy own", treat thyself with poison and others with sugar.

17. Accept misfortune with a joyful look, if thou art in the service of Him whom people serve.

18. Place thy face, with the humble mien of a beggar, upon the threshold of truth, looking with a smile of contempt upon worldly riches;—

19. Not with the (self-complacent) smirk which thou assumest [3] in private, whilst thy worldliness flies to the east and the west.

20. Guard thine eye well; for like a nimble-handed thief it takes by force the jewel out of the hand of the jeweller.

21. Those who hold in their hand the lamp of guidance often plunder caravans on the high road.

22. My dear son, consider how short the time is that the star of good fortune revolves according to thy wish; fate shows no friendship.

23. [4] There is no one that understands me: for were I understood,

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[1] i.e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.

[2] *Proud*, in Persian *farbih*, pr. fat. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The Pun on *farbih* and *miyān* cannot be translated.

[3] As a hypocrite does.

[4] The next verses are *fakhriya* (boastful). All Persian poets write encomiums on themselves.

Wonderful stories are told about the mirror of Alexander the Great. He ordered his friend, the philosopher Balīnās, to erect in Alexandria a tower 360 yards high. A mirror was then placed on the top of it, 7 yards in diameter, and above 21 in circumference. The mirror reflected everything that happened in the world, even as far as Constantinople.

I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its Hindūstān is initiated in the rites of idolatry and the rules of idol making [i.e., my heart contains wonderful things].

25. This [poem] is the masterpiece of the Greece of my mind; read it again and again; its strain is not easy.

26. Plunged into the wisdom of Greece, it [my mind] rose again from the deep in the land of Hind; be thou as if thou hadst fallen into this deep abyss [of my knowledge, i.e., learn from me].

---

1. The companion of my loneliness is my comprehensive genius; the scratching of my pen is harmony for my ear.

2. If people would withdraw the veil from the face of my knowledge, they would find that what those who are far advanced in knowledge call certainty, is with me (as it were) the faintest dawn of thought.

3. If people would take the screen from the eye of my knowledge, they would find that what is revelation (ecstatic knowledge) for the wise is but drunken madness for me.

4. If I were to bring forth what is in my mind, I wonder whether the spirit of the age could bear it.

5. On account of the regulated condition of my mind, I look upon myself as the system of the universe, and heaven and earth are the result of my motion and my rest.

6. My vessel does not require the wine of the friendship of time; my own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm [i.e., I require no one's assistance].

7. Why should I wish for the adulation of mean people? My pen bows down its head and performs the *sijda* in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Fayẓī's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

2. Expect in my arena the victory of both worlds; the banner of royalty weighs down the shoulder of my love.

3. When I cast a favourable glance upon those that sit in the dust, even the ant from my good fortune becomes possessed of the brain of Sulaymān.[1]

---

[1] The insignificance of the ant is often opposed to the greatness of Solomon. Once when all animals brought Solomon their presents, the ant offered him the leg of a locust as her only treasure.

4. The keepers of my door have their swords drawn; where is the desire that dares intrude on my seclusion ?

5. Although I have buried my head in my hood, yet I can see both worlds; it may be that Love has woven my garment from the threads of my contemplation.

6. My eye is open and waits for the manifestation of truth; the spirit of the Universe flees before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment.

7. I am the simple Fayẓī; if you do not believe it, look into my heart through the glass of my external form.

---

1. The flame from my broken heart rises upwards; to-day a fiery surge rages in my breast.

2. In the beginning of things, each being received the slate of learning [i.e., it is the appointed duty of each to learn something]; but Love has learned something from looking at me, the duties of a handmaid.

3. May the eye of him who betrays a word regarding my broken heart be filled with the blood of his own heart!

4. O Fayẓī, thou dost not possess what people call gold; but yet the alchemist knows how to extract gold from thy pale cheek.

It were better if I melted my heart, and laid the foundation for a new one: I have too often patiently patched up my torn heart.

---

1. From the time that love stepped into my heart, nothing has oozed from my veins and my wounds but the beloved[1]

2. The wings of angels have melted in the heat of my wine. Woe to the world, if a flash of lightning should some day leap from my jar [i.e., the world would come to an end, if the secret of my love were disclosed]!

[1] The beloved has taken entire possession of the poet. He has no blood left in him; for blood is the seat of life, and he only lives in the beloved who has taken the place of his blood. The close union of the lover and the beloved is well described in the following couplet by Khusraw :- -

من تو شدم تو من شدی
من تن شدم تو جان شدی
تا کس نگوید بعد ازین
من دیگرم تو دیگری

I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul.
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.

1. Two difficulties have befallen me on the path of love ; I am accused of bloodshed, but it is the beloved who is the murderer.

2. O travellers on the right road, do not leave me behind ! I see far, and my eye espies the resting place.

I walk on a path [the path of love], where every footstep is concealed ; I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.[1]

Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness.

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1. In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and yet they are intoxicated.

2. The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover ; the birds on the meadow melt away in love and are yet silent.[2]

---

1. My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful ; for caravans are attacked suddenly."

2. I answer, "I am not careless, but alas ! what help is there against robbers that attack a watchful heart ?"

3. A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand.[3]

---

1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine ; they made Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

2. What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet ? Even Masīḥ and Khizr are envious (of me) and struggle with each other to possess it.[4]

---

[1] A sigh indicates that a man is in love ; hence if the sigh is a stranger [i.e., does not appear], the love will remain a secret. Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its purity and value, if it becomes known. The true lover bears the pangs of love, and is silent ; the weak lover alone betrays his secret. Hence the nightingale is often found fault with : it pours forth its plaintive songs to the rose, it babbles the whole night, instead of silently fixing its eye on the beauty of the rose, and dying without a murmur.

[2] Salt is an antidote against drunkenness. "Wine" stands for beauty, "salt" for "wit". The nightingale is in love with the rose, but sings in order to lighten its heart ; the birds of the meadows, however, which are in love with the nightingale, show a deeper love, as they remain silent and hide their love-grief.

[3] Love is compared to robbers. The woe of love ought to be endured as a visitation of providence.

[4] Masīḥ (the "Messiah") and Khizr (Elias) tasted the water of life (āb i ḥayāt). Wine also is a water of life, and the wine given to the poet by the pretty boy who acts as cupbearer is so reviving that even Messiah and Khizr would fight for it.

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love : they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.[1]

For me there is no difference between the ocean (of love) and the shore (of safety) ; the water of life (love) is for me the same as a dreadful poison.

I, Fayẓī, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims, who go to the Kaʿba ; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.[2]

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1. How can I complain that my travelling companions have left me behind, since they travel along with Love, the caravan chief ?
2. O, that a thousand deserts were full of such unkind friends ! They have cleared the howdah of my heart of its burden.[3]

---

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.
2. I show no inclination to be beside myself ; but what shall I do, I feel annoyed to be myself.

---

1. Do not ask how lovers have reached the heavens ; for they place the foot on the battlement of the heart and leap upwards.
2. Call together all in the universe that are anxious to see a sight : they have erected triumphal arches with my heart-blood in the town of Beauty.

---

1. Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come.
2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures ; for men who really know what good luck is have never tried their good fortune with golden chains.[4]

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[1] *Vide*, p. 573, note 4. Fragments of diamonds when swallowed tear the liver and thus cause death. Hence poison mixed with diamond dust is sure to kill. This is the case with every antidote against love : it does not heal, it kills.

[2] Fayẓī is ahead of his co-religionists.

[3] The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Fayẓī tries to console himself with the thought that his heart will now be free. But his jealousy is ill concealed ; for he calls the people unkind that have carried off his beloved

[4] To the true Ṣūfī existence and non-existence are indifferent : he finds rest in Him. But none can find this rest unless he gives away his riches.

The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my book (*bayāẓ*) to the white dawn of morn.[1]

O Fayẓī, is there anyone in this world that possesses more patience and strength than he who can twice walk down his street ?[2]

Desires are not to be found within my dwelling-place ; when thou comest, come with a content heart.

Renounce love ; for love is an affair which cannot be satisfactorily terminated. Neither fate nor the beloved will ever submit to thy wishes.

---

1. Come, let us turn towards a pulpit of light, let us lay the foundation of a new Kaʿba with stones from Mount Sinai !

2. The wall (*haṭīm*) of the Kaʿba is broken, and the basis of the *qibla* is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation ![3]

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1. Where is Love, that we might melt the chain of the door of the Kaʿba, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.

2. We might throw down this Kaʿba which Hajjāj has erected, in order to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery.[4]

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1. How long shall I fetter my heart with the coquettishness of beautiful boys ? I will burn this heart and make a new, another heart.

2. O Fayẓī, thy hand is empty, and the way of love lies before thee, then pawn the only thing that is left thee, thy poems, for the sake of obtaining the two worlds.

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to

[1] Observe the pun in the text on *sawād*, *bayāẓ*, and *musawwada*.

[2] The street where the lovely boy lives. Can anyone walk in the street of love, without losing his patience ?

[3] If the *kaʿba* (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islām would be pulled down ; for Muhammadans would have no *qibla* left, i.e., no place where to turn the face in prayer.

[4] When a man is in love, he loses his faith, and becomes a *kāfir*. Thus Khusraw says—*Kāfir-i ʿishqam, marā musalmānī darkār nīst*, etc., " I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islam ? " So Fayẓī is in love, and has turned such an infidel, that he would make holy furniture into idols, or build a cloister on the ground of the holy temple.

Zulaykhā? It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.[1]

I cannot show ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with—sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through an aperture so small as the pupil of my eye into the large space of my heart, and yet my heart cannot contain it.

Flee, fate is the raiser of battle-fields; the behaviour of the companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) "hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents)."[2]

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookest no notice of me, and didst pass by;
Thou receivedst no blessing from my eyes, and didst pass by.
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom,
Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by.

---

1. On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame: in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself.

2. O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own?

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1. O Fayẓī, I am so high-minded that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

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[1] When Zulaykhā, wife of Potiphar, had fallen in love with Yūsuf (Joseph), she became the talk of the whole town. To take revenge, she invited the women who had spoken ill of her to a feast, and laid a sharp knife at the side of each plate. While the women were eating, she summoned Yūsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, "*Mā hāẕā basharan*," "He is no man (but an angel)!" and they suddenly grew so incontinent, that from lust they made cuts into their hands with the knives which Zulaykhā had placed before them.

[2] Fate leads you into danger (love); avoid it, you cannot expect help from your friends, they merely give you useless advice.

"You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents)" is a proverb, and expressed that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil. The friends tell Fayẓī that he may fall in love, but they will not let him have the boy.

2. If other poets [as the ancient Arabians] hung their poems on the door of the temple of Makkah, I will hang my love story on the vault of heaven.

---

1. O cupbearer Time, cease doing battle! Akbar's glorious reign rolls along, bring me a cup of wine:

2. Not such wine as drives away wisdom, and makes fools of those who command respect, as is done by fate,

3. Nor the harsh wine which fans in the conceited brain the fire of foolhardiness on the field of battle;

4. Nor that shameless wine which cruelly and haughtily delivers reason over to the Turk of passion;

5. Nor that fiery wine the heat of which, as love-drunken eyes well know, melts the bottles (the hearts of men):—

6. But that unmixed wine the hidden power of which makes Fate repent her juggling tricks (i.e., which makes man so strong, that he vanquishes fate);

7. That clear wine with which those who constantly worship in cloisters sanctify the garb of the heart;

8. That illuminating wine which shows lovers of the world the true path;

9. That pearling wine which cleanses the contemplative mind of fanciful thoughts.

In the assembly of the day of resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Kaʿba will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches.[1]

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1. Behold the garb of Fayẓi's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven.

2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Fayẓi's heart; it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Fayẓi what no mortal enemy would have done.

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[1] The sins of Islām are as worthless as the dust of Christianity. On the day of resurrection, both Muhammadans and Christians will see the vanity of their religious doctrines. Men fight about religion on earth; in heaven they shall find out that there is only one true religion, the worship of God's Spirit.

1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdas ; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love).

2. Walk on, Fayẓī, urge on through this desert the camel of zeal; for those who yearn for their homes [earthly goods] never reach the sacred enclosure, the heart.

The dusty travellers on the road to poverty seem to have attained nothing ; is it perhaps because they have found there [in their poverty] a precious jewel ?

---

1. In the beginning of eternity some love-glances formed mirrors, which reduced my heart and my eye to a molten state [i.e., my heart and eye are pure like mirrors].

2. What attractions lie in the curls of idols, that the inhabitants of the two worlds [i.e., many people] have turned their face [from ideal] to terrestrial love ?

3. If a heart goes astray from the company of lovers, do not inquire after it ; for whatever is taken away from this caravan, has always been brought back [i.e., the heart for a time did without love, but sooner or later it will come back and love].

It is not patience that keeps back my hand from my collar ; but the collar is already so much torn, that you could not tear it more.[1]

---

1. If Laylī[2] had had no desire to be with Majnūn, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel ?

2. If anyone prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Ḥaram [the temple of Makkah] ? [2]

3. Love has robbed Fayẓī of his patience, his understanding, and his sense ; behold, what this highway robber has done to me, the caravan chief !

When Love reaches the emporium of madness, he builds in the desert triumphal arches with the shifting sands.

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[1] A lover has no patience ; hence he tears the collar of his coat.

[2] Each man shows in his own peculiar way that he is in love. Laylī rode about in a restless way ; some people show their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah ; I worship idols.

1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the ʿĪd,[1] and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs[2] of the last thirty days.

2. Take Fayẓī's Dīwān to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

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1. I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave, people shall know that man rises from such dust.

2. They may know Fayẓī's[3] end from his beginning: without an equal he goes from the world, and without an equal he rises.

O Love, do not destroy the Kaʿba; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rubāʿīs.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call *ẕūf unūn* [possessor of the sciences], and our guide on the path of religion.

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light. How then can we call him a shadow?[4]

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness.

Who even by day once beholds his face, sees at night the sun rising in his dream.

If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without having seen the king.

---

[1] The ʿĪdᵘ 'l-fiṭr, or feast, after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramaẓān. Fayẓī, like a bad Muhammadan, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

[2] Done by me by not having fasted.

[3] Fayẓī means the heart.

[4] A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the *Mirʾātᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam* to the poet Yaḥyā of Kāshān, who, during the reign of Shāhjahān was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the *Pādishāhnāma*.

گر شه یکتا خوانمت ای شه دین رواست
این گفته حاجتم بدلیل و بآیه نیست
تو سایهٔ خدائی و این همچو آفتاب
روشن بود که هیچ یکی را دو سایه نیست

If I call thee, o king of Islām "one without equal" it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Thou art the shadow of God, and like daylight;
It is clear that no one has two shadows.

Thy old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.[1]

O king, give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my taper the everlasting ray!

Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart,[2] give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

No friend has ever come from the unseen world; from the caravan of non-existence no voice has ever come.

The heaven is the bell from which the seven metals come, and yet no sound has ever come from it notwithstanding its hammers.[3]

In polite society they are silent; *in secret conversation* they are screened from the public view.

When you come to the thoroughfare of Love, do not raise dust, for there they are all surma-sellers.[4]

Those are full of the divine who speak joyfully and draw clear wine without goblet and jar.

Do not ask them for the ornaments of science and learning; for they are people who have thrown fire on the book.[5]

O Fayẓī, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.[6]

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Fayẓī, the time of old age has come, look where thou settest thy feet. If thou puttest thy foot away from thy eyelashes, put it carefully.

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[1] This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.

[2] Kings receive a light immediately from God; *vide* p. III of Abū 'l-Faẓl's Preface.

[3] *Muhrahā*, pl. of *muhra*, according to the Bahār-i ʕAjam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of *haft josh* (a mixture of seven metals), to indicate the time. The metal cups are said to have been in use at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia.

[4] Lovers are silent in polite society. *Surma* is the well-known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.

[5] The disciples of Akbar's divine faith have burnt the Qurʕān. They are different from the ʕ*ulamā fuẓalā*, the learned of the age.

[6] Articles to be conveyed away are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Fayẓī wishes to leave the house of his old nature.

A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing. Cut off a piece from thy heart,[1] and put it on thine eye.

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinth bed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.

I sit upon this throne as the Sulaymān of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.[2]

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave the body, as long as the heart remains!

A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is *kushta*.[3]

O Fayẓī, open the ear of the heart and the eye of sense; remove thy eye and ear from worldly affairs.

Behold the wonderful change of time, and close thy lip; listen to the enchanter Time and shut thy eye.

What harm can befall me, even if the ranks of my enemies attack me? They only strike a blow on the ocean with a handful of dust.

I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate: he is killed that throws himself on me.

To day I am at once both clear wine and dregs; I am hell, paradise, and purgatory.

Any thing more wonderful than myself does not exist; for I am at once the ocean, the jewel, and the merchant.

Before I and thou were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands.

Be without cares, for the maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before I and thou were made.

He held the office of a magistrate[4] and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

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[1] For thy heart is pure and transparent.

[2] Solomon understood the language of the birds.

[3] *Kushta*, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.

[4] My text has *arbābī*. *Arbāb* is the plural of *rabb*, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of *kalāntar*, or *rīsh-safīd*, the head man of a place, *Germ.* Amtmann; hence *arbābī*, the office of a magistrate.

2. Khwāja Ḥusayn Sanāʿī of Mashhad.[1]

1. My speech is the morning of sincere men; my tongue is the sword of the morning of words.

2. It is clear from my words that the *Rūḥᵘ 'l-quds* is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].[2]

3. It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world.

4. In short, words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them.

5. No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain.

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening, the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee.

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1. In the manner of beauty and coquetry, many fine things are to be seen (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting.

2. If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol, his own figure does not appear to his eye, as something known to him.[3]

3. If, for example, thou sittest behind a looking-glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards.[4]

4. If, for example, an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser], no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill.

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1. A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved, is for them the same as sweet medicine.

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[1] The author of the *Ātashkada yi Āzar* says that Khwāja Ḥusayn was the son of ʿInāyat Mīrzā, and was in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā Ṣafawī. But in his own Dīwān he is said to describe himself as the son of Ghiyāṣᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad, and the عنايت of the Ātashkada is a bad reading for غياث.

Regarding his poems the same author says, "either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning"—a critical remark which Abū 'l-Faẓl's extracts confirm. Neither does Badāʾonī (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The *Ṭabaqāt* again praises his poems. The *Mirʾātᵘ 'l-ʿĀlam* says that "he was in the service of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. On the accession of Shāh ʿIsmāʿīl II, Sanāʿī presented an ode, but Ismāʿīl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honour of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. Sanāʾī fled to Hindūstān, and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000. His Dīwān Sikandarnāma, and Sāqīnāma, are well known." Sprenger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 996. The *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mīrzā Bāqir, son of Mīr ʿArabshāh. It was mentioned on p. 619, note 5, that Fayẓī looked upon him as his teacher.

[2] *Rūḥᵘ 'l-quds*, the spirit of holiness. *Maryam*, the Virgin Mary.

[3] So strange is the boy whom I love.

[4] This verse is unintelligible to me.

2. I exposed the prey of my heart to death, but the huntsman has given me quarter on account of my leanness and let me run away.[1]

3. If lovers slept with the beloved till the morning of resurrection, the morning breeze would cause them to feel the pain of an arrow.[2]

O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise *my* hand to my collar?[3]

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying[4] . . .

It is incumbent upon lovers to hand over to their hearts those (cruel) words which the beloved (boy) took from his heart and put upon his tongue.

When my foot takes me to the Kaʿba, expect to fine me in an idol temple; for my foot goes backwards, and my goal is an illusion.

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1. The spheres of the nine heavens cannot contain an atom of the love grief which Sanāʾī's dust scatters to the winds.

2. Like the sun of the heaven thou livest for all ages; every eye knows thee as well as it knows what sleep is.

3. Husnī of Ispahān.

He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.[5]

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1. I search my heart all round to look for a quiet place—and, gracious God! if I do not find sorrow, I find desires.

2. Zulaykhā stood on the flowerbed, and yet she said in her grief that it reminded her of the prison in which a certain ornament of society [Yūsuf] dwelled.

3. I am in despair on thy account, and yet what shall I do with love? for between me and it (love) stands (unfulfilled) desire.

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[1] Or we may read *kurezam* instead of *girizam*, when the meaning would be, "the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting." [This second reading is too far fetched and for practical reason may be dismissed.—P.]

[2] There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.

[3] The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. *Vide* p. 630, note 1.

[4] The remaining hemistich is not clear.

[5] The *Tabaqāt* calls him Mīr Husnī, and says he left Persia with the intention of paying his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The *Ātashkada* (p. 101 of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junābud, and was a merchant. The *Haft Iqlīm* says he was pupil of Qāsim-i Kāhī (the next poet).

Gabriel's wing would droop, if he had to fly along the road of love; this message (love) does not travel as if on a zephyr.

Whether a man be an Ayāz or a Maḥmūd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.[1]

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1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to show you the way to me.

2. The power of thy beauty became perfectly known to me, when its fire fell on my heart and consumed me unknown to myself.

O Ḥuznī, I sometimes smile at thy simplicity: thou hast become a lover, and yet expectest faithfulness from the beloved.

Don't cast loving eyes at me; for I am a withered feeble plant, which cannot bear the full radiance of the life-consuming sun [of thy beauty].

Alas! when I throw myself on the fire, the obstinate beloved has nothing else to say but "Ḥuznī, what is smoke like?"

I hear, Ḥuznī, that thou art anxious to be freed from love's fetters. Heartless wretch, be off; what dost thou know of the value of such a captivity!

To-day, like every other day, the simple-minded Ḥuznī was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4 Qāsim-i Kāhī.[2]

He is known as Miyān Kālī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition, a few low men had gathered round him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know the circumstances, often upbraided him. Partly from his

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[1] Ayāz was a slave of Maḥmūd of Ghāznī, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Masnawis entitled Maḥmūd o Ayāz.

[2] *Kāhī,* "grassy," is his *takhalluṣ*. *Badā*ᵉ*onī* (III, 172) says that his verses are crude and the ideas stolen from others; but yet his poems are not without merit. He was well read in the exegesis of the *Qur*ᵉ*ān*, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of *kalām*; he wrote on music, and was clever in *tārīkhs* and riddles. He had visited several Shaykhs of renown, among them the great poet Jāmī (died A.H. 899). But he was a free-thinker and was fond of the company of wandering faqīrs, prostitutes, and sodomites. "He also loved dogs, a habit which he may have contracted from Fayẓī."

own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples and often foretold future events.

A low-minded man must be he who can lift up his hand for terrestrial goods in prayer to God's throne.

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of Khizr.[1]

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow; perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me.[2]

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1. When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant.

Kāhī wrote a Maṡnawī, entitled *gul-afshān*, a reply or *jawāb*, to the Bostān, and completed a *dīwān*. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humāyūn and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The *Ātashkada-yi Āzar* (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him "Mīrzā Abū 'l-Qāsim of Kābul", and says that he was born in Turkistān, and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān. Kāhī was well received by Humāyūn.

The same work calls him a *Gulistāna Sayyid*—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of "Mīrzā" we should read "Mīr".

The *Haft Iqlīm* has a lengthy note on Kāhī. Amīn of Ray (p. 512) says that Kāhī's name is Sayyid Najmu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad, his *kunya* being Abū 'l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jāmī, and afterwards Hāshimī of Kirmān, who was called Shāh Jahāngīr. He went viâ Bhakkar to Hindūstān. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pugilist, and would not mind fighting ten or even twenty at a time, and yet be victorious. No one excelled him in running. He followed no creed or doctrine, but did as the Khwājas do, whose formula is "*hosh dar dam, naẓar bar qudam, khalwat dar anjuman, safar dar waṭan,*" "Be careful in your speech; look where you set the foot; withdraw from society; travel when you are at home." He was liberal to a fault, and squandered what he got. For an ode in praise of Akbar, in every verse of which the word *fīl*, or elephant, was to occur (Abū 'l-Faẓl has given three verses of it), Akbar gave him one lac of tankahs, and gave orders that he should get a present of one thousand rupees as often as he should come to court. He did not like this, and never went to court again. He lived long at Banāras, as he was fond of Bahādur Khān (No. 22). Subsequently, he lived at Āgra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it مدارجاي با (?). He died on the 2nd Rabīʿ II, 988. Fayẓī's tārīkh (Rubāʿī metre):—

تاریخ وفات سال و ماهش جستم
گفتا نوم از ماه ربیع الثانی

gives 2nd Rabīʿ II, 978, unless we read نوام for نوم. Mawlānā Qāsim of Bukhārā, a pupil of Kāhī expressed the *tārīkh* by the words:—

رفت ملا قاسم کاهی

"Mulla Qāsim-i Kāhī died," which gives 988. *Vide* also *Iqbālnāma-yi Jahāngīrī*, p. 3; and above, p. 219.

Abū 'l-Faẓl calls him *Miyān Kālī*. Mivānkāl (*vide* p. 615) is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

[1] *Khizr* is the "Wandering Jew" of the East.

[2] A verse often quoted to this day in India.

2. Wherever I go I, like the elephant, throw dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.

3. The elephant taming king is Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

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1. O friend, whose tongue speaks of knowledge divine, and whose heart ever withdraws the veil from the light of truth,

2. Never cherish a thought of which thou oughtest to be ashamed, never utter a word for which thou wouldst have to ask God's pardon.

5. Ghazālī of Mashhad.[1]

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Ṣūfīs.

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep.[2]

Beauty leads to fame, and love to wretchedness. Why then do you speak of the cruelties of the sweetheart and the faults of the miserable lover?

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame anyone; for this is blameworthy.

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[1] *Badā'onī* (III, 170) says that Ghazālī fled from Īrān to the Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khān Zamān (No. 13, p. 335) to Jaunpūr, where he lived for a long time. He afterwards went to court, and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred upon him the title of *Malikᵘ 'sh-Shuʿarā*. He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrāt war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar's orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Aḥmadābād. Fayẓī's clever tārīkh on his death is سال نهصد و هشتاد, "the year 980." At his death he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The *Mir'āt l'-ʿĀlam* mentions two books written by him, entitled *Asrār-i Maktūm* and *Rashaḥātᵘ 'l-ḥayāt* to which the *Haft Iqlīm* adds a third, the *Mir'ātᵘ 'l-Kāynāt*. *Badā'onī* and the *Mir'āt* estimate his verses at 40 to 50,000; the *Haft Iqlīm* at 70,000; the *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, at 100,000. The *Ātashkada-yi Āzar* (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 4,000 verses, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Tahmāsp-i Ṣafawī. *Vide* Sprenger's Catalogue, pp. 61, 141, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazālī's works. Sprenger calls him *Ghazzālī*, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the double z.

Badā'onī relates a story that Khān Zamān sent him one thousand rupees to the Dakhin with a couplet, for which *vide Bad.* III, 170, where the *sar-i khud* refers to the غ in *Ghazālī's* name, because غ stands for 1,000.

The *Haft Iqlīm* mentions another Ghazālī

[2] This is to be understood in a mystic sense. *Badā'onī* (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazālī's Dīwān.

1. O Ghazālī, I shun a friend who pronounces my actions to be good, though they are bad.

2. I like a simple friend, who holds my faults like a looking-glass before my face.

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1. In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom, no genealogical tree is required.

2. For such a thing as love is, a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous—he must possess decorum.

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1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure." The Ṣūfī says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff."

2. The lover says, "My grief is my old friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

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1. If thy heart, whilst in the Kaʿba, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Kaʿba is lowered to a cloister.

2. And if thy heart rests in God, whilst thou art in a tavern, thou mayest drink wine, and yet be blessed in the life to come.

6. ʿUrfī of Shīrāz [1]

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

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[1] The *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* (MS. *As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 537) says that ʿUrfī's name was Khwāja Sayyidī (سیدی) Muḥammad. The *takhalluṣ* ʿUrfī has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Dārogha to the Magistrate of Shīrāz had to look after *Sharʿī* and *ʿUrfī* matters. He went by sea to the Dakhin, where according to the *Haft Iqlīm* his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, where Ḥakīm ʿAbū 'l-Fatḥ of Gīlān (No. 112) took an interest in him. When the Ḥakīm died, ʿUrfī became an attendant on ʿAbdu 'r Raḥīm Khān Khānān, and was also introduced at court. He died at Lāhor, in Shawwāl, A.H. 999, according to the *Haft Iqlīm* and several MSS. of the *Ṭabaqāt*, of dysentery (*is-hāl*). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14,000 verses, which at the Khān Khānān's order were arranged by Sirājā of Iṣfahān. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Ṣābir of Iṣfahān and buried in holy ground at Najaf (*Sarkhush*). His early death, in accordance with an idea still current in the East, was ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients; hence also the *tārīkh* of his death—

عرفی جوانه مرگ شدی

"ʿUrfī, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qaṣīdas, 270 Ghazals, 700 Qiṭʿas and Rubāʿīs; *vide* also Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 529.

The Tazkira by ʿAlī Qulī Khān-i Dāghistānī calls ʿUrfī Jamālu 'd-Dīn, and says that he was much liked by Prince Salīm towards whom ʿUrfī's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

ʿUrfī was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. *Badāʾonī* says (III, 285), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Fayẓī, who spent the revenue of

Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If someone cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy; for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy.

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmin remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn.

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm; my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose.

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1. It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low; for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic.

2. Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato; an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst.

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent; their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears.

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble; if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore.

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of ʕUrfī for the homeliness of his well-known poems.

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his jāgīr in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Fayẓī." Ḥakīm Ḥāẕiq (*vide* under 205) preferred ʕUrfī's ghazals to his odes. His Maṣnawī, *Mājmaʕu 'l-Akbār*, is often wrongly called *Majmaʕu 'l-Afkār*.

One day ʕUrfī called on Fayẓī, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-bred children of his family". Fayẓī replied, "Their names are *ʕurfī*" (i.e., well known). *Mubārak* (God bless us), rejoined ʕUrfī, to the intense disgust of Fayẓī, whose father's name was Mubārak.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 126) states on the authority of the Taẕkira Hamesha-Bahār that ʕUrfī's name was Khwāja Ṣaydī (صیدی), a mistake for *Sayyidī*. The *Ātashkada* also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muḥammad. Taqī's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong in the dates.

There exist several lithographs of ʕUrfī's Odes. The Calcutta printed edition of A.H. 1254 contains a Commentary by Aḥmad ibn-i ʕAbdu 'r-Raḥīm (author of the Arabic Dictionary Muntahal Arab) of Ṣafīpūr.

No one has yet come into the world that can bear the grief of love; for every one has through love lost the colour of his face and turned pale.

O ʿUrfī, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindūs may burn thee.

If thou wishest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush for thyself, as if thou didst not know thyself.

ʿUrfī has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open. He did not knock at another door.

To pine for the arrival of young spring shows narrowness of mind in me; for there are hundreds of pleasures on the heap of rubbish in the backyard, which are not met with in a rose garden.

My heart is sinking as the colour on Zalykhā's cheek when she saw herself alone; and my grief has become the talk of the market like the suspicion cast on Yūsuf.

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1. On the day when all shall give an account of their deeds, and when the virtues of both Shaykh and Brāhman shall be scrutinized,

2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

---

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,

2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain; be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

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1. O ʿUrfī, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?

2. Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee, but hast thou taken it with thee?

7. Maylī of Hirāt.

His name was Mīrzā Qulī.[1] He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

Since I have become famous through my love, I shun all whom I see; for I am afraid lest my going to anyone might put thee into his thoughts.

I die and feel pity for such as remain alive; for thou art accustomed to commit such cruelties as thou hast done to me.

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1. My heart derived so much pleasure from seeing thee, that fate—God forbid, that it should think of revenge.
2. Thou art neither a friend nor a stranger to me; what name is man to give to such a relation?

Thou knowest that love to thee does not pass away with the lives of thy lovers; for thou passest by the tombs of those whom thy love slew, and yet thou behavest coquettishly.

When thou biddest me go, cast one glance upon me; for from carefulness people tie a string to the foot of a bird, even if it be so tame as to eat from the hand.

My last breath is at hand! O enemy, let me have him (the lovely boy) but for a moment, so that with thousands of pangs I may restore him to thee.

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1. I promised myself that I would be patient, and did not go to him (the boy); I had hopes to be content with loneliness.
2. But the woe of separation kills me, and whispers every moment to me, "This is the punishment of him who puts confidence in his patience."

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[1] The Nafā'is mentions 979 and Taqī 983, as the year in which Maylī came to India (Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The *Ātashkada* says, he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghistānī, he belonged to the Jalāyr clan, lived under Ṭahmāsp, and was in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, after whose death he went to India. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* says that he was in the service of Nawrang Khān (pp. 334, 528); and *Badā'onī* adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Mālwā when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *Ātashkada* says that he was one of his favourite poets.

1. Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything; for every one of them has from a beggar become a Crœsus in wealth.

2. But thou findest such a pleasure in granting the prayers of beggars, that they make requests to thee by way of flattery.

8. Jaʿfar Beg of Qazwin.

He is a man of profound thought, has learnt a good deal, and describes very well the events of past ages. As an accountant he is unrivalled. From his knowledge of human nature he leans to mirth and is fond of jokes. He was so fortunate to obtain the title of Āṣaf Khān, and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty.[1]

I am jealous of the zephyr, but I gladden my heart with the thought that this is a rose garden, and no one can close the door in the face of the wind.

When the town could not contain the sorrows of my heart, I thought that the open country was created for my heart.

I am prepared for another interview to-night; for I have patched up my torn, torn heart.

It is the fault of my love that he [the lovely boy] is an enemy. What is love worth, if it makes no impression?

I admire the insight of my heart for its familiarity with beauties whose ways are so strange.

He came and made me confused; but he did not remain long enough for me to introduce my heart to consolation.

As I am entirely at fault, do not threaten me with revenge; for the pleasure of taking revenge on thee makes me bid my fault defiance.

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1. Dost thou show me thy face so boldly, Happiness? Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.

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[1] His biography was given above, No. 98. *Vide* also *Iqbālnāma-yi Jahāngīrī*, p. 5; *Dabistān*, p. 387. His *takhalluṣ* was Jaʿfar, as may be seen from Abū 'l-Faẓl's extracts. The Maṣnawī by Jaʿfar mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mīrzā Zaynu 'l-ʿĀbidīn, regarding whom *vide* above, p. 453, and Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 130, where for 1212 read A.H. 1081.

2. Ja'far came to-day so broken-hearted to thy house, that the hearts of the stones burnt on seeing his extraordinary condition.

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1. Whoever has been in thy company for a night, is the companion of my sad fate.

2. Ja'far has found the road to the street of the sweetheart so difficult, that he can no more rise to his feet.

The morning zephyr, I think, wafts to me the scent of a certain sweetheart, because Jacob keeps his closed eye turned towards a caravan.[1]

A new rose must have opened out in the garden; for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning.

9. Khwāja Ḥusayn of Marw.[2]

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humāyūn, and was also during this reign highly favoured.

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1. The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings.

2. Creation's preface is a sheet of my book, the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen.

10. Ḥayātī of Gīlān.[3]

A stream from the ocean of thought passes by his house; correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united; he is free from the bad qualities of poets.

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[1] Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he smelled the scent of Joseph's coat, which a messenger was bringing to Egypt. When the coat was applied to his eyes, he recovered his sight.

[2] Khwāja Ḥusayn was a pupil of Mawlānā 'Iṣāmu 'd Dīn Ibrāhīm and the renowned Ibn Ḥajar of Makkah (*Haft Iqlīm*). Abū 'l-Faẓl's remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Ḥusayn's Odes on the birth of Jahāngīr and Prince Murād, given in full by *Badā'onī* (II, pp. 120, 132) for which the Khwāja got two lacs of tankas. The odes are peculiar, as each hemistich is a chronogram.

[3] The *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī* says that Mullā Ḥayātī was born at Rasht in Gīlān and belonged to the *ādmīzādagān*, i.e., common people of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ-i Gīlānī (No. 112) at Court, got a jāgīr, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khān Khānān in the Dahkin wars, and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhānpūr where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the *Mir'āt' 'l-'Ālam* was called *Masjid-i Mullā Ḥayātī*. He was still alive in 1024, when the *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī* was composed.

The *Ṭabaqāt* and *Badā'onī* praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the *ahl-i yārān-i dardmandān*, i.e., he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) translates this, "He was a friend of Dardmand."

1. Whenever you speak, watch yourself; repentance follows every word which gladdens no heart.

2. You do not require the swift wing of a bird; but since fortune is so, borrow the foot of the ant and flee.

A love-sick man is so entangled in his grief, that even the wish of getting rid of it does him harm.

Whatever you see is, in some way or other, a highway robber. I know no man that has not been waylaid.

---

1. This is the thoroughfare of love, it is no open market, keep your lips closed, no talk is required.

2. I, too, have been among the heathens, but have seen no waist worthy of the sacred thread.

3. Covetous people are, from covetousness, each other's enemies; in friendship alone there are no rivals.

---

1. Let every thorn which people sow in thy road, bloom in the lustre of thy smiles.

2. Say nothing, and heal the wound of the heart with poisoned arrows.

---

1. My love makes me delay over everything, even if it were a scent in the house, or a colour in the bazaar.

2. Thou knowest what people call me—"mad from shame, and dejected from baseness."

Since everything which I mended has broken again, my heart has gone altogether from trying to patch it.

---

1. I suffer thy cruelties and die; perhaps I thus complete my faithfulness.

2. Thou canst not deprive me of the means of union with thee, unless thou shuttest the zephyr in a box.[1]

This turf and this field have a tinge of madness; insanity and drunkenness have to-day a good omen.

---

[1] Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.

1. Love-grief is followed by an increase of sorrow, the desire to meet him is followed by bloody tears.

2. Neither the one nor the other, however, is the means of attaining love's perfection; be sound in mind, or else completely mad.

---

1. I am neither as high as the Pleiades, nor as low as the abyss; I neither cherish the old grief, nor do I possess a new thought.

2. If I am not the wailing nightingale, there is yet this excellence left, I am the moth and am pledged to the flame.[1]

---

1. I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate.

2. Perhaps I may go a step back to myself; it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself.

11. Shikebī of Iṣpahān.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.[2]

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

---

[1] The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix. 11, Thou rebukest man and causest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, viz. the fire, where the word *Khamod* seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Saʿdī's preface to the Gulistān:—

عاشقان کشتگان معشوقند
برنیاید ز کشتگان آواز

"The lovers are killed by the beloved, no voice rises from the killed ones"—is also an allusion to the love of the moth.

[2] The *Maʾāṡir-i Raḥīmī* says that Mullā Shikebī was the son of Ẓahīru 'd-Dīn ʿAbdu 'llāh Imāmī of Iṣfahān. He studied under Amīr Taqiyu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Shīrāz, but left his native town for Hirāt when young, and became acquainted with the poets Sanāʾī, Maylī, and Walī Dasht Bayāẓī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khān Khānān.

The *Miʾātu 'l-ʿĀlam* says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhin to Āgra, where Mahābat Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Īrān; but Jahāngīr would not let him go, and appointed him Ṣadr of Dihlī. He died there at the age of sixty-seven, in 1023, the *tārīkh* of his death being صدر دهلی رفت. Another Chronogram, شکیبی رفت gives only 1022. For his Sāqīnāma, ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm gave him 18,000, or, according to the *Haft Iqlīm*, 10,000 rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The *Maʾāṡiru 'l-Umarā* mentions a Maṡnawī on the conquest of Thatha (A.H. 999–1000), for which Jānī Beg and ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm gave him one thousand Ashrafīs. I do not know whether this Maṡnawī is the same as the Maṡnawī written by Shikebī in the Khusraw Shīrīn metre. [The As. Soc. of Bengal has a MS. of the *Kulliyāt-i Sanāʾī* in Shikebī's handwriting.—B.]

Grief, not mirth, is my ware. Why dost thou wish to know its price? I know that thou wilt not buy it, and that I shall not sell it.

On account of the jealousy of the watcher I had resolved to stay away from thy feast. I was deceived by my bad luck and called it jealousy, and stayed away.

O God, bestow upon my wares a market from the unseen world! I would sell my heart for a single interview; vouchsafe a buyer!

Thou art warm with my love; and in order to keep off bad omens, I sit over the fire, and burn myself as wild rue.[1]

I uprooted my heart from my being, but the burden of my heart did not leave my being. I severed my head from my body, but my shoulders did not leave my collar.

---

1. To-day, when the cup of union with thee is full to the brim I see Neglect sharpen the sword, in order to kill me.
2. Thou dost not dwell in my heart and hast girded thy loins with hatred towards me—ruin upon the house which raises enemies!

---

1. The plaintive song of my bird [heart] turns the cage to a rosebed; the sigh of the heart in which thou art, turns to a rosebed.
2. When thy beauty shines forth, covetousness also is love; straw, when going up in flames, turns to a rosebed.

---

1. Happy are we if we come to thee, through thee, like blind men we search for thee, through thee.
2. Increase thy cruelties till the tenaciousness of my life takes revenge on me, and thy cold heart on thee.

---

1. The world is a game, the winning of which is a loss; playing cleverly consists in being satisfied with a low throw.
2. This earthly life is like a couple of dice—you take them up, in order to throw them down again.

---

[1] *Sipand.* People even nowadays put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. *Vide* p. 146, note 1.

12. Anīsī Shāmlū.[1]

His real name is Yol Qulī. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, viz., that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.[2]

It is possible to travel along this road, even when one lightning only flashes. We blind lovers are looking for the ray of thy lamp.

If I remain restless even after my death, it is no wonder; for toil undergone during the day makes the sleep of the night restless.

---

1. How can the thought of thy love end with my death? for love is not like wine, which flows from the vessel when it is broken.
2. The lover would not snatch his life from the hand of death though he could. Why should the owner of the harvest take the grain from the ant?

---

1. The rosebed of time does not contain a songster like me, and yet it is from the corner of my cage that I have continually to sing.
2. In order satisfactorily to settle my fortune, I spent a life in hard work; but with all my mastership I have not been able to draw silk from reeds.

The nature of love resembles that of the magnet; for love first attracts the shaft, in order to wound the heart when it wishes to get rid of the point.

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[1] The *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī* says that Yol Qulī Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Shāmlū Turkmāns. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to ʿAlī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Hirāt, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebī and Mahwī. He wrote at first under the *takhalluṣ* of Jāhī; but the Persian prince Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā gave him the name of Anīsī, under which he is known in literature. When Hirāt was conquered by ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān, king of Turkistan and Māwarā 'n-nahr, Anīsī was captured by an Uzbak soldier and carried off to Māwarā 'n-nahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mīrzā ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, who made him his Mīr ʿArẓ, and later his Mīr Bakhshī. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhayl-i Ḥabshī (p. 356). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Burhānpūr in 1014. There exists a Maṣnawī by him in the Khusraw-Shīrīn metre, also a Dīwān, and several Qaṣīdas in praise of the Khān Khānān.

The Calcutta edition of the *Ātashkada-yi Āzar* (p. 19) calls him wrongly ʿAlī Qulī Beg, and his Hirāt patron ʿAlī Naqī Khān, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.

[2] i.e., our garments are always tucked up (Arab. *tashmīr*), as Orientals do when walking quickly. A lover finds no rest.

May God preserve all men from falling into my circumstances! for my sufferings keep the rose from smiling and the nightingale from singing.

Love has disposed of me, but I do not yet know who the buyer is, and what the price is.

Anīsī drinks the blood of his heart, and yet the vessel is never empty; it seems as if, at the banquet of love's grief, the red wine rises from the bottom of the goblet.

---

1. I am intoxicated with love, do not bring me wine; throw me into the fire, do not bring me water.
2. Whether I complain or utter reproaches, I address him alone, do not answer me!

---

1. I went away, in order to walk a few steps on the path of destruction, and to tear a few ties that bind me to existence.
2. I will spend a few days without companions, and will pass a few nights without a lamp till morning make its appearance.

---

1. O heart, beware! O heart, beware! Thus should it be; the hand of asking ought to be within the sleeve[1]
2. O that I could but once catch a certain object! the hunter is for ever in the ambush.

13. Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr.[2]

He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man; but he also devises plans for the architecture of the heart.

Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me: I either rejoice in my sweetheart, or grieve for him.

---

[1] The heart should not ask, but patiently love.

[2] Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he engaged in poetical contests (*mushāʿara*) with several poets, as Fahmī, Ḥātim, etc. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mīrzā ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmin Khān Khānān. In 1012, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India, he lived at Aḥmadābād in Gujrāt, where he died in 1022. The *Tuzuk* (p. 91) says:—"I [Jahāngīr] had called Naẓīrī of Nīshāpūr to court. He is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and lives [end of 1019] in Gujrāt where he is a merchant. He now came and presented me with an encomium in imitation of a Qaṣida by Anwarī. I gave him one thousand rupees, a horse, and a dress of honour." The

If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, the loss is for once; whilst to me it would be the loss of world and faith.

If thou wilt not put my cage below the rose-tree, put it in a place where the meadow hears my plaint.

It is from kindness that he [the beautiful boy] favours me, not from love; I can distinguish between friendship and politeness.

It is a generation that I have been girding my waist in thy service, and what am I worth? I must have become a Brahman, so often have I put on the badge (the thread).

Thy blood is worth nothing. Naẓīrī, be silent! Suffice it that he who slew thee, has no claim against thee.

I am costly and there are no buyers; I am a loss to myself, and am yet the ornament of the bazaar.

The impression which my sorrow makes upon him consists in depriving his heart of all sympathy; and the peculiar consequence of my reminding him of my love is that he forgets it.

Like a watch-dog I lie at his threshold; but I gnaw the whole night at my collar and think of chasing him, not of watching him.

Maʿāṣir-i Raḥīmī says that Naẓīrī was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Āgra in 1022 at Aḥmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the *Mirʾatu 'l-ʿĀlam*, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Ṣāyib, quoted by Dāghistānī:—

صایب چه خیالست شوی همچو نظیری
عرفي بنظیری نرسانید سخن را

O Ṣāyib, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Naẓīrī?
ʿUrfī even does not approach Naẓīrī in genius.

The Tārīkh of Naẓīrī's death lies in the hemistich "*Az dunyā raft Hassānu 'l-ʿAjam, āh!*" "The Ḥassān of Persia has gone from this world, alas!"—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Ḥassān. This gives A.H. 1022; the other *tārīkh*, given by Dāghistānī, *markiz-i dāʾira-yi bazm kujā ast*, "where is the centre of the circle of conviviality," only gives 1021, unless we count the *hamzah* in دایرۀ as *one*, which is occasionally done in *tārīkhs*. Dāghistānī also mentions a poet Sawādī of Gujrāt, a pious man, who was in Naẓīrī's service. On the death of his master, he guarded his tomb, and died in A.H. 1031.

1. From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which Kaʿba swore, into a Farangī Church.

2. The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.

3. The ship of love alone is a true resting-place; step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters.

4. Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.

14. Darwīsh Bahrām.[1]

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

---

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazaar of ignominy [love], to see what would come of it.

2. I have wickedly spent a lifetime in the street of the hermits; now I am a profligate, a wine-bibber, a drunkard, to see that will come of it.

3. People have sometimes counted me among the pious, sometimes among the licentious; whatever they call me I am, to see what will come of it.

15 Ṣayrafī [Ṣarfī] of Kashmīr.[2]

His name is Shaykh Yaʿqūb. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn ʿArab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

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[1] Bahrām's *takhalluṣ* is *Saqqā*, i.e., water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias). Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabic or to his functions as spring deity).

The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbāyjān, Erivan, Ṭihrān, Fārs, and Nīshāpūr.

Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, vide my "Arabic and Persian Inscriptions," *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1871, pt. i, pp. 251 to 255.

[2] Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, Yaʿqūb's teacher, was a pupil of Muḥammad Aʿẓam Ḥājī, and died in Syria in 958 or 968.

Shaykh Yaʿqūb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Ḥajar, the great teacher of the Ḥadīs, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem

He stole from my heart all patience, and then took the whole mad heart itself; my thief stole the house with its whole furniture.

The weakness of the boy has brought the love-sick man into a strange position; from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabūḥi, the Chaghtāi.[1]

He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amīr Khusraw, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem. As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision, and lay down in another place; but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order. The first verse that he uttered is the following:—

When I am far from thee, my tears turn gradually into an ocean. Come and see, enter the ship of my eye, and make a trip on the ocean.[2]

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents.[3]

---

1. *I have no need to explain him my condition*; for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind.

2. Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow. Who shall now inform him of my wretched state?

---

as a learned man and a poet. He was liked by Humāyūn and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badā,onī. His death took place on the 12th Zī Qaʿda, 1003, and Badā,onī found as *tārīkh* the words *Shaykh-i umam būd*, "he was the Shaykh of nations." A complete *Khāmsa*, a treatise on the *Muʿammā*, or riddle, and numerous Ṣūfistic Rubā,īs with a commentary, are said to have been written by him. A short time before his death, he had nearly finished a large commentary to the *Qur,ān*, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. *Vide* above, p. 191, and under the poets.

His *takhallus* is variously given as *ṣayrafī* and *ṣarfī*. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badā,onī (III, 148). Both words occur as *takhalluṣ*; thus there was a Qāẓī Ṣayrafī, encomiast of Fīrūz Shāh. *Vide* also poet No. 21.

[1] *Sabūḥī* means "a man that drinks wine in the morning". The real name of the poet is not given in the Taẕiras to which I have access. Badā,onī says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the *Mirʿātu 'l-ʿĀlam* calls him a *rind* (profligate). He died at Āgra in 973, and Fayẓī found as *tārīkh* the words صبوحی می خوار, "Ṣabūhī, the wine-bibber." Dāghistānī says, he was from Samarqand, and the *Ātashkada* calls him "Badakhshānī", but says that he is known as *Harawī*, or from Hirāt.

[2] *The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen*; *vide Badā,onī*, III, 180, under Ātashī.

[3] If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from Āṣafī, Jāmī's pupil, who has a verse:—

دل که طومار وفا بود من محزون را
پاره کردند ندانسته بیان مضمون را

17. Mushfiqī of Bukhārā.[1]

I went to his street, and whilst I was there, a thorn entered deep into the foot of my heart. Thanks be to God that I have now a reason for staying in it!

---

1. Hindūstān is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar-sellers.
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the *chīra* and the *ṭakauchiya*.[2]

18. Ṣāliḥī.[3]

His name is Muḥammad Mīrak. He traces his descent from Nizāmu 'l-Mulk of Ṭūs.

Men without feeling tell me to use my hand and catch hold of his garment. If I had a hand [i.e., if I had the opportunity], I would tear my collar to pieces.

There are many reasons why I should be dead, and yet I am alive. O grief! thy forbearance has made me quite ashamed of myself.

---

[1] *Badāʾonī* (III, 328) says that he was originally from Marw, and came twice to India. For his *Qaṣīdas*, some called him "the Salmān of the age"; and Dāghistānī says that under ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān he was *Malik 'sh-shuʿarā*. According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, he was born and died at Bukhārā. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Dīwān was collected in 983. From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfiqī was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patan in the end of 985. He died in 994 (Vāmbēry's *Bokhara*, p. 301).

[2] This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Ḥāfiẓ sent from Shīrāz to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ of Bengal (Metre Muzāriʿ).

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets,
When this Persian sugar (the poem) *reaches Bengal.*

Abū 'l-Faẓl has meddled with Mushfiqī's verse; for the *Haft Iqlīm* gives instead of *nekūʾān-i diyār* the words *hinduʾān-i siyāh*; hence the verse is "India's flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (*chīra*) and a ṭakauchiya". This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies. The *ṭakauchiya* was described above on p. 94; the big head of a fly looks like a turban, and its straight wings like the straight Indian coat (*chapkan*). It may be that Abū 'l-Faẓl substituted the words *nekūʾān-i diyār*, the "dear ones of the country", with a satirical reference to the "learned", whom he always calls خالي درون عمامه پوش "turban wearing empty-headed", in which case we would have to translate "the simpletons of the country".

The verse is better given by *Badāʾonī* (III, 329).

[3] *Badāʾonī* calls him "Hirawī" (from Hirāt), and says that he was employed at court as a Munshī. He was a good penman. After his return to his country, he died. The Ātashkada says that he was a descendant of Khwāja ʿAbdu 'llāh Marwārīd Kirmānī, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. [illegible]) calls him wrongly *Muḥammad Mīr Beg*. The *Ātashkada* and the MSS. have Muḥammad Mīrak; and thus also his name occurs in the *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī*.

I told him [the beautiful boy] my grief, he paid no heed. Oh, did yo ever see such misery! I wept, he laughed—Oh, did you ever see suc contempt!

My life is in his hand. It is quite clear, Ṣāliḥ, that even the falco Death sits tame on his hand.

19. **Maẓharī** of Kashmīr.[1]

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ʿIrāq. Fron living together with good people, he acquired excellent habits.

---

1. I cannot understand the secret of Salmā's beauty; for the mor you behold it, the greater becomes your desire.

2. What friendly look lay in Laylī's eyes, that Majnūn shut his ey to friends and strangers?

I admire the looking-glass which reflects my sweetheart standing o a flower-bed,[2] although he is inside his house.

The good fortune of thy beauty has caused thy affairs to prosper else thou wouldst not have known how to manage matters successfull

---

1. Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart. Though the road is no bad, I make myself footsore.

2. Though I break through a hundred screens, I cannot step out myself; I wander over a hundred stages, and am still at the old place

---

I am a tulip of Sinai, and not like the stem-born flower. I cast flame over the slit of my collar instead of hemming it.[3]

He of whom my eye makes light, appears to heaven dull and heav

---

[1] Dāghistānī says that in ʿIrāq he was in company with Muḥtashim and Wahsh After his return to India, Maẓharī was employed by Akbar as Mīr Baḥrī of Kashmī which employment he held in 1004 (*Badāʾonī*). He had turned Shīʿah, and as his fathe was a Sunnī, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satire on his father. Maẓharī died in 1018. All Taẕkiras praise his poems.

[2] The eyes of the beautiful boy are crocus-like or almond-shaped; the chin is lik an apple; the black locks, like *sumbuls*—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden.

[3] The hot tears of the poet fall like flames on his collar; hence he is surrounde by flames like a flower on Mount Sinai; for Mount Sinai is surrounded by God's glory.

20. Maḥwī of Hamadān.[1]

His name is Mughīs. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.

---

1. Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart.

2. Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so.

---

1. You said that my condition was low from love-grief. A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant.

2. Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

---

1. O Maḥwī, beckon to a friend, and ring the bell of the caravan.

2. The stage is yet far and the night is near. O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

---

1. A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings.

2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

---

1. O Maḥwī, do not sing a song of the passion of thy heart, do not knock at the door of a single house in the street.

2. Thou hast seen this strange world, beware of speaking of a friend.

---

[1] Mīr Mughīs, according to the *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī*, was born in Asadābād (Hamadān), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabīl, where he studied for four years at the "Astána-yi Ṣafawiya". From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalā, and Hirāt. Mawlānā Shikebī and Anīsī (pp. 646, 648) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (*mushāʿara*) with Mawlāna Saḥābī (سحابی). He embarked at Bandar Jarūn for India, and was patronised by the Khān Khānān. After receiving from him much money, he went back to ʿIrāq, where the author of the *Maʾāṣir* saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbalā, and returned to Hamadān, where he died in 1016. He lies buried in the *Maqbara* of the Sayyids at Asadābād. The author of the *Maʾāṣir* edited Maḥwī's Rubāʿīs during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Maḥwī is best known as a Rubāʿī writer: Abū 'l-Faẓl's extracts also are all Rubāʿīs.

The *Ātashkada* says that he is often called Nishāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

The *Mirʾāt* mentions a Maḥwī whose name was Mīr Maḥmūd, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akbar's Munshī.

21. Ṣarfī of Sāwah.[1]

He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.

My dealer in roses wishes to take his roses to the bazaar, but he ought first to learn to bear the noisy crowd of the buyers.

I am shut out from the road that leads to the Kaʿba, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias.[2]

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself.

That which I desire[3] is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qarārī of Gīlān.[4]

His name is Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him: he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū 'l-Fatḥ, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

---

[1] The MSS. of the *Āʾīn* call him "Ṣayrafī", but the metre of several verses given in the *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* shows that his takhalluṣ is "Ṣarfī".

According to the Ātashkada, his name is Ṣalaḥ[u] 'd-Dīn, and he was a relation of Salmān of Sāwaḥ. He was a pupil of Muḥtashim of Kāshān. The author of *Haft Iqlīm* says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing tārīkhs. He lived in the Dakhin, and went to Lāhor, to present Akbar with a Qaṣīda; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* states that he lived chiefly at Aḥmadābād, made Fayẓī's acquaintance in the Dakhin, and went with the Khān-i Aʿẓam (p. 543) to Makkah. According to *Badāʾonī*, he came with the Historian Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad from Gujrāt to Lāhor, and accompanied Fayẓī to the Dakhin, where he died. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name *Çalâhuddîn*: but the Ātashkada (the only work in which I have found his full name) has *Salāḥ[u] 'd-Dīn*.

[2] The road of love (the ideal Kaʿba) is as difficult as the road to the Kaʿba in Makkah. Muhammadans do not lie down with their feet towards Makkah, which is against the law; hence the poet says that he is prevented from stepping forward on the road of love.

[3] Self-knowledge.

[4] Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn Muḥammad came in 983 with his brothers Abū 'l-Fatḥ (p. 468) and Humām (p. 529) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Nūr[u] 'd-Dīn was awkward, and had no idea how to handle a sword. Once, at a muster, he came without arms, and when some young fellows quizzed him about it, he said that military duties did not suit people of his class (literary men); it had been Tīmur's custom to place camels, cattle, and the baggage between the ranks, and the women behind the army, and when Timur had been asked where the learned were to go, he had said, "In the rear of the women." (This resembles the story of Napoleon I, who in Egypt had often to form squares against the hostile cavalry, and then invariably gave orders to place the

The longer the grief of separation lasts, the gladder I am; for like a stranger I can again and again make his acquaintance.

I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thy eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years.

He [the beautiful boy] must have been last night away from home; for I looked at his door and the walls of his house, but had no pleasure from looking.

If in that hour, when I tear the hood of my life, I should get hold, of, what God forbid, Thy collar, I would tear it to pieces.

I envy the fate of those who, on the last day, enter hell; for they sit patiently within the fire.[1]

My madness and ecstasy do not rise from nightly wine; the burning of divine love is to be found in no house.

---

1. O heart! when I am in love, do not vex me with the jealousy of the watchman; thou hast made me lose my faith [Islām] do not speak ill of my Brahmanical thread.[2]

2. To be far from the bliss of non-existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence. O Lord! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non-existence.

---

1. If the love of my heart should meet with a buyer, I would do something openly.

2. I have spread the carpet of abstinence in such a manner that every thread of the texture ends in a thousand Brahmanical threads.

---

donkeys and the savans in the middle.) Akbar, to punish him, sent him on active service to Bengal, where he perished in the disturbances, in which Muẓaffar Khān (p. 373) lost his life. *Badā*ᵉ*onī*, II, 211; III, 312.

Abū 'l-Faẓl is sarcastic in referring to Nūrᵘ 'd-Dīn's monomania.. Nūrᵘ 'd-Dīn wished to say that Abū 'l-Fatḥ was a man of intense worldliness (*ṭālib*ᵘ *'d-dunyā*) and Humām longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (*ṭālib*ᵘ *'l-ākhirat*), whilst he himself was a "true lover" (*ṭālib*ᵘ *l maulā*, one who feels after God).

The Ātashkadah adds that Nūrᵘ 'd-Dīn had been in Gīlān in the service of Khān Aḥmad Khān, and that he went, after the overthrow of Gīlān, to Qazwīn.

[1] Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.

[2] Love has made the poet a heathen.

1. The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me; like my sweetheart, I have become an enemy to myself.

2. I have killed myself, and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders.[1]

23. ʿItābī of Najaf.[2]

He possesses harmony of thought; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

---

1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!

2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmān.

3. I had come from the land of faithfulness: what wonder, if I vanish from the dear memory of the [faithless] fair?

---

1. I have consumed my sober heart on the rubbish-heap of passion; I have burnt the Kaʿba candle at the idol temple's fate.

2. The flower-bed of a certain beloved has not wafted to me the fragrance of fulfilled desires, and hopelessly do I consume myself in my dismal corner.

3. No one has ever said the word "friend" to me, not even by mistake, though I consume myself before acquaintances and strangers.[3]

---

[1] Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.

[2] Sayyid Muḥammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dakhin, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindūstān, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahābād. He looked bold and slovenly (*bebāk u nāhamwār*). When asked whether he had in the Dakhin made satires on Shāh Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, he said, "In the Dakhin, I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fatḥᵘ 'llāh, was annoyed, imprisoned ʿItābī, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and ʿItābī was sent for ten years (or according to the *Tabaqāt*, for two years) to Fort Gwālyār. At the request of Prince Salīm and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Lāhor. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1,000 rupees, and ordered Qulij Khān (p. 380) to send him from Sūrat to Hijāz; but ʿItābī escaped, went to the Dakhin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever *kātib* and letter writer. *Badāʾonī*, III, 275.

The Ātashkada says that he came from Gulpāigān (or جرباقان). Dāghistānī calls him "Mīr ʿItābī". *ʿItābī* means "worthy of reproach"; compare *munshī*.

[3] The *Tabaqāt* ascribes this verse to a poet called Ruknᵘ 'd-Dīn, whose *takhalluṣ* is not given in my MS.

1. O heart, what portion of his wine-coloured lip dost thou keep in thy flagon, that thy inside is full of sighs and thy neck full of sobs.[1]

2. Love has thrown me into oceans of bloody tears; go, go away, that for once thou mayest reach the banks of the stream.

I have given thee permission to shed my blood without retaliation. I have said so, and give it thee black on white, and stamped with my seal.

Sometimes I am drowned in floods, sometimes burning in flames. Let no one build a house in my street!

In the name of God, let us go, if you belong to my travelling companions. This caravan[2] has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word "faithfulness" produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings[3] produce each separately tears.

---

1. Is the killing of a man like me worth a single sign of anger and hatred? Is shedding my blood worth the bending of thy arm (pr. thy sleeve)?

2. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth while to ill-treat thy lovers?

24. Mullā Muhammad Ṣūfī of Māzandarān.[4]

He is in affluent circumstances, but from virtuous motives he mixes little with the world. He seeks retirement by travelling about.

Look upon me, when standing below the revolving roof of the heavens, as a lamp concealed under a cover.

[1] In allusion to the gurgling noise in the neck of the bottle.

[2] The caravan of love.

[3] The messenger, because he comes from the beloved boy, and the letter, because it declines the request of a rendezvous.

[4] According to the Mirʾātu 'l ʿĀlam, Mullā Muhammad was called "Ṣūfī" from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed "Ṣūfī ṣāhib", so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of "a simpleton". Mullā Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Aḥmadābād, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī. The Mirʾāt and the *Haft Iqlīm*, praise his verses, and the former quotes from a *Sāqīnāma* of his.

The Ātashkada wrongly puts him under Iṣfahān, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mullā Jāmī—which is impossible.

1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.

2. If it be possible pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

---

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muḥammad, after falling in love with him ?—long may you live !" "I stand," said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet."

25. Judā'ī.[1]

His name is Sayyid ʿAlī, and he is the son of Mīr Manṣūr. He was born and educated in Tabrīz, and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting.

The beauty of idols is the Kaʿba to which I travel; love is the desert, and the obstinacy of the worthless watchers[2] the acacia thorns.

I am a prey half-killed and stretched on the ground, far from the street of my beloved. I stagger along, tumbling down and rising up again, till I come near enough to catch a glimpse of him.

In the morning, the thorn boasts of having been together with the rose, and drives a nail through the broken heart of the nightingale.

26. Wuqūʿī of Nīshāpūr.[3]

His name is Sharīf.

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view. Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life.

---

[1] Judā'ī had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of "Nādir'u'l-Mulk", and had already served under Humāyūn. He left a Dīwān; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashkī's Dīwān (*vide* below, the 37th poet).

[2] The Ātashkada and Taqī's Taẕkira mention another Judā'ī of Sāwah.

[3] Muḥammad Sharīf Wuqūʿī belonged, according to the *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nīshāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amīr Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time assay master under Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He died in 1002.

Badā'onī (III, p. 378) says that Sharīf was a relation of Shihāb Khān (p. 352). "His name was Muḥammad Sharīf. Alas, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharīf-i Āmulī, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharīf-i Sarmadī, mentioned below, No. 53—two archheretics in the eyes of Badā'onī]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Basakhwānīs (p. 502, note 2) nor to the Ṣabāḥīs, he holds an intermediate place between these accursed and damned sects; for he strenuously fights the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*). One day, he came to me at Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmir. Seeing large blocks of

1. I do not care for health.[1] O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!

2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khusrawī of Qā'in.[2]

He is a relation of [the poet] Mīrzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābīd, in Khurāsān]. He writes *Shikasta* well, and is a good hand at shooting with the bow and the matchlock.

If the dust of my body were mixed with that of others, you would recognize my ashes by their odour of love.

Thy coming has shed a lustre on the ground, and its dust atoms serve as *surma* for my eyes.

The lions of the Ḥaram should not stain their paws with my blood. O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery, for the word "rest" is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaykh Rahā'ī.[3]

He traces his descent from Zainu 'd-Dīn Khāfī. He pretended to be a Ṣūfī.

---

rocks of several thousand mans lying about near my house, he exclaimed with a sigh, "All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form." Notwithstanding his wicked belief, he composed poems in praise of the Imāms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent *kātib* and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in A.H. 1002.

[1] Health is the equivalent of "indifference to love".

[2] Qā'in lies between Yazd and Hirāt. Dāghistānī calls him Sayyid Amīr Khusrawī, and says that he excelled in music. According to *Badā'onī*, his mother was Mīrzā Qāsim's sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr).

[3] His name is Mawlānā Sa'du 'd-Dīn, of Khāf, or Khawāf (p. 493). The Ātashkada quotes the same verse as Abū 'l-Faẓl. *Badā'onī* says, he left a well-known dīwān. In Dāghistānī, two Rahā'īs are mentioned, one Mawlānā Rahā'ī, "known in literary circles"; and another Rahā'ī from Ardistān. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him *Rihā'ī*; and says that, according to the Nafā'is, he died in 980.

Zaynu 'd-Dīn Khāfī, from whom Rahā'ī traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 838. He was first buried at Mālīn (or Bālīn), then at Darwīshābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmī's *Nafḥātu 'l-Uns*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zaynu 'd-Dīn Tā'ibādī, mentioned above.

No one has, in thy love, been more brought up to sorrow than I; anc that thou knowest not my sorrow is a new sorrow.

I took to travelling in order to allay my grief, not knowing that m road would pass over hundred mountains of grief.

29. Wafāʿī of Iṣfahān.[1]

He possesses sparks of taste. He had been for some time wanderin in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldlines on his shoulders.[2]

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yūsuf. Let a ma buy what he does not require![3]

Knock at night at the door of the heart; for when it dawns, the door are opened, and the door of the heart is closed.

I am secure from the dangers of life: no one deprives the street beggar of his bareness.

---

1. The dart of fate comes from the other side of the armour;[4] wh should I uselessly put on an armour?

2. Flash of death, strike first at me! I am no grain that brings a ear to the harvest.

Joy and youth are like the fragrance of the rose that chooses th zephyr as a companion.

30. Shaykh Sāqī.[5]

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazāʿir. He has acquired som knowledge.

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[1] *Badāʿonī* says (III. p. 385) that Wafāʿī was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lāhor and entered the service of Zayn Khān (p. 367). According to the Ātashkada, he belonge to the ʿImādiya Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān; his Rubāʿīs are good. Dāghistān calls him a Turk, and states that Wafāʿī at first was an *utūkash* (a man who irons clothes) From a fault in his eye, he was called *Wafāʿī-yi kor*, "The blind Wafāʿī."

[2] "His impudent flattery was proverbial." *Dāghistānī*.

[3] As, for example, love, grief.

[4] *i.e.*, a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow fron that side.

[5] *Badāʿonī* also calls him *Jazāʿirī*, i.e. from the islands. His father, Shaykh Ibrāhim was a distinguished lawyer and was looked upon by the Shīʿahs as a Mujtahid. He live in Mashhad, where Sāqī was born. Sāqī received some education, and is an agreeab poet. He came from the Dakhin to Hindūstān, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.

1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sāqī, and like the Kaʿba, a place of belief and heresy.

2. I have found no trace of love, much as I have travelled among the hearts of the infidels and the faithful.

My heart is still ardent with love, and thou art still indifferent. sweetheart, speak, before I openly express myself.

31. Rafīʿī of Kāshān.[1]

His name is Ḥaydar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica* and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and *tārīkhs*.

My heart is sensitive, you cruel one ; what remedy is there for me ? Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do ?

---

1. A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant ; I am plunged into crime [love] and think that thou art forgiving.

2. He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving ; choose whatever name pleases thee most.

32. Ghayratī of Shīrāz.[2]

His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past.

I am smitten by the eyelash of my murderer, who has shed my blood without letting a drop fall to the ground [3]

---

[1] His full name, according to Taqī-yi Awḥadī, is Amīr Rafīʿu 'd-Dīn Ḥaydar. He was a Ṭabāṭibā Sayyid of Kāshān The *Maʾāsir-i Raḥīmī* states that he left Persia in 999, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrāt in company with Khwāja Ḥabību 'llāh to Lāhor, and was well received by Akbar. For the *tārīkh*, mentioned above on p. 619, note 2, Fayẓī gave him 10,000 rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mukrān coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lākhs of rupees, but also (as *Badāʾonī* spitefully remarks) the copies of Fayẓī's poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) says that Ḥaydar was drowned ; but the fact is, that he was saved and returned to India. His losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amīrs. From the Khān Khānān alone, he got, at various times, about a lākh. After some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makka and Madīna, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh ʿAbbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the Ātashkada he died in A.H. 1032, the *tārīkh* of his death being the Arabic words, "*wa kāna zālika fī sanah.*" His son, Mīr Hāshim-i Sanjar, is mentioned on the next page ; and Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī mentions in his Taẕkira another son of the name of Mīr Maʿṣūm, a friend of Mullā Awjī. MSS. often give his name wrongly رفیقی, *Rafīqī*.

[2] The Ātashkada says that Ghayratī travelled about in ʿIrāq, went to Hindūstān, and lived after his return in Kāshān, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family. From fear of the boy's relations, he went to Shīrāz, where he died.

[3] Because the heart only was broken.

The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.[1]

I am free from worldliness; for my aspirations do no longer lean against the wall of confidence.

I am smitten by the fearless glance of a Christian youth, for whose sake God will pardon, on the day of resurrection, the slaughter of a hundred Musalmāns.

Even death mourns for those who are killed by the grief of separation from thee.

The street of the sweet boy is a beautiful land; for there even heaven's envy is changed to love.

I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.[2]

33. Ḥālatī of Tūrān.[3]

His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man.

Leave me to my grief! I find rest in my grief for him. I die, if the thought of the possibility of a cure enters my heart.

When my eye caught a glimpse of him, my lips quivered and closed. Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

To whatever side I turn in the night of separation, my heart feels pierced by the thought of the arrow of his eyelash.

---

[1] That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.

[2] No boy is lovelier than the beloved of the poet. If the poet, therefore, sees another man love-sick, he gets jealous; his beloved boy must have bestowed favours on the other man

[3] *Badā*ᵉ*onī* says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Wālihī*. Yādgār traced his descent from Sulṭān Sanjar; but the *Ṭabaqāt* calls him a Chaghtāᵉī. He served in Akbar's army.

" His son Jalāl Khān had the *takhalluṣ* of Baqāᵉī, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself *Ruswā*ᵉ*ī*, 'the blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault," and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lāhor, where he was executed by the Kotwāl.

The *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 486) says that Yādgār served in 993 in Kābul. He is not to be confounded with Mīr Ḥālatī of Gīlān.

34. Sanjar of Kāshān.[1]

He is the son of Mīr Ḥaydar, the riddle-writer. He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances.

I came from the monastery of the Guebres, and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a wailing gong under my arm.[2]

I am jealous and I shall die from the aggressions of fickle lovers. I am a fresh plant, but shall die from the heap of rubbish about me.

I, too, have at last perished in the century of thy love. Alas! none is now left of Majnūn's tribe.[3]

Sorrows rush from every side on my heart without first knocking at the door. I cannot help it; my house lies on the highway.

35. Jazbī.[4]

His name is Pādishāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī of Kurdistān, near Baghdād

---

See how extremely jealous I am My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes me bewilderment.

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[1] Sanjar came in A.H. 1000 from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 662 (?)). For some crime, "to mention which is not proper," Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Aḥmadābād; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of Bījāpūr. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bījāpūr, in A.H. 1021. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. *Maʾāsir-i Raḥīmī.*

The *Khizāna-yi ʿĀmira* and Mr. T. W. Beale of Agrā, the learned author of the *Miftāḥu 'l-Tawārīkh* give the following verse as *tārīkh* of Sanjar's death (metre *Muzāriʿ*):—

افکند پادشاه سخن چتر شاهری

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella.

of which the words *pādishāh i sukhun* give 1023; but as the pādishāh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract a ب, or 2; for the figure of the Arabic ب if inverted, looks like an umbrella.

[2] i.e. love has made the poet forget his faith, and he has become a heathen or a Christian. The Christians in many eastern countries used gongs because they were not allowed bells.

[3] The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnūn.

[4] The Tazkiras give no details regarding *Jazbī* His father has been mentioned above on p. 537; and from the *Akbarnāma* (III, p. 512) we know that Pādishāh Qulī served in Kashmir under Qāsim Khān (p. 412). "Jazbī" means "attractive", a similar takhallus is "Majzūb", "one who is attracted by God's love."

Badāʾonī (III, 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abū 'l-Fazl to Pādishāh Qulī's father.

1. Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes the wine-bottle; once, twice, incessantly, I break my plaintive flute [my heart].

2. O Lord, deliver my heart from these bad practices! How often shall I repent and again break my vow of repentance!

36. Tashbīhī of Kāshān.[1]

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Maḥmūdīs; but I know nothing of his origin, nor of his present condition. The Maṣnawī entitled "Ẕarrah o Khurshīd", "the Atom and the Sun", is written by him.

Dust of the graveyard, rise for once to joy? Thou enclosest a corpse like mine, slain by his hand and his dagger.

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt; I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth.

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[1] The Ātashkada calls him "Mīr ʿAlī Akbar Tashbīhī. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindūstān he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Faqīr, and did not visit kings". Dāghistānī says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindūstān a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. *Badāʿonī* (III, 204) has the following notice of him, "He came twice or three times to Hindūstān, and returned home. Just now (A.H. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresies, advising them to follow the fate of the Basākhwānīs (*vide* above, p. 502). He told Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl that he was a Mujtahid, or infallible authority on religious matters, and asked him to introduce him to the emperor, to whose praise he had composed an ode, the end point of which was the question why the emperor did not direct his policy to the overthrow of the so-called orthodox, in order that truth might assume its central position, and pure monotheism might remain. He also wrote a pamphlet in honour of Abū 'l-Faẓl according to the manner of the Nuqṭaqī sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation (*tazrīq*) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Ḥakīm ʿAynᵘ 'l-Mulk (*vide* above, p. 537) discovered that "Tashbīhī" has the same numerical value (727) as "Tazrīqī", "the hypocrite." Tashbīhī has composed a Dīwān. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abū 'l-Faẓl's presence a pamphlet on Maḥmūd of Basākhwān, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows:—" O God who art praiseworthy (*Maḥmūd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee. There is no other God but Allah. Praise be to God, whose mercies are visible in all his works, who has shown the existence of all his works . . . [the text is unintelligible]. He knows Himself; but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. *Question*: What is meant by "nature"? *Answer*: what people call creation or nature, is God, etc. Dirt upon his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of all this lying is, of course, "the four *nuqtas*." At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following:— "This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mujtahid M, i, r, ʿA, l, I, A, k, b, a, r, T, a, sh, b, I, h, I, the Amīnī, the last, the representative." And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelief!"

"The Atom and the Sun" is a mystical subject. The atoms of dust dance in the sun's rays and love it, and are emblematical of man's love to God. But as Akbar worshipped the sun, the poem, no doubt, referred to the peculiar views of the emperor.

Pass some day by the bazaar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.[1]

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihi a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.[2]

---

1. I am that Tashbīhī who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a graveyard.

2. I like to dwell in a graveyard, because dwelling in a graveyard lies before our sight.

The hands of this world and of the world to come are empty. With me is the ring !—all other hands are empty.[3]

37 Ashkī of Qum.[4]

He is a Ṭabāṭibā Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.

Those who are slain by thee lie everywhere inebriated on the ground : perhaps the water of thy steel was wine.

---

[1] This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word "retribution" leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbihi says. The lovely boy has, of course, broken many hearts and shed the blood of believers; nevertheless, all are ready to transfer the rewards of their meritorious actions to him, and thus buy up his crimes.

[2] The sun looks round like a loaf, the warm oven is the heat of the day.

[3] In allusion to a game, in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another, and another party has to find where the ring is. "The ring is with Tashbihi," i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.

[4] We know from the *Haft Iqlīm* that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid ʿAli Muhtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki's elder brother Mir Ḥuẓūri also is known as a poet. Ghazāli's fame and success (vide p. 638) attracted Ashki to India but he did not meet Ghazāli. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Diwāns to Mir Judāʾi (vide p. 660) to arrange. Mir Judāʾi, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name and threw the remainder into water. Tariqi of Sāwah alludes to this in the following epigram :—

اشکئ نامراد را کشتی
عقل حیران خون خفیهٔ اوست
پیش تو ماند چهار دیوانش
شعر وامانده تو گفتهٔ اوست

Thou hast killed poor Ashki,
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.
With thee four Diwāns of his remained,
And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dāghistānī says that Ashki died in Mir Judāʾi's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazāli; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlīm* is preferable.

Badāʾonī says that Ashki's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (*tatabbuʿ*) the poet, Āṣafī. He died at Āgra.

My body melts in the fire of my madness, when he [the lovely boy] is away; and if you should hang an iron chain to my neck, it would flow (molten) to my feet.

Whenever I have to bear the pang of separation from my beloved, no one bears with me but death.

Ashkī, I think my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.[1]

38. Asīrī of Ray.[2]

His name is Amīr Qāẓī. He is a man of education.

The messenger was a watcher in disguise, and I did not see his cunning. The cruel wretch succeeded in putting his contrivance between us.

I have pardoned my murderer, because he did not take his hand away from me; for as long as life was left within me, his murderous hands were properly employed.

His love has so completely filled my breast, that you can hear him breathe in my breath.

39. Fahmī of Ray [Ṭihrān].[3]

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes; do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern.

---

[1] So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashkī, when he declares his love.

[2] Asīrī was, according to *Badā*ᵉ*onī*, an educated man, and the best pupil of Ḥakīmᵘ 'l-Mulk (p. 611). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find much favour with the emperor. He therefore returned to Ray, his home, where he died (i.e., before A.H. 1004).

[3] *Badā*ᵉ*onī* gives three poets of the name of Fahmī:—1, Fahmī of Ṭihrān, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2, Fahmī of Samarqand, son of Nādirī, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3, Fahmī of Astrābād, who died at Dihlī. The *Ma*ᵉ*āsir-i Raḥīmī* mentions a Fahmī of Hurmuz (Ormuz) well known in Lār and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khān Khānān, got a present, and returned. Dāghistānī mentions a fifth Fahmī from Kāshān, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Dāghistānī* ascribe the same verse to Fahmī-yi Ṭihrānī, which Abū 'l-Faẓl gives to Fahmī of Ray, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abū 'l-Faẓl had made a mistake in calling him "of Ray", because no *Taẕkira* follows him.

I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation. Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient.

40. Qaydī of Shīrāz.[1]

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.

As thou hast never gone from my heart, I wonder how thou couldst have found a place in the hearts of all others.

---

1. Thou drovest me away, and I came back, not from jealousy, but because I wish to confess that I feel ashamed of my love having had jealousy as a companion.
2. My tears derive a lustre from the laughter of cruel wretches; else a wound inflicted by thee could never produce such bloody tears.

A lover may have many reasons to complain; but it is better not to unburden the heart before the day of judgment.

If I desire to accuse thee of shedding, in every look, a hundred torrents of lover's blood, my lot, though hostile enough, would be ready to be my witness.

I am gone, my reason is gone! I want a flash of madness to strike my soul, so as to keep it burning [with love] till the day of judgment.

---

1. Last night union [with the sweet boy] raised her lovely form before me, and the gloomy desert of my heart shone forth in raptures.
2. But the bat had no power to gaze at the sun; else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen.

---

[1] Qaydī came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injustice of the *Dāgh o Maḥalli*-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (*vide* p. 252) and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Faqīr in the Byāna District, and returned to Fathpūr Sīkri, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qaydī died. He was an excellent poet. *Badā,onī.*

Dāghistānī says that he was a friend of ʿUrfī, and died in A.H. 992.

41. Payrawī of Sāwah.[1]

His name is Amīr Beg. He was a good painter.

Where is the wine of love given to wretches without feeling? Loving idols, is a drunkenness; let men be careful to whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal; forgive me if I worship form.[2]

42. Kāmī, of Sabzwār.[3]

His mind is somewhat unsettled.

If I knew that tears could make an impression, I would altogether turn to blood and trickle from the eye.

Whether I see him [the beautiful boy] or not, my heart is in raptures. Have you ever seen such a sight?

I wished I could like a breeze pass away from this base world. This is not the street of the sweetheart, from which one cannot pass away.

My blood dances from mirth in my vein like a flame; the look he gave me commences to work, and my heart is effectually wounded.

43. Payāmī.[4]

His name is ʿAndᵘ 's-Salām. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

---

[1] Payrawī imitated the poet Āṣafī. He wrote a poem on "Form and Ideal", of which Abū 'l-Faẓl has given the first verse, and completed a Dīwān of Ghazals.

[2] This verse, the beginning of Payrawī's "Form and Ideal", contains the rhetorical figure, *istihlāl*, because it gives the title of the poem.

[3] Kāmī's father, Khwāja Yaḥyá, was a grocer (*baqqāl*) and lived in the Maydān Maḥallah of Sabzwār, in Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzwār, Mīr Yaḥyā went to India, and left Kāmī, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzwār. At the request of his father, Kāmī came to India, and was frequently with the Khān Khānān. He went afterwards back to Khurāsān and the author of the *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* saw him, in 1014, in Hirāt. In travelling from Hirāt to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khān Khānān's service.

The *Haft Iqlīm* says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow minded.

Badāʾonī also mentions him; but he wrongly calls *Qumī* "from the town of Qum". He says, Kāmī is a young man and has just come to India (1004); his thoughts are bold.

[4] Payāmī, according to Dāghistānī, was a pupil of the renowned ʿAllāmī Dawwānī. He was for a long time Vazīr to Shāh ʿAlāʾᵘ 'l-Mulk ibn-i Nūrᵘ 'd-Dahr of Lār. His services were afterwards dispensed with, and a Jew of the name of Yaʿqūb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise; for soon after, Shāh ʿAbbās sent an army under Ilāh Virdī Khān to Lār, who conquered the country.

Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

---

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?
2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

---

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.
2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yūsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazaar.[1]

Patience, in order to console me, has again put me off with new subterfuges, and has stitched up the book of my happiness the wrong way.

---

1. My heart has overcome the grief of separation, and has gone from this land; it has tucked the hem up to the waist and has gone.
2. My heart saw among the companions no trace of faithfulness; hence it smiled hundred times by way of friendship and went away.

44. Sayyid Muhammad [Fikri].[2]

He is a cloth-weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes Rubāʿis.

---

1. On the day when the lover kindled the fire of love, he learnt from his beloved what burning grief is.
2. This burning and melting has its origin in the beloved, for the moth does not burn till it reaches the candle.

---

1. On the day of judgment, when nothing remains of the world but the tale, the first sign of Eternity's spring will appear:

---

[1] Yūsuf means here "life"; pit, "non existence"; bazaar, "existence."

[2] Sayyid Muhammad's poetical name is *Fikri*, the "pensive". He came, according to the *Haft Iqlīm*, in 969 to India, and his excellent rubāʿis induced people to call him the "Khayyām of the age", or "Mīr Rubāʿī". He died on his way to Jaunpūr, in 973, the *tārīkh* of his death being *Mīr Rubāʿī safar namūd*.

2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.[1]

45. Qudsī of Karabalā, Mīr Ḥusayn.[2]

I am utterly ashamed of the dogs of thy street; for they have made friendship with a man like me.

I am in misery; and you would know the sadness of my lot, if you were instead of me to suffer for one night by being separated from him [the beautiful boy].

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46. Ḥaydarī of Tabrīz.[3]

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Show no one my black book of sorrows; let no one know my crimes [love].

---

[1] This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalīm, I think (metre *Rajaz*):—

روز قیامت هر کسی بدست گیرد نامهٔ
من نیز حاضر می شوم تصویر جانا در بغل

Each man on the day of resurrection, will seize a book (the book of deeds), I, too, shall be present, with my sweetheart's picture under my arm.

[2] Dāghistānī says that Mīr Ḥusayn's father left Karbalā for Sabzwār. Qūdsī was a great friend of Muḥammad Khān, governor of Hirāt. *Badāʾonī* (III, 376) says that Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf Nawāʾī, Qudsī's brother, also came to India, and "died a short time ago", i.e., before A.H. 1004.

[3] Ḥaydarī was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr (*vide* above, p. 353). His company, says the *Haft Iqlīm*, was more agreeable than his poems. The Masnawī which he wrote in imitation of Saʿdī's Bostān, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said:—

در کشور هند شادی و غم معلوم.
اعدا دل شاد و جان خرم معلوم
جائی که بیک روپیه دو آدم بخرند
آدم معلوم و قدر آدم معلوم

On his second return to India he found a patron in the Khān-i Aʿẓam (p. 343), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muḥammad Khān Atga (p. 337) introduced him at court. For an ode on the elephant, Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India, he attached himself to the Khān Khānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrāt (p. 354), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkich. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Āghā Khizr Nahāwandī (brother of the author of the *Maʾāsir-i Raḥīmī*) befriended him. As Tabrīz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm, he settled in ʿIrāq, at a place called in the MSS. بنر; which for its excellent climate and fruits had

O Ḥaydarī, try, like the virtuous, to attain some perfection in this world of sorrow; for to leave this world deficient in anything, is like leaving the bath in a dirty state.

47. Sāmrī.

He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous, and my shame [love] has rendered me well known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears.

48. Farebī of Ray (?).[1]

His name is Shāpūr. He is a good man, but is in bad circumstances. If he is diligent, he may become a good poet.

---

1. I go and heat my brain with the love of a certain sweetheart; I sit in the midst of the flame, and breathe a hot sigh.

---

no equal in ʿIrāq or Khurāsān. About that time Shāh ʿAbbās came to the place to hunt pheasants (*kabg*). [*Kabk* is the *Chukor* partridge of India.—P.] It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a darwish, who, notwithstanding that the king had gone personally to his house, refused to open the door. "The foaming ocean of the king's wrath rose in high waves," and he ordered a general massacre of the people of the place, which was happily prevented through Ḥaydarī's influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from نقر; and the king, out of love for the animal, had a large house built on the top of the hill, which has now become a place of resort for the surrounding country. But as the hill is inaccessible for beasts of burden, the building must have cost a great deal of money and labour. Ḥaydarī died there, beloved by all, in A.H. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled *Lisān^u 'l-ghayb*, in praise of his teacher, the poet Lisānī, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled *Sahw^u 'l-Lisān*, "the Slip of the Tongue," which was written by his base pupil Mīr Sharīf-i Tabrīzī. The *Ma'āṣir-i Raḥīmī* gives a few passages from the book.

Dāghistānī says that the poet Darwish Ḥaydar of Yazd, mentioned in *Taẕkiras*, is very likely the same as Mawlānā Ḥaydarī of Tabrīz, who is sometimes called "Yazdī" from his friendship with Waḥshī of Yazd.

Sāmrī, Ḥaydarī's son, came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khān Khānān *Mīr Sāmān* of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dakhin wars, when with Shahnawāz Khān, the son of his patron.

[1] The second verse shows that the *takhallus* of the poet is Shāpūr. Farebī is scarcely known. With the exception of Dāghistānī's work, which merely mentions that Farebī lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Taẕkiras. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 52) mentions a Farebī of Bukhārā; but as he is said to have died in A.H. 944, he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the Āʾīn have Ray, Rahī, and Dihī, or leave out the word, as Dāghistānī has done. Rāzī is the usual form of the adjective derived from "Ray" the well-known town in Khurāsān.

2. It is not my intention to be in ardours for myself, Shāpūr; my object is to bring a certain sweetheart before the world.

I am the thorny shrub without leaves in the desert; no bird takes shelter with me from fear of accidents.

---

1. If the martyr of thy love-grief is to have a tomb, let it be the gullets of crows and kites, or the stomachs of wild beasts.
2. Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love], I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean.

49. Fusūnī of Shīrāz.[1]

His name is Maḥmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

When the eye has once learned to see [to love] it loses its peaceful sleep; when the heart has once learned to throb, it loses its rest.

The passion which I feel for other lovely ones, has made my heart like a bud which has been forced open by blowing upon it.

When I wish to kiss his foot, I first wipe it with my wet eye; for the eye feels, more than lip, the sweet sorrow of kissing his foot.

Woe me, if my blood is not shed for the crime of my love! To pardon my faults were worse than to take revenge on me.

Sole friend of my chamber! I feel jealous of those who stand outside disappointed. Sweet companion of my feast! I feel jealous of the spectators.

---

1. If I flee from thy cruelties tell me what dust I am to scatter on my head when far from thee.
2. If I sit in the dust of the earth on which I wander, whose victim shall I be when I arise?[2]

---

[1] Abū 'l-Faẓl says that Fusūnī was from Shiraz; *Badā*ᵒ*onī* and Taqī call him Yazdī; and Dāghistānī and the Ātashkada says that he came from Tabriz. *Badā*ᵒ*onī* says that Fusūnī came over Tattah and entered the service of the emperor, and Dāghistānī adds that he also served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as Mustawfī. The Mirᵒātu 'l-ᶜĀlam mentions a Fusūnī, who was an Āmīr under Jahāngīr and had the title of Afẓal Khān.

[2] The original contains a pun on *khāk gird* and *gard*, which I cannot imitate.

50. Nādirī of Turshīzī.[1]

I am as if blind and wander about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Nādirī, I complain of no one; I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

51. Nawʿī of Mashhad.[2]

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well.

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up; neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close.

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking-glass even appears veiled.

If that be Manṣūr's love, do not grieve, O heart. Not every weak-minded man is fit to love.[3]

---

[1] The author of the *Haft Iqlīm* says that Nādirī went two years before the completion of the *Haft Iqlīm*, i.e., in 1000, to India; but he does not know what became of him.

Dāghistānī mentions three poets of the name of Nādirī: (1) Nādirī of Samarqand, who came to Humāyūn in India, (2) a Nādirī from Shustar; and (3) a Nādirī from Syālkoṭ.

Turshīz, or Turshīsh, lies near Nīshāpūr.

[2] Mullā Muḥammad Riżā comes from Khabūshān near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the *Maʾāṡir-i Raḥīmī*, he found a patron in Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad (p. 369); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khān Khānān (p. 334) and stayed with him and Prince Dānyal at Burhānpūr. For his *Sāqīnāma*, the Khān Khānān gave him an elephant and a present of 10,000 rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. Some people say that his poems are like the *shutur o gurba*, i.e., you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khizāna-yi ʿĀmira says that his Maṡnawī entitled *Soz o Gudāz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. This poem, of which the Asiatic Society of Bengal has a copy, contains the story of a Suttee. Nawʿī had not yet arranged his Qaṣīdas and Ghazals in form of a dīwān, when he died in 1019, at Burhānpūr.

Badāʾonī says that he claims descent from Ḥaẓrat Shaykh Ḥājī Muḥammad of Khabūshān; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

[3] Manṣūr attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed, Anā al-ḥaqq "I am God"—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Manṣūr of weakness, because he proclaimed his love; he should have kept it to himself as is proper for true lovers (vide p. 625, note 1).

Intrinsic beauty cannot be seen; and he who looks into the looking glass sees, indeed, his figure, but forms no part of the glass itself.[1]

Make thyself a heart as large as the orb of heavens, and then ask for an atom. Do not be satisfied, Nawʿī, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.[2]

52. Bābā Ṭālib of Iṣfahān.[3]

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.

I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.[4]

---

1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet askest "what does it matter?" Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet askest "What does it matter?"

2. Thou dost not care for the havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.[5]

---

[1] The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woeful figure; but does not become one with him.

[2] Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sun rays are in love with the sun.

[3] According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Bābā Ṭālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmīr, patronised by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. The *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* says that he was often in the company of Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ (p. 468), Zayn Khān Kokah (367), Abū 'l-Faẓl, and Shaykh Fayẓī; at present, i.e. in 1025, he is Ṣadr of Gujrāt. *Badāʾonī* says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmīr, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar's service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to ʿAlī Rāy, ruler of Little Tibbat. On his return he gave Abū 'l-Faẓl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the *Akbarnāma*. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The *Iqbālnāma* (*Bibl. Indica* Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bābā Ṭālib died in the end of Jahāngīr's reign, more than a hundred years old.

[4] *Vide* p. 560, note 1.

[5] This Rubāʿī pleased Jahāngīr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. *Iqbālnāma*, loc. cit.

53. Sarmadí of Iṣfahán [1]

His name is Sharíf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

Fortune has been faithful in my time; I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulness.

I was at home, and thou camest to me with drunken eyes and with roses under the arm; the very dust of this house of grief budded forth to see the sight of thy arrival.

---

1. What have I not done to myself in the heat of transgression! What crimes have I not committed whilst trusting to Providence!

2. I and my heart have soared up to a rose bed, and we are jealous of the zephyr's going and coming.

3. A lover has hundreds of wishes besides union with him (the beautiful boy); I still want thee, Fortune, for many things.

I have in contempt set my foot upon both worlds; neither joy nor sorrow have overpowered my heart.

---

1. I cherish a love which will be talked of on the day of resurrection; I cherish a grief which no tale can relate.

2. A grief which can coquet with the grief of others, which no thought can comprehend and no pen can describe.

54. Dakhlí of Iṣfahán [2]

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

---

[1] Muḥammad Sharíf was mentioned above on p. 561, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. *Badá,oní* says that he was at first Chauki-nawís, and is at present (i.e., 1004) with Sharíf i Ámulí (p. 502) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the takhalluṣ of "Fayẓí"; but in order to avoid opposition to Fayẓí, Abú 'l Faẓl's brother, he chose that of Sarmadí. *Badá,oní* looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (*Bad.* II, 338). From the *Akbarnáma*, we see that Sharíf served in the 31st year in Kashmír, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrát. In 1000 he was sent to Bengal with Sharíf-i Ámulí, and in the beginning of 1001 we find him fighting in Orísá against Rám Chandr, Rája of Khurda. Dághistání says he died in the Dakhin.

[2] The *Ma,áṣir-i Raḥímí* is the only work in which I have found a notice of this poet. His name is Malik Aḥmad, and he was the son of Maliku 'l-Mulk Maqṣúd ʿAlí, proprietor of Werkopá,í, twelve farsakhs from Iṣfahán. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Dorkopá,í; but the author appears to have [illegible] mother's father was the great Shaykh Abú 'l-Qásim, who had

1. I have burnt the furniture of my strong and wise heart; I have set fire to the house of my aspirations and burnt it.

2. I have given up heresy and faith, and, half-way between the Kaʿba and the idol temple, I have burnt the sacred thread and the rosary.

---

1. I know of no plaint that has made impression; I know of no evening that was followed by a cheerful morn.

2. They say that grief is followed by joy, but this is an error; I know but of sorrows being followed by sorrows.

55. Qásim Arslán of Mashhad.[1]

He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth, and spends it in a genial way.

I am intoxicated with the pleasures of the society of wits: for there the subtleties of expression vanish at a hint.

Word and thought weep over my circumstances, when without thee I look into the book (of my poems).

My life is half gone—what am I worth now when a single look from thee is valued a hundred lives?

Thou hast the brilliancy of the rose and the colour of wine. How wonderful, what a freshness!

---

such influence with Ṭahmásp that several legacies (*awqáf*) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawallí. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so many dervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, etc., collected around him, that people persuaded Ṭahmásp that Abú 'l-Qásim was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was, therefore, blinded, and lived a retired life in the village. Some time after he presented a poem to Ṭahmásp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the *Maʾáṣir* has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhpáya. In his retirement he used to write under the *nom de plume* of Amrí, and employed Dakhlí to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhlí a taste for poetry, and he received from Abú 'l-Qásim the takhalluṣ of "Dakhlí". After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Aḥmad went to Iṣfahán, where he gained a reputation as a poet.

In 997, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1008 he went to the Dakhin, and found a patron in the Khán Khánán, in whose service he was in 1025, when the *Maʾáṣir-i Raḥímí* was written. He also was a good soldier.

[1] Arslán is Qásim's *nom de plume*. He chose this name, because his father claimed descent from Arslán Jáẕib, an Amír of Maḥmúd of Ghaznī. The family came from Ṭús, and Qásim was brought up in Transoxania. He was a good poet, and excelled in tárikhs. Badáoní quotes an ode written by Arslán on the Mountain of Ajmír. He died in 995, probably in Láhor. Dághistání says he died at Aḥmadábád. *Vide* p. 102.

56. Ghayūrī of Ḥiṣār.[1]

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

When longing directs its way to that door [love] it overthrows all possibility of returning.

---

1. The door of Shāh Akbar, the victorious, is a paradise of rest;
2. And if I shave my beard, I do so not to beautify myself,
3. But because beards, like crimes, are of a deep black dye, and can therefore have no place in a paradise.[2]

57. Qāsimī of Māzandarān.[3]

He lives as a Faqīr, and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yūsuf; Yūsuf was not so, I do not flatter.

---

1. My sickness has increased to-night in consequence of the pain of separation, and my wretched condition arises from the hundred excesses of yesterday.
2. The wine of desire flows every night freer. What shall I to-night do with my unsteady heart?

58. Sherī.[4]

He belongs to a Panjābī family of Shaykhs. Under the patronage of his Majesty he has become a good poet.

The beloved [boy] came, and blotted out my name; nay, he made me quite beside myself.

---

[1] Ghayūrī is called in the *Akbarnāma* Mullā Ghayūrī, and Dāghistānī calls him Ghayūrī of Kābul. This shows that he came from Ḥiṣār in Kābul and not from Ḥiṣār Fīrūza. The *Haft Iqlīm* tells us that Ghayūrī was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother and king of Kābul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar's service, and was a Yūzbāshī, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bīr Bar, in the Khaybar Pass catastrophe (under 34, p. 367).

[2] Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; vide p. 217.

[3] Dāghistānī mentions a Qāsim of Māzandarān. Qāsimī seems to be an unknown poet.

[4] Mullā Sherī has been mentioned above, pp. 112, 207, 212, 214. He was born in Kokūwāl in the Panjāb (Bārī Duāb). His father's name was Mawlānā Yaḥyā. He belonged to a tribe called in *Badā*ᵒ*onī* "Mājī".

Sherī was killed with Bīr Bar, in 994, in the Khaybar Pass.

The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

---

1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.
2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahī of Nīshāpūr.

His name is Khwāja Jān. He is a good man.

---

1. O Rahī, no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious belief]; give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory.
2. Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?).

* * * * * * *

The above (59) poets were presented at Court. There are, however, many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qāsim of Gūnābād; Ẓamīr of Iṣfahān; Waḥshī of Bāfa; Muḥtashim of Kāshān; Malik of Qum; Ẓuhūrī of Shīrāz; Walī Dasht Bayāẓī; Nekī; Ṣabrī; Figārī; Ḥuẓūrī; Qāẓī Nūrī of Iṣfahān; Ṣāfī of Bam; Ṭawfī of Tabrīz; and Rashkī of Hamadān.

Āʾīn 30 (*concluded*).

THE IMPERIAL MUSICIANS.[1]

I cannot sufficiently describe the wonderful power of this talisman of knowledge [music]. It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the

[1] We have to distinguish *goyanda*, singers, from *khwānandas*, chanters, and *sāzandas*, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwālyār, Mashhad, Tabrīz, and Kashmīr. A few come from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmīr had been founded by Īrānī and Tūrānī musicians patronized by Zaynᵘ 'l-ʿĀbidīn, king of Kashmīr. The fame of Gwālyār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rāja Mān Tunwar. During his reign lived the famous Nāʾik Bakhshū, whose melodies are only second to those of Tānsen. Bakhshū also lived at the court of Rāja Bikramājīt, Mān's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rāja Kīrat of Kālinjar. Not long afterwards he accepted a call to Gujrāt, where he remained at the court of Sulṭān Bahādur (A.D. 1526 to 1536). Islem Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rām Dās and Mahāpāter. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahāpāter was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Orīsā.

harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents. The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or to joy. Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world and to such as still cling to it.

His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindūs, Īrānīs, Tūrānīs, Kashmīrīs, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week. When his Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication, in some, and sobriety in others.

A detailed description of this class of people would be too difficult; but I shall mention the principal musicians.

1. Miyān Tānsen,[1] of Gwālyār. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bābā Rāmdās,[2] of Gwālyār, a singer.
3. Subḥān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
4. Srigyān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
5. Miyān Chand, of Gwālyār, a singer.
6. Bichitr Khān, brother of Subḥān Khān, a singer.
7. Muḥammad Khān, Ḍhāṛī,[3] sings.
8. Bīr Mandal Khān, of Gwālyār, plays on the *sarmandal*.
9. Bāz Bahādur, ruler of Mālwa, a singer without rival (p. 473).
10. Shihāb Khān, of Gwālyār, performs on the *bīn*.
11. Da'ūd Ḍhāṛī,[3] sings.
12. Sarod Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
13. Miyān Lāl,[4] of Gwālyār, sings.
14. Tāntarang Khān, son of Miyān Tānsen, sings.
15. Mullā Is-ḥāq Ḍhāṛī,[3] sings.
16. Ustā Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (*nay*).

[1] Regarding Tānsen, or Tānsain, or Tānsin, vide p. 445. Rām Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tānkas as at present. Ibrāhīm Sūr in vain persuaded Tānsen to come to Āgra. Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions below his son Tāntarang Khān, and the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 5—an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bilās.

[2] *Badā'onī* (II, 42) says, Rām Dās came from Lakhnau. He appears to have been with Bayrām Khān during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lakh of tānkas, empty as Bayrām's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islām Shāh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tānsen. His son Sūr Dās is mentioned below.

[3] Ḍhāṛī means "a singer", "a musician".

[4] Jahāngīr says in the *Tuzuk* that Lāl Kalāwant (or *Kalānwat*, i.e., the singer) died in the 3rd year of his reign, "sixty or rather seventy years old. He had been from his youth in my father's service. One of his concubines, on his death, poisoned herself with opium. I have rarely seen such an attachment among Muhammadan women."

17. Nānak Jarjū, of Gwālyār, a singer.
18. Purbīn Khān, his son, plays on the *bīn*.
19. Sūr Dās, son of Bābū Rām Dās, a singer.
20. Chānd Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
21. Rangsen, of Āgra, sings.
22. Shaykh Dāwan Ḍhāṛī,[1] performs on the *karnā*.
23. Raḥmatᵘ 'llāh, brother of Mullā Is-ḥāq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī, of Mashhad, plays on the *ghichak*.
25. Ustā Yūsuf, of Hirāt, plays on the *ṭambūra*.
26. Qāsim, surnamed Koh-bar.[2] He has invented an instrument intermediate between the *qūbūz* and the *rubāb*.
27. Tāsh Beg, of Qipchāq, plays on the *qūbūz*.
28. Sulṭān Hāfiz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahrām Qulī, of Hirāt, plays on the *ghichak*.
30. Sulṭān Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the *ṭambūra*.
31. Ustā Shāh Muḥammad, plays on the *surnā*.
32. Ustā Muḥammad Amīn plays on the *ṭambūra*.
33. Hāfiẓ Khwāja ʿAlī, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh, brother of Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Ḥay, plays the *Qānūn*.
35. Pīrzāda,[3] nephew of Mīr Dawām, of Khurāsān, sings and chants.
36. Ustā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, plays the *ṭambūra*.[4]

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[1] Dhāṛī means "a singer", "a musician".

[2] Koh-bar, as we know from the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b., p. 335) is the name of a Chaghtāʾī tribe. The *Nafāʾisᵘ 'l-Maʾāṣir* mentions a poet of the name of Muḥammad Qāsim Kohbar, whose *nom-de-plume* was Ṣabrī. *Vide* Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 50 (where we have to read *Koh-bar* for *Gūh-paz*).

[3] Pīrzāda, according to *Badāʾonī* (III, 318) was from Sabzwār. He wrote poems under the *takhalluṣ* of Liwāʾī. He was killed in 995 at Lāhor, by a wall falling on him.

[4] The *Maʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī* mentions the following musicians in the service of the Khān Khānān—Āghā Muḥammad Nāʾī, son of Ḥājī Ismāʿīl, of Tabrīz; Mawlānā Aṣwātī, of Tabrīz; Ustād Mīrzā ʿAlī Fāthagī Mawlānā Sharaf of Nīshāpūr, a brother of the poet Naẓīrī (p. 549), Muḥammad Mūmin, *alias* Ḥāfiẓak, a ṭambūra-player; and Ḥāfiz Naẓr, from Transoxania, a good singer.

The *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbālnāma* mention the following singers of Jahāngīr's reign—Jahāngīrdād; Chatr Khān; Parwīzdād; Khurramdād; Mākhū; Hamza.

During Shāhjahān's reign we find Jagnāth, who received from Shāhjahān the title of *Kabrāʾī*; Dirang Khān; and Lāl Khān, who got the title of *Gunsamundar* (ocean of excellence). Lāl Khān was son-in-law to Bilās, son of Tānsen. Jagnāth and Dirang Khān were both weighed in silver, and received each 4,500 rupees.

Awrangzīb abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-historians. Music is against the Muḥammadan law. Khāfī Khān (II, 213) tells a curious incident which took place after the order had been given. The court-musicians brought a bier in front of the Jharokha (the window where the emperors used to show themselves daily to the people), and wailed so loud as to attract Awrangzīb's attention. He came to the window, and asked whom they had on the bier. They said, "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it." A short time after, the Jharokha also was abolished.

END OF VOLUME I.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 31, note 1.

Ṭodar Mal. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, *vide* p. 376.

Page 35, note 2.

Qulij Khān. The correct year of his death is given on p. 381.

Page 36, line 20.

Bābāghūrī. This word is not in the Dictionaries; but there is no doubt that it means "White Agate". The word is also mentioned in the 4th Book (my Text Edition, II, 60), where it is said that all the weights used at court for weighing jewels were made of "transparent Bābāghūrī". Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, in his *Tazkira*, under Jalāl, has the following. "When the case came on," he said to Mīrzā Taqī, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bābāghūrī threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

در روز دیوان با میرزا تقی میگفت که مکرر بنوك قمتراش زنار باباغوری چشم شما را شمرده ام همه زنار دارد اا

Page 46, middle.

Salaries of the Begams. Under Shāhjahān and Awrangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtāz Maḥall had 10 lākhs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lākhs, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzib gave the "Begam Ṣāḥib" 12 lākhs *per annum*.

Regarding Nūr Jahān's pension, *vide* p. 574, note 3.

Page 49, note 7.

Gulbadan Begam. From Badāonī, II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, i.e. she was Humāyūn's sister. She was married to Khizr Khwāja, *vide* pp. 207, 394.

Page 58, line 4, from top.

Sorūn. Sorō is the correct name of a town and Pargana in Sirkār Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (ʿAligarh), near the Ganges.

Page 58, line 14, from below.

Pannān. This I believe to be a mistake for "Paṭhan" or "Paṭhānkoṭ". The MSS. have پنهان or سنهان, but as the initial *sīn* in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with پ, and reversely. The spelling پتهان, *Paiṭhān*, for *Paṭhān*, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.

Page 69, note 2.

Kilās. Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S., informs me that *gilās* is to the present day the Kashmīrī term for *cherries*.

Page 75, line 7.

Mahuwā. This partly confirms Elliot's note under *Gulū* (Beames' Edition, *Races of the N.W. Provinces*, II, p. 335) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary.

Page 77, line 7, from below.

Pān Leaves. In the 3rd Book of the Āʾīn (Text, p. 416, l. 20) Abū 'l-Faẓl mentions another kind of *pān*, called *Makhī* or *Mukhī*, grown in Bihār.

Page 84, line 7.

Qaysūrī. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is Fanṣūrī. According to Marco Polo, Fanṣūr was a state in Sumātra, probably the modern Barūs.

Page 87, note.

Zirbād. This should be Zerbād, for *zer-i bād*, i.e. "under the wind", leeward, the Persian translation, as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay *Bāwah angīn*, "below the wind," by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumātra.

Khāfī Khān (I, p. 11) couples Zerbād with Khatā, over both of which Tūlū Khān, son of Chingiz Khān, ruled.

Page 93, note 6.

کرکراق. I have since seen the spelling کرکیراق which brings us a step nearer to etymology. *Yarāq* means "supellex"; and *kürk* means "fur".

Page 93, line 2, from below.

Aḥmadābād. The comma after Aḥmadābād may be wrong. Aḥmadābād is often called Aḥmadābād-i Gujrāt.

Page 94, line 17.

Ghiyāṣ-i Naqshband. We know from the *Tazkira* of Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī that Ghiyāṣ was born in Yazd. "The world has not since seen a weaver like him. Besides, he was a good poet. Once he brought a piece of *mushajjar* brocade, on which there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Shāh ʿAbbās (1585–1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghiyāṣ said on the spur of the moment,

خواجه در خرس پیش میبیند   هرکسے نقش خویش میبیند

"*The gentleman looks chiefly at the bear. Each looks at his own likeness.*"

Bears in the East are looked upon as stupid animals. A proverb says,

خرس در کوه ابوسینا

"*A bear on the hill is an Avicenna,*" i.e. a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Naṣrābādī quotes some of Ghiyāṣ's verses.

Page 100, middle.

COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abū 'l-Faẓl.

Chautār was woven in Hawelī Sahāranpūr.
Sirī Ṣāf and Bhīraū, in Dharangā,on, Khāndesh.
Gangājal, in Sirkār Ghorāghāt, Bengal.
Mihrkul, in Allāhābād,

and Pāchtoliya was mentioned on p. 574, in connexion with Nūr Jahān.

Page 105, note 2.

ĀDAM-I HAFT-HAZĀRĪ. I find that this expression is much older than Abū 'l-Faẓl's time. Thus Ziā^u 'd-Dīn Baranī in his preface to the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī* (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalīfa ʿUmar lived seven thousand years after Ādam.

Page 107, note 8.

ASHRAF KHĀN. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 423. He died in 983, not 973.

Page 108, note 3.

KHANDĀN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the *Taẕkirat^u 'l-Awliyā* written by Khandān in 920 A.H., and yet the *Mirʾat^u 'l-ʿĀlam* gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 110, note 3, line 4.

BECHŪ. Though Bechū is a common Hindūstānī name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchū, or Panjū, *vide* p. 607. Badāonī (II, 54) gives as *tārīkh* of his death the words شيخ پنجو and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (پ), i.e. 971 − 2 = 969. *Vide* also my Essay on "Badāoni and his Works", *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, p. 118.

Page 123, line 18

SANGRĀM. Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tuzuk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmall, the champion of Chitor.

Page 129, lines 27 to p. 130, line 2.

The reader is requested to substitute the following:—

Elephants are found in the following places In the Ṣūbah of Āgrah, in the jungles of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Ṣubah of Ilāhābād, in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, Ratanpūr, Nandanpūr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Ṣūbah of Mālwah, in Handiah, Uchhod, Chanderī, Santwās, Bijāgarh, Rāisin, Hoshangābād, Garha, and Hariāgarh; in the Ṣūbah of Bihār, about Rohtās and in Jhārkhand; and in the Ṣūbah of Bengal, in Oṛīsā and in Sātgān The elephants from Pannah are the best.

Page 179, note 3.

Sulaymān Kararānī reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980.

Page 192, note 1.

Prince Murād was born on the 3rd Muḥarram, 978. *Badāonī*, II, 132. *Vide below.*

Page 203, middle, and note.

In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for May, 1870 (p. 146), I have shown that the unclear words in Badāonī's text are :—

کابلان که خوشگاه ایشان است

"the cunabula which is their time of mirth."

By "cunabula" the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, etc., which they used to exhibit in Āgrah and Lāhor.

Page 281, line 8.

The Ṣadr read the *khuṭbah* in the name of the new king, and thus the *julūs* became a fact. *Khāfī Khān*, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.

Page 282, middle.

MAWLĀNĀ ʿABDᵘ 'L-BĀQĪ. *Vide* p. 596, note 3.

Page 321.

AKBAR'S WIVES. For *Raqiyah* the diminutive form *Ruqayyah* is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bāī *vide* next note.

Sulṭān Salīma Begum. She *is* the daughter of Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Bābar. Mīrzᵘ Nurᵘ 'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Gulrukh's husband, was a Naqshbandī Khwāja.

Gulrukh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrukh Begum, who was the daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā (*vide* p. 516).

Of other women in Akbar's harem, I may mention (1) the daughter of Qāẓī ʿĪsā (p. 498); (2) an Armenian woman, *Tuzuk*, p. 324. *Vide* also Keane's *Agra Guide*, p. 38. (3) Qismiyah Bānū, married by Akbar in the 19th year (*Akbarn.*, III, 94); (4) a daughter of Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn Chak (*Akbarn.*, III, 659).

SULṬĀN MURĀD. He was married to a daughter of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (p. 343). Their child, Sulṭān Rustam, did not live long (*Akbarn.*, III, 539, 552).

SULṬĀN DĀNYĀL. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumāda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confounded دوم and دهم. His first wife was a daughter of Sulṭān Khwāja (p. 466), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Saʿādat Bānū Begum, who was born in 1000 (*Akbarn.*, III, 643).

Page 323.

JAHĀNGĪR'S WIVES. An additional list was given on p 533, note 1. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Mubārak Chak of Kashmīr; (2) a daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmīr (*Akbarn.*, III, 659); (3) another Kashmīrī lady, mentioned in *Akbarn.*, III, 639.

Page 329, middle.

DEATH OF MĪRZĀ RUSTAM. Thus the date is given in the *Maʾāṣirᵘ 'l-Umarā*; but from the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 302) we see that Mīrzā Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rabīʿ I, 1052. The author adds a remark that "the manners (*awḍāʿ*) of the Mīrzā did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother".

Page 329, line 4, from below.

QARĀ QŪILŪ TURKS. The correct name is Qarāqoinlū. The Calcutta Chaghtaʾī Dictionary gives Qarāqūnilū. Vambéry (*History of Bokhārā*, p. 265, note) mentions

the Ustajlū, Shāmlū, Nikallū, Bahārlū, Ẕū 'l-Qadr, Kājār, and Afshār, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurāsān. Qarāqoinlū means "the black sheep tribe".

Page 332, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bayrām was defeated is Gūnāchūr, گوناچور, which lies S.E. of Jālindhar. The word کنور پهلور, which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badā,onī gives, contains "Phillaur", which lies S.W. of Gūnāchūr.

Page 342, note.

I do not think that Pīr Muḥammad came from the Sharwān mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Shirwānī Afghān.

Page 343, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 445, line 14, and p. 458, note.

Page 348, line 6, from below.

Ẕū'l-Qadr is the name of a Turkmān tribe; *vide* above.

Page 361, last line.

Gogaṇda. Regarding the correct date of the battle, *vide* p. 460, note 2.

Page 376.

Ṭoḍar Mal. The *Ma'āṣir*[u] *'l-Umarā* says that Ṭoḍar Mal was born at Lāhor. But it is now certain that Ṭoḍar Mal was born at Lāharpūr, in Audh; *vide Proceedings Asiatic Society Bengal*, September, 1871, p. 178.

Page 402, note 2.

Miyān Kāl. The note is to be cancelled. Miyān Kāl has been explained on p. 615, note

Page 404, line 4

Yūsuf Khān Regarding his death, *vide Tuzuk*, p. 328 His son ʿIzzat Khān is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, p. 302) غیرت خان His name was ʿAziz[u] 'llah; hence his title ʿ*Izzat*

Page 412, line 1.

Qāsim Khān. I dare say the phrase "Chamanārāī Khurāsān" merely means that he was Governor of Kābul.

Page 413, line 24.

Bāqī Khān. He is often called "Khān Bāqī Khān".

Page 423, line 15.

Mīr Bābūs. The spelling "Uigur" is now common, but in India the word is pronounced "Īghur". The query may be cancelled; *vide* p. 408, note 1.

Page 435, line 9.

Dastam Khān. Vambéry spells "Dostum".

Page 454, middle.

Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī. That the name of Farīd's father was Sayyid Aḥmad-i Bukhārī, may be seen from the short inscription on the "Bukhārī Mosque" in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaykh Lāḍ, at the cost of Farīd-i Bukhārī, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Farīd's Jāmiʿ Masjid in Farīdābād:—

بعهد شاه نور الدین جهانگیر   شهنشاهی بدین و داد واحسان

اساس این بنای خیر بنهاد   فرید عصر و ملت مرتضی خان

بعز وشوکت و جودو سخاوت   خلف ابن الخلف تا شاه مردان

رقم خیر البقاع از خامه سرزد   پی تاریخ این جاوید بنیان

1. *In the reign of Shāh Nūr^u 'd-Dīn, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,*

2. *Murtaẓā Khān, the unique one* (farīd) *of the age and faith, erected this religious building.*

3. *He is honoured, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men* [ʿAlī].

4. *As Tārīkh of this lasting structure, the words* Khayr^u 'l-Biqāʿ *issued from the pen.*

This gives 1014 A.H.

Page 468, middle.

Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad. He is mentioned as a Sijistānī on p. 528, among the Bakhshis.

Page 476, note 1.

Maʿṣūm Khān-i Kābulī. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bābū Rājendralāl Mitra, from Rāja Pramatha Nāth, Rāja of Dighaputi, Rājshāhī. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputi.

این مسجد رفیع در زمان سلطان الاعظم عمدة السادات ابو الفتح محمد معصوم خان خلد الله ملکه ابدا یا رب و یا باقي بناکرد خان رفیع مکان عالیشان خان محمد بن توي محمد خان قاقشال في سنه تسع و ثمانین و تسعمایة اا

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sulṭān, the chief of Sayyids, Abu 'l-Fāth Muḥammad Khān—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever. O Lord, O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khān, Khān Muḥammad, son of Tūī Muḥammad Khān Qāqshāl, in the year 989.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zī Ḥajjah, 987); *vide* p. 486.

Page 485, line 7.

Sayyid Muḥammad. Regarding the correct date of his death, *vide* p. 568.

Page 499, line 27.

Sūrat. There is every probability that Sorath, and not Sūrat, is intended.

Page 506.

THE GAKKHARS. *Vide* pp. 544, 545.

The places Pharwála and Dángali (دانگلی, not Dangáli) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakkhar District, are noticed in E. Terry's *Voyage to East India* (London, 1655, p. 88). "*Kakares*, the principal Cities are called *Dekalee* and *Purhola*; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus; it is the extremest part North under the *Mogol's* subjection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

Page 512, line 1.

YARÁQ KHÁN. The correct name is, I believe, Boráq Khán. *Vide* Vambéry's *Bokhara*, p. 153.

Page 552, middle.

KÚCH HÁJÚ. Regarding Kúch Hájú and Kúch Bihár and Mukarram Khán, *vide* my article on these countries in *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1872, p. 54.

Page 553, line 5.

GHAZNÍN KHÁN, of Jálor.

"The Pahlunpúr family is of Afghán origin, belonging to the Lohání tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihár in the reign of Humáyún. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihli; and from Akbar Sháh, in A.D. 1597, Ghaznín Khán, the chief, obtained the title of Diwán for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghán tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Láhor. In A.D. 1682, Fath Khán Diwán received the provinces of Jálor, Sánchor, Pahlunpúr, and Disah from Awrangzib. Fath Khán died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pír Khán, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamál Khán, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rathors of Márwár, was compelled, in A.D. 1698, to quit the country (Jálor), and retire with his family and dependents to Pahlunpúr, where the family has remained ever since." *Selections, Bombay Government Records*, No. XXV.—*New Series*, p. 15.

Page 591, line 27.

'ALÍ QULÍ BEG ISTAJLÚ. Vambéry spells Ustajlu, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; *vide* p. 687.

ERRATA TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE Ā'ĪN-I AKBARĪ.

Page	line	from	*for*	*read*
Page 28,	line 18	from top,	*for* Maulānā Maṣqūd	*read* Maulānā Maqṣūd.
„ 281,	„ 9	„ bottom,	„ p. 256, note	„ p. 266, note.
„ 286,	„ 3 n.	„ bottom,	„ *vide* p. 183, note 2	„ *vide* p. 192, note 3.
„ 293,	„ 1	„ top,	„ *Qur* (p. 110)	„ *Qur* (p. 116).
„ 326,	„ 17	„ bottom,	„ Mirzā Shāhurkh	„ Mīrzā Shāhrukh.
„ 333,	lines 27, 30	„ top,	„ ʿAbdu 'l-Fatḥ	„ Abu 'l-Fatḥ.
„ 390,	line 18	„ top,	„ *vide* p. 356	„ *vide* p. 383.
„ 390,	„ 14	„ bottom,	„ Bkakhar	„ Bhakkar.
„ 402,	„ 20	„ top,	„ Mandi Qāsim Khān	„ Mahdī Qāsim Khān.
„ 405,	„ 19	„ top,	„ p. 365, note 2	„ p. 394, note 1.
„ 408,	„ 7	„ top,	„ Khāwja Sulṭān ʿAlī	„ Khwāja Sulṭān ʿAlī.
„ 413,	„ 6	„ bottom,	„ p. 371, note 2	„ p. 402, note 1.
„ 449,	„ 3	„ bottom,	„ Bahā'u'l-Dīn	„ Bahā'u 'd-Dīn.
„ 506,	„ 12	„ top,	„ Jalāla Tārikī, p. 441	„ Jalāla Tārikī, p. 442.
„ 507,	„ 19	„ bottom,	„ p. 320	„ p. 336.
„ 526,	„ 18	„ top,	„ Ḥusāmn 'd-Dīn	„ Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn.
„ 532,	„ 11	„ top,	„ Tagmal	„ Jagmal.
„ 534,	„ 16	„ bottom,	„ Murābādād	„ Murādābād.
„ 539,	„ 17	„ top,	„ Dodāvarī	„ Godāvarī.
„ 542,	„ 30	„ top,	„ ʿAbū'l-Qādir	„ ʿAbdu 'l-Qādir.
„ 543,	„ 7	„ top,	„ Arjum Singh	„ Arjun Singh.
„ 543,	„ 9	„ top,	„ 246. Sakat Singh	„ 256. Sakat Singh (*vide line* 17, *p.* 551).
„ 573,	lines 5, 6	„ bottom,	„ p. 309	„ p. 321.
„ 612,	line 7	„ bottom,	„ No. 234, p. 480	„ No. 234, p. 537.
„ 614,	„ 18	„ bottom,	„ *vide* p. 172	„ *vide* p. 181.
„ 615,	„ 7	„ bottom	„ *vide* p. 159, note	„ *vide* p. 167, note.
„ 642,	„ 5 n.	„ bottom,	„ pp. 334, 528	„ pp. 354, 596.
„ 660	„ 6	„ bottom,	„ Sharīf-i Āmulī, pp. 176, 452	„ Sharīf-i Āmulī, pp. 185, 502.
„ 670,	„ 18 n.	„ bottom,	„ *isthilāl*	„ *istiklāl*.
„ 672,	„ 17	„ bottom,	„ *vide* above, p. 353	„ *vide* above, p. 376.
„ 682,	„ 17 n.	„ bottom,	„ Naẓīrī, p. 549	„ Naẓīrī, p. 649.

INDEX TO THE FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

Āʿīn-i Akbarī

[The numbers refer to the pages; n. means "footnote". When names occur twice or several times on a page, they have been entered only once in the Index.
The geographical names form a separate Index.]

INDEX
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES
IN THE FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
Ā*ĪN-I AKBARĪ

THE

Ā-ĪN-I AKBARĪ

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

'AIN-I-ĀKBARI

OF

ABUL FAZL-I-'ĀLLAMI

VOL II

A Gazetteer and administrative Manual of Akbar's Empire and past History of India.

Translated into English

By COLONEL H. S. JARRETT

Secretary and Member, Board of Examiners, Calcutta.

SECOND EDITION

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

After the lamented death of H. Blochmann on 13th July, 1878, at the early age of 40 years only, a search among his papers showed that he had not translated any portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari* beyond the first volume which the Asiatic Society of Bengal was then publishing. In fact, his careful editing of the vast text of the *Ain* had been such a laborious task, and his English version of the first volume of it was such a monument of scholarship and tireless research in annotation, that he could not have had the time to begin the translation of the second volume. The Society entrusted his unfinished work to Lt.-Col. H. S. Jarrett, who finished printing the translation of the second volume in 1891. Thus, Jarrett had at his disposal only such works of reference and learned treatises on India as were in print in 1884-1889. The authorities cited by him in his notes, as I have pointed out in the Introduction to my revised edition of the 3rd volume of his translation, have proved to be obsolete and often useless in the light of our knowledge today.

Since 1890, a complete revolution in these branches of orientology and the history of Hindu and Muslim India has been effected by the publication of Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* the *Encyclopædia of Islam,* the *Grundriss* of Buhler, Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians,* the *Cambridge History of India,* and many learned monographs on particular sovereigns and dynasties by Indian writers which touch the high-water mark of modern critical scholarship and exhaustive research.

All these authorities were unknown to Jarrett. His sole resource for the Hindu dynastic lists was Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (published in 1832) which is often based on this very *Ain-i-Akbari* and improved by reference to the mythical *Purānas* (as summarised in Wilson's translation of the *Vishnu Purāna.*) As for the Muslim rulers, he had to depend on the primitive *History of India* by Elphinstone (1841) or its source Firishta. Our reconstruction of Indo-Muslim history from inscriptions, coins and original Persian manuscripts was naturally missed by a writer of the years 1885-1889.

Therefore a mere reprint of Jarrett's translation and notes today would not do justice to the present state of Oriental scholarship and would naturally disappoint the modern reader. Thus the first task of an editor of Jarrett's translation is to correct and modernise his notes and elucidations by sweeping away his heaps of dead leaves, and giving more accurate information from the latest authorities. My second aim has been to lighten the burden of his notes, many of which are not only obsolete in information, but prolix to the point of superfluity. It is, I think, a mistake of the translator's duty to try to make a modern reader get all his ideas of Hindu philosophy, science, mythology, hagiography, and the topography and history of Muslim and Hindu India from the notes to an English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari.* The modern reader will find very much fuller and far more accurate information on these subjects in the voluminous

encyclopædias, gazetteers and standard monographs published in the present century, which are available in the libraries of learned societies.

I have also economised space and saved the reader from frequent unnecessary interruptions, by the omission of Jarrett's notes on the emendations of the printed Persian text made by him (except in a few cases of vital importance.) The numberless variant readings which encumbered the pages of his second volume have been mostly cleared away by the acceptance of the true forms in the body of the book and rejecting all those that are palpably wrong or unhelpful in solving our doubt. It is well-known to the learned world that the editing of many of the volumes in the Persian and Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series, was not done with the care and accuracy which characterise the oriental texts published in London or Paris, Leyden or Beyrut. Therefore all obvious misprints and wrong readings in the text of the *Ain* have been silently correctd in this revised edition of the translation, and many hundreds of notes of the first edition deleted.

The third volume of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is an encyclopædia of the religion, philosophy and sciences of the Hindus, preceded by the chronology and cosmography of the Muslims, as required by literary convention, for comparison with the Hindu ideas on the same subjects. The second volume was designed to serve as a Gazetteer of the Mughal Empire under Akbar. Its value lies in its minute topographical descriptions and statistics about numberless small places and its survey of the Empire's finances, trade and industry, castes and tribes.

Jarrett's translation of Volume II is weakest in this essential respect. For the more than six thousand place-names in this volume he could consult only Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (in the rather crude early edition of 1887) , but that work is quite unhelpful for the purpose of identifying the minute places mentioned in the *Ain*, and its volume of maps is on too small a scale to give the information we need. The highly useful and detailed provincial Gazetteers—such as Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer* and Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, were completed after the Eighteen-eighties, too late for Jarrett's use. Nor did he consult the quarter-inch-to the mile maps of India published by the Surveyor-General and entitled the *Indian Atlas*. These two authorities,--the provincial Gazetteers and the Survey maps—are indispensably necessary for correctly tracing the place-names in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

I have consulted these two primary works of reference and corrected Jarrett's (or Abul Fazl's) names and notes, with infinite labour, the nature of which can be understood only by comparing the list of *mahals* in a district (*sarkār*) in Jarrett's edition with the corresponding page in mine. Nine-tenths of the place-names in this book have been identified and entered in the corrected spelling in the course of my revision. This improvement of Abul Fazl's work will be completed and the nature of the gain to our knowledge of Mughal Indian topography will become evident to the modern reader, after the publication of a supplementary volume, on which Prof. Nirod Bhusan Roy is now working and which will contain a very much enlarged geographical index giving the location and exact references to mapsheets and Gazetteer-pages for each place mentioned here

and discussing the probable location or necessary emendation of the small proportion of places not satisfactorily traced by me. Very many of the mistakes in Jarrett (or rather in the printed Persian text followed by him) were due to the wrong placing or omission of dots (*nuqta*) and the well-known confusion of certain letters of the Arabic alphabet by our copyists. These I have silently corrected.

The chapter on the subah of Kashmir, which was the most confused and wrongly spelt in this volume,—has been revised throughout by Professor Nirod Bhusan Roy, on the basis of Stein's *Memoir* and *Chronicle of the Kings* and the official *Gazetteer* (by Bates). But the necessary changes are so many that the new information has been lumped together at the end, instead of being distributed in countless footnotes on the respective pages, and the useless notes and extracts of the first edition have been omitted.

I am deeply obliged to Prof. N. B. Roy for the care and persistence with which he has assisted me in this work of revision and performed the exacting task of reading the proofs (up to p. 192) of such a difficult book. A special word of thanks is due to the Sri Gouranga Press, which has patiently and efficiently done the rather exasperating work of printing this volume from a copy of the first edition, whose rotten paper crumbled at the touch, and on which my ink corrections had made the text even less readable than before. The sight of this press copy had scared away two first-rate printing establishments in Calcutta to whom it was previously offered, and the acceptance of the work of printing it was really a favour shown to the Society and to learning, by the Sri Gouranga Press. For my appreciation of the manner in which, on the whole, Jarrett completed a stupendous task, I refer the reader to my Introduction to the Translation of the Third Volume of the *Ain*, 2nd edition.

The absence of uniformity in the transliteration of oriental words in the Roman alphabet, is explained by the facts, (1) that Jarrett himself did not follow one uniform system throughout the first edition printed by him, (2) that the rotten paper of the single copy of this first edition which was given to me for preparing my press-copy, made it impossible for me to erase wrong marks and insert the latest-current signs in most places, and (3) that the typing of the entire book and the insertion of diacritical marks uniformly according to the system at present followed by the Society, could not be carried out for financial reasons. In short, this edition had to be printed in the rough practical form that I have given to it, or not at all. But two little hints may be given here: in the unchanged portions of Jarrett's work the inverted comma stands for the letter *ālipk* (in names like—*ud-din*), while in my portion it stands for the letter *'ain*; and the mark over the long *A* (capital) could not be inserted owing to some technical difficulty in linotype composition.

Calcutta,
30th December, 1949.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

EXTRACTS FROM JARRETT'S PREFACE

Whatever the verdict of those competent from linguistic knowledge and acquaintance with the abrupt, close and enigmatic style of the original to judge of the merits of my translation, no pains at least have been spared to render it a faithful counterpart consistently with a clearness of statement which the text does not everywhere show. The peculiar tone and spirit of Abul Fazl are difficult to catch and to sustain in a foreign tongue. His style, in my opinion, is not deserving of imitation even in his own. His merits as a writer have, in general, been greatly exaggerated. Omitting the contemporary and interesting memoirs of Al Badãoni, whose scathing comments on the deeds and motives of king and minister have an independent value of their own, the accident that Abul Fazl's works form the most complete and authoritative history of the events of Akbar's reign, has given them a great and peculiar importance as state records. This they eminently deserve, but as exemplars of style, in comparison with the immutable types of excellence fixed for ever by Greece and Rome, they have no place. His unique position in Akbar's court and service enhanced the reputation of all that he wrote, and his great industry in a position which secured wealth and invited indolence, fully merited the admiration of his countrymen. Regarded as a statistician, no details from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pine-apple, from the organisation of an army and the grades and duties of the nobility to the shape of a candlestick and the price of a curry-comb, are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation: as an annalist, the movements and conduct of his sovereign are surrounded with the impeccability that fences and deifies Oriental despotism, and chronicled with none of the skill and power, and more than the flattery of Velleius Paterculus: as a finished diplomatist, his letters to recalcitrant generals and rebellious viceroys are Eastern models of astute persuasion, veiling threats with compliments, and insinuating rewards and promises without committing his master to their fulfilment. But these epistles which form one of his monuments to fame, consist of interminable sentences involved in frequent parentheses difficult to unravel, and paralleled in the West only by the decadence of taste, soaring in prose, as Gibbon justly remarks, to the vicious affectation of poetry, and in poetry sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose, which characterizes Byzantine eloquence in the tenth century. A similar affectation, and probably its prototype, is to be found in the most approved Arab masters of florid composition of the same epoch, held by Ibn Khallikan's crude and undisciplined criticism to be the perfection of art, and which still remains in Hindustan the ideal of every aspiring scribe.

His annals have none of the pregnant meaning and point that in a few masterly strokes, exalt or brand a name to all time, and flash the actors of his drama across the living page in scenes that dwell for ever in the memory. The history of nearly forty-six years of his master's reign contains not a line that lives in household words

among his own countrymen, not a beautiful image that the mind delights to recall, not a description that rises to great power or pathos, nor the unconscious simplicity redeeming its wearisome length which lends such a charm to Herodotus, and which in the very exordium of Thucydides, in Lucian's happy phrase, breathes the fragrance of Attic thyme. His narrative affects a quaint and stiff phraseology which renders it often obscure, and continues in an even monotone, never rising or falling save in reference to the Emperor whose lightest mention compels the adoring prostration of his pen, and round whom the world of his characters and events revolves as its central sun. Whatever its merit as a faithful representation, in a restricted sense, of a reign in which he was a capable and distinguished actor, it lacks the interesting details and portraiture of the life and manners of the nation which are commonly thought to be below the dignity of history but which brighten the pages of Eastern historians less celebrated than himself, and are necessary to the light and shade of a perfect picture.

His statistical and geographical survey of the empire which this volume comprises is a laborious though somewhat lifeless compilation, of the first importance indeed as a record of a past and almost forgotten administration to guide and instruct the historian of the future or the statesman of to-day, but uninformed by deductive comment and illustration which might relieve the long array of bald detail. His historical summaries of dynasties and events in the various Subahs under their ancient autonomous rule, are incoherent abridgements, often so obscurely phrased as not to be understood without a previous knowledge of the events to which they relate and his meaning is rather to be conjectured than elicited from the grammatical analysis of his sentences. The sources from which he drew his information are never acknowledged. This of itself would have been of no moment and their indication might perhaps have disturbed the unity of his design had he otherwise so incorporated the labours of others with his own as to stamp the whole with the impress of originality, but he not seldom extracts passages word for word from other authors undeterred by the fear or heedless of the charge, of plagiarism.

Such, in my opinion, is the reverse of the medal which represents Abul Fazl as unrivalled as a writer and beyond the reach of imitation. The fashion of exaggerating the importance and merits of a subject or an author by those who make them their special study, especially when that study lies outside the common track of letters, inevitably brings its own retribution and ends by casting general discredit on what in its place and of its kind has its due share of honour or utility. The merit and the only merit of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is in what it tells and not in the manner of its telling which has little to recommend it. It will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation of the systems of administration and control throughout the various departments of Government in a great empire, faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources, condition, population, industry and wealth as the abundant material supplied from official sources could furnish. This in itself is praise and fortune of no common order and it needs not the fictitious ascription of

unparalleled powers of historiography in its support. The value of the *Ain* in this regard has been universally acknowledged by European scholars and it may not be out of place to quote here the opinion* of the learned Reinaud on this work in his 1st vol. of the *Geographie d' Abulfeda*, as it accurately represents its nature and worth and the style and quality of its literary composition. He writes:—

"Muslim India offers us, at the commencement of the 17th century, a work of compilation, which is of great interest for geography; it is a Persian treatise composed by Abul Fazl, the minister of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and entitled the *Ain-i-Akbari* or the Institutes of Akbar. . . .'. The empire founded in India by Babur, had attained, under the reign of Akbar, a great extension, and stretched from Afghanistan up to the head of the Gulf of Bengal, from the Himalaya up to the Deccan. Due to the excellent government established by Akbar, the provinces, long ravaged by intestine wars, had acquired a new shape. On the other hand, the liberal views of the Emperor and of his ministers, had nothing in common with the narrow and exclusive spirit which characterises Islam, and they had caused to be translated into Persian the best works of Sanskrit literature. Abul Fazl, putting himself at the head of a body of scholars, undertook a geographical, physical and historical description of the empire, accompanied by statistical tables. Each of the sixteen *subahs* or Governments of which the Mughal empire was then composed, is there described with minute exactitude; the geographical and relative situation of the cities and boroughs (market towns, *qasba*) is there indicated; the enumeration of the natural and industrial products is carefully traced there; as also the names of the princes, both Hindu and Musalman, to whom the *subah* had been subject before its inclusion in the empire. We next find an exhibition of the military condition of the empire and an enumeration of those who formed the household of the sovereign, &c. The work ends in a summary, made in general from indigenous sources, of the Brahmanic religion, of the diverse systems of Hindu philosophy, &c.

The author, by the pursuit of a misplaced erudition has accomplished the style of the ancient Persian authors; it is often difficult to understand it. In 1783, Francis Gladwin, encouraged by the Governor-General Hastings, published an abridged English version of the work. (He then condemns Gladwin's defects,—inaccuracy, confusion, and 'horrible alteration' of indigenous, particularly Sanskrit, words in transcribing them in the Arabic Alphabet, and calls for a new edition as a very useful service to students.)

In the table of the names of places confusion exists in the original text. Evidently, the person who in that early age was charged with the drawing up of the table had little knowledge of geography."

H. S. JARRETT.

Calcutta,
1891

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* Translated from French into English by J. Sarkar for the second edition.

CONTENTS

BOOK THIRD

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

Since somewhat of the recent imperial institutions regulating the Army and the Household have been set down, I shall now record the excellent ordinances of that sagacious intellect that energizes the world.

'A IN 1

THE DIVINE ERA

The connection of monetary transactions without fixity of date would slip from the grasp, and through forgetfulness and falsehood raise a tumult of strife; for this reason every community devises a remedy and fixes an epoch. Since thought fosters well-being and is an aid to facility (*of action*), to displace obsolete chronology and establish a new usage is a necessity of government. For this reason, the prince regent on the throne of felicity in the 29th year of the *Ilāhi* Divine Era,[1] for the purpose of refreshing that pleasure-ground of dominion and revenue, directed its irrigation and rendered blooming and lush the palace-garden of the State.

Compassing events within a determinate time, the Persian calls *māhroz* (date); the Arab has converted this into *mu'arrakh* (*chronicled*), and thence "*tārikh* (*date*) is a household word. Some derive the Arabic from *irākh*, a wild bull.[2] This conjugation of the measure of *tafa'il* means, to polish. As ignorance of the time of an event grew less, it

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[1] *Akbarnāmah* (Beveridge's trans), iii. 644; this era was introduced at the beginning of the 29th regnal year, 8 Rabi A. 992=10th March 1584.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Supplement, p. 230: "The root of the word *tārikh* (meaning era, date) is *w-r-kh*, common to the Semitic languages, which we find for example in the Hebrew *yerah*, month.... The survival of a tradition in al-Biruni is interesting; according to this, the word is an arabisation of the Persian *māhruz*; here again there is the vague consciousness that the word has something to do with fixing the beginning of the month. al-Khwarizmi in his *Mafātih al-'Ulum* expressly states that this tradition is to be rejected." Abul Fazl's etymology is sometimes as bad as his geography. [T. S.]

became distinguished by this name. Some assert that it is transposed from '*tākhir* which is referring a late period to an antecedent age. Others understand it to be a limit of time wherein an event determines. They say "such a one is the *tārikh* of his tribe," that is, from whom dates the nobility of his line. It is commonly understood to be a definite day to which subsequent time is referred and which constitutes an epoch. On this account they choose a day distinguished by some remarkable event,[3] such as the birth of a sect, a royal accession, a flood or an earthquake. By considerable labour and the aid of fortune, by constant divine worship and the observance of times, by illumination of the understanding and felicity of destiny, by the gathering together of far-seeing intelligences and by varied knowledge especially in the exact sciences and the Almighty favour, observatories were built: wonderful upper and lower rooms with diversity of window and stair arose on elevated sites little affected by dust.

By this means and with the aid of instruments such as the armillary sphere and others double-limbed and bi-tubular,[4] and the quadrant of altitude,[5] the astrolabe, the globe and others, the face of astronomy was illumined and the computation of the heavens, the position of the stars, the extent of their orbits in length and breadth, their distance from each other and from the earth, the comparative magnitude of the heavenly bodies and the like were ascertained. So great a work without the daily increasing auspiciousness of a just monarch and his abundant solicitude, is not to be accomplished. The gathering together of learned men of liberal minds is not achievable simply by means of ample

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[3] This passage is so strikingly similar to the opening of the 3rd chapter of Al Biruni's *Athār ul Bāqiya* that it can scarcely be accidental. There is nothing to hinder the supposition that Abul Fazl was acquainted with that writer's works and not a little indebted to him. [H. S. J.]

[4] I cannot determine accurately what these may be. It is possible that the first may be the *skaphium* of Aristarchus which was a gnomon, the shadow of which was received on a concave hemispherical surface, having the extremity of its style at the centre, so that angles might be measured directly by arcs instead of the tangents. The second may refer to the invention of Archimedes to ascertain the apparent diameter of the sun by an apparatus of double cylinders. There was another, too, of Aristarchus to find the distance of the sun by measuring the angle of elongation of the moon when dichotomized. The *kitab ul Fihrist* mentions only the astrolabe and the armillary sphere, p. 284. Sedillot (*Prologomenes des Tables Astron. d'Olong Beg*) speaks of a "gnomon à trou" used by Nasiruddin Tusi.

[5] So I venture to interpret the term. Dozy (Supplem. *Dict. Arab.*) quotes Berbrugger on this word "*Ruba'a-el-moudjib*, le quart de cercle horodictique, instrument d'une grande simplicite dont on fait usage pour connaitre l'heure par la hauteur du soleil." *Moudjib* should be "*mujayyab*'.

wealth, and the philosophic treatises of the past and the institutions of the ancients cannot be secured without the most strenuous endeavours of the sovereign. With all this, thirty years are needed to observe a single revolution of the seven planets.[6] The longer the period and the greater the care bestowed upon a task, the more perfect its completion.

In this time-worn world of affliction Divine Providence has vouchsafed its aid to many who have attained considerable renown in these constructions, such as Archimedes, Aristarchus and Hipparchus in Egypt, from whose time to the present, the 40th year of the divine era, 1769 years have elapsed;[7] such as Ptolemy in Alexandria who flourished some 1410 years ago; as the Caliph Māmun in Baghdad, 790 years past, and Sind[8] bin 'Ali and Khālid[9] bin 'Abdul Malik al Marwazi 764 years since at Damascus. Hākim and Ibn[10] Aa'lam also laid the foundations of an observatory at Baghdad which remained unfinished, 712 years, and Battāni[11] at Raqqa 654 years previous to this time. Three

[6] The ancients gave the name of *planets* to the five planets visible to the naked eye, and the sun and moon. The names of the five—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn first occur in the cosmical scheme of Philolaus. (Lewis. *Astron. of the Ancients*) The thirty years must refer to that planet of the seven occupying the longest period in its revolution, namely, Saturn which was the most remote then known. It takes 29 years and 5½ months (very nearly) to return to the same place among the fixed stars, whether the centre of motion be the Sun or the Earth.

[7] It is needless to say that all these figures are very inexact. Archimedes flourished 287-212 B.C., Aristarchus somewhere about 280-264 B.C. and Hipparchus is placed by Suidas at from B.C 160 to 145, and yet they are all bracketed together. The date of Ptolemy, illustrious as he is as a mathematician, astronomer and geographer, is uncertain. He observed at Alexandria, A.D. 139 and was alive in A.D. 161. Mamun succeeded to the Caliphate on the 24th September 813. He caused all Greek works that he could procure to be translated, and in particular the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. *Almagest* is a compound of the Greek with a prefix of the Arabic article. (*Encycl. Metropolitana*. Art. Astron.)

[8] *Abu Tayyib Sind-b-'Ali* was a Jew converted to Islam in the Caliphate of Māmun and was appointed his astronomer and superintendent of observatories.

[9] *Khalid-b-'Abdul Malik*, A.H. 217 (832) a native of Merv. He is included among three astronomers who first among the Arabs, instituted observations from the Shammāsiyah observatory at Baghdad

[10] *Ibn ul 'A'a'lam* A.H. 375 (A.D. 985), stood in great credit with Adhad ud daulah, but finding himself in less estimation with his son Shamsud Daulah, he left the court but returned to Baghdad a year before his death. His astronomical tables were celebrated not only in his own time but by later astronomers.

[11] *Muhammad b. Jābir al Battani* (Albatenius), a native of Harrān and inhabitant of Raqqa. His observations were begun in A.H. 264 (A.D. 877-8) and he continued them till A.H. 306 *Ency. Islam*, i. 680, "one of the greatest of Arab astronomers," (where details about his writings and achievement); he died in 317 A.H. He was surnamed the Ptolemy of the Arabs. He corrected the determination of Ptolemy respecting the motion of the stars in longitude, ascertaining it to be one degree in 70 instead of 100 years; modern observations make it one degree in 72 years. He also determined very exactly the eccentricity of the ecliptic and corrected the

hundred and sixty-two solar years have passed since Khwājah[12] Nasir of Tus built another at Murāgha near Tabriz and 155 is the age of that of Mirzā Ulugh Beg[13] in Samarqand.

Rasad signifies 'watching' in the Arabic tongue and the watchers, therefore, are a body who, in a specially-adapted edifice, observe the movements of the stars and study their aspects. The results of their investigations and their discoveries regarding these sublime mysteries are tabulated and reduced to writing. This is called an astronomical table (*zij*). This word is an Arabicized form of the Persian, *zik* which means the threads that guide the embroiderers in weaving brocaded stuffs. In the same way an astronomical table is a guide to the astronomer in recognising the conditions of the heavens, and the linear extensions and columns, in length and breadth, resemble these threads. It is said to be the Arabic rendering of *zih* from the frequent necessity of its use, which the intelligent will understand. Some maintain it to be Persian, signi-

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length of the year, making it consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 46 minutes, 24 seconds, which is about 2 minutes short of but 4 minutes nearer the truth than had been given by Ptolemy. He also discovered the motion of the apogee.

[12] *Nasiru'ddin* is the surname of Abu Ja'far Md. b. Muhammad-b-Hasan or Ibn Muhammad at Tusi, often simply called Khwājah Nasiru'ddin (A.H. 597-672). Hulāku the Tartar chief placed him at the head of the philosophers and astronomers whom his clemency had spared in the sack of Moslem towns, and gave him the administration of all the colleges in his acquired dominions. The town of Marāgha in Azarbayjān was assigned to him and he was ordered to prepare the astronomical tables which were termed Imperial (Elkhān). [*Enc. Islam*, iv. 980, under al-Tusi.]

[13] Ulugh Beg, (name Muhammad Turghāi) born 1393, died 1449 A.D., was the son of Shah Rukh and grandson of Tamerlane. In 810 he possessed the government of some provinces of Khorasān and Mazanderān and in 812, that of Tarkistān and Transoxania. He, however, quickly abandoned politics and devoted himself passionately to his favourite studies. He desired that his tables should be scrupulously exact and procured the best instruments then available. These at this period, were of extraordinary size. The obliquity of the ecliptic was observed in A.D. 995 with a quadrant of 15 cubits' radius (21 feet 8 inches). The sextant of Abu Muhammed al Khojandi used in 992 had a radius of 40 cubits (57 feet 9 inches). The quadrant used by Ulugh Beg to determine the elevation of the pole at Samarqand, was as high as the summit of St. Sophia at Constantinople (about 180 feet). The astronomical tables were first published in A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437). The ancient astronomy had produced only one catalogue of the fixed stars, that of Hipparchus. Ulugh Beg, after an interval of sixteen centuries, produced the second. His observatory at Samarqand (begun in 1428 under the architect Ali Qushji), in its day was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. He corrected Ptolemy's computations and compiled the *Zij-i-Jadid Sultāni*. These tables became celebrated in Europe—trans. by Hyde in 1665, by Sedillot (prolegomena only) in 1847, and by Knobel in 1917." With him the period of astronomical works in the East finishes." [*Ency. Islam*, iv. 994-996.]

For the compilation of Astronomical Tables by Muslims (*zij*), see *Enc. Islam*, i. 408.

fying a mason's rule, and as he, through its instrumentality determines the evenness of a building, so an astronomer aims at accuracy by means of this astronomical table.

Many men have left such compilations to chronicle their fame. Among these are the Canons of.

1. MĀJUR THE TURK.

There are two of this family whom Sedillot terms the Benou Amajour. Hammer-Purgstall makes them the same person but adds another name Abul Qāsim 'Abdullah. According to him, they were brothers, and the former was the author of the Canon called al Bedia or "the Wonderful;" the latter of works on other astronomical tables with disputed titles. He appears to quote from the Fihrist and from Casiri who borrows from Ibn Jounis, but the Fihrist distinctly states that Abu'l Hasan was the son not the brother of Ali b. Amajur. Ibn Jounis speaks of Abul Qāsim also, and as a native of Herat. The Benou Amajur were astronomers of repute and made their observations between the years 885-933, leading the way to important discoveries. (Sed p. xxxv *et seq*).

2. HIPPARCHUS.
3. PTOLEMY.
4. PYTHAGORAS.
5. ZOROASTER.
6. THEON OF ALEXANDRIA.
7. SĀMĀT THE GREEK.

Another reading is Sâbat but I cannot recognize nor trace the name satisfactorily. The epithet *Yunāni* inclines me to believe the name to be that of a Greek astronomer in Islamic times.

8. THĀBIT-b-QURRAH b Hārun was a native of Harrān, of the Sabean sect, and rose to eminence in medicine, mathematics and philosophy, born A. H. 221 (A.D. 836), died in A. H. 288 (A.D. 901). He was much favoured by the Caliph al Mutadhid who kept him at Court as an astrologer. He wrote on the Spherics of Theodosius, and retranslated Euclid already turned into Arabic by Hunain-b-Ishāq al Ibādi. He was also author of a work in Syriac on the Sabean doctrines and the customs and ceremonies of their adherents. Ibn Khall. D'Herb. Sedillot. p. xxv *et seq*. For a list of his works, see the Fihrist, p. 272.

9. HUSĀM b. SINAN (var. Shabān.)

I believe the first name to be an error. The Fihrist mentions a son of Sinan with the patronymic Abul Hasan who is no doubt here meant. He was grandson of Thābit-b-Qurrah, and named also Thābit according to D'Herb. as well as Abul Hasan after his grandfather. (Sedillot). Equally proficient in astronomy with his grandfather, he was also a celebrated physician and practised in Baghdad. He wrote a history of his own time from about A.H. 290 to his death in 360. Abul Faraj speaks of it as an excellent work. See also Ibn Khall. De Slane. Vol. II. p. 289 and note 7. His father Sinān the son of Thābit-b-Quarrah, died at Baghdad A.H. 331. They were both Harranians, the last representatives of ancient Greek learning through whom Greek sciences were communicated to the illiterate Arabs.

Sinān made a collection of meteorological observations called the Kitāb ul anwā, compiled from ancient sources, incorporated by Albiruni in his Chronology, and thereby preserved to us the most complete Parapegma of the ancient Greek world. See Albiruni, *Chronol,* Sachau's Transl. p. 427 n.

10. Thābit-b-Musa.

I can find no such name. The Fihrist gives Thābit-b-Ahusa, head of the Sabean sect in Harrān.

11. Muhammad-b-Jabir al Battānī. See p. 3, note 11.

12. Ahmad-b-'Abdullah Jabā.

Jaba is a copyist's error for Habsh. He was one of Al Māmun's astronomers, and distinguished by the title of Al Hāsib or the Reckoner. He was employed by Māmun at Sinjar to observe the obliquity of the Ecliptic and to test the measurements of geometrical degrees. He compiled a set of tables by the Caliph's order. Ham. Purg. B. III, p. 260. Abul Faraj (ed. 1663, p. 247) says that he was the author of three Canons ; the first modelled on the Sindhind, the second termed Mumtahan or Proven (after his return from his observations) and the third the Lesser Canon, known as the 'Shāh'.

13. Abu Rayhān.

Abu Rayhān-Muhammad-b-Ahmad Albiruni, born 362 A. H. (A. D. 973), d. 440. (Ar. D. 1048). For further particulars I refer the reader to Sachau's preface to the *Indica* and the *Chronology* of this famous savant.

14. Khālid-b-'Abdul Malik. See p. 3, note 9.

15. Yahya-b-Mansur.

More correctly Yahya-b-Abi Mansur, was one of Al Mamun's most famous astronomers. Abul Faraj (p. 248), says that he was appointed by that Caliph to the Shammāsiyah observatory at Baghdad and to that of Mount Qāsiun at Damascus. The Fihrist gives a list of his works (p. 275) and (p. 143) his genealogy and descendants who appear to have shared and augmented their father's fame. He died about 833, (A. H. 218) in Māmun's expedition to Tarsus and was buried at Aleppo. *Enc. Islam,* iv. 1150.

16. Hāmid Marwarudi.

This is doubtless, Abu Hāmid, Ahmad-b-Muhammad as Sāghāni. Sāghān is a town near Marw. Ibn Khallikān's derivation of Marwarrud will explain the difference in the titular adjectives of place. I transcribe De Slane, V. I, p. 50. "*Marwarrudi* means *native of Marwarrud,* a well known city in Khorāsān, built on a river, in Persian *ar-rud,* and situated 40 parasangs from Marw as Shāhjān ; these are the *two Marws* so frequently mentioned by poets : the word Shāhjān is added to the name of the larger one from which also is derived the relative adjective *Marwazi ;* the word rud is joined to that of the other city in order to distinguish between them. *Marwarud* has for relative adjective Marwarrudi and *Marwazi,* also, according to as Samāni." Shāhjān is, of course, Sāghān. Abu Hāmid was one of the first geometricians and astronomers of his time (d. 379, A. H. 898), and a maker of astrolabes at Baghdad and was employed to certify the correctness of the royal astronomical reports. Ham Purg. B. V. 313.

17. MUGHITHI. Perhaps, Mughni tabulae astronomicae sufficientes, mentioned by Hāji Khalifa, p. 568, Art. Zich.

18. SHARQI. (Var. Sharfi.) probably Abul Qāsim as Saraqi of whom Casiri writes. 'Abulcassam Alsaraki Aractensis (of Raqqa), Atrologiæ judiciariæ et astronomiæ doctrina, uti etiam Tabularum et Spheræ peritia haud ignobilis, inter familiares atque intimos Saifeldaulati Ali-ben-Abdalla-ben Hamdan, per ea tempora Regis, habitus est, quibuscumque Sermones Academicos frequens conferebat (Saifeldaulatus Syriæ Rex, anno Egiræ 356 obiit. (Sedillot, p. xlviii.)

19. ABUL WAFĀ-NURHĀNI. An error for Buzjāni. Buzjān is a small town in the Nisābur district in the direction of Herāt. He was born A. H. 328 (939) d. 388 (998). In his 20th year he settled in Irāq. A list of his works will be found in the Fihrist, p. 283. Ham. Purg. B. V. 306. His Canon was termed "as Shāmil." His most important work was the Almagest, which contains the formulas of tangents and secants employed by Arab geometricians in the same manner as in trigonometrical calculations of the present day. In the time of Al Battāni, sines were substituted for chords. By the introduction of tangents he simplified and shortened the expression of circular ratios. His anticipation of the discoveries of Tycho Brahe, may be seen in Sed. p. ix. *Enc. Isl*, i. 133, s.v. *Abu-l-Wafa*.

20. THE JAMI'. (Plura continens)
21. THE BALIGH (Summum attingens) } Kyahushyar.
22. THE 'ADHADI.

Kushyār-b-Kenān al Hanbali, wrote three Canons, according to Hāji Khalifa. Two were the *Jāmi'* and the *Sāli'* (Bāligh is however confirmed by D'Herbelot, art. *Zigi*. These works were on stellar computations, on almanacs the motions of the heavenly bodies and their number, supported by geometrical proofs. His compendium (mujmal) summarises their contents (p. 564) The *Jāmi'* is again mentioned lower down as a work in 85 chapters applied by the author to rectify or elucidate the Persian era. He added to it a supplement in illustration of each chapter of the *Jāmi'*. The third Canon is called simply *Zij Kushyar* translated into Persian by Md-b-'Umar-b-Abi Tālib at Tabrizi. This was probably dedicated to Adhad ud Daulah Alp Arslan, lord of Khorāsān, who had condescended to accept this title from his creature the feeble Qāim bi amri llāh at Baghdad. Hence, I conjecture, the name Adhadi.

23. SULAYMĀN-b-MUHAMMAD. Untraceable. This name does not occur in one of the MSS. of the Ain.

24. ABU HĀMID ANSĀRI.

The only descendant of the Ansārs that I can find among the astronomers is Ibn us Shatir. d. 777 A. H. (1375); the name was Alāuddin, patronymic not given See Haj. Khal. pp. 557, 566. It is possible that the celebrated Abu Hāmid al Ghazzāli may be meant

25 SAFĀIH. Evidently the name of a Canon and not of its author.

26. ABUL FARAH SHIRĀZI.

27. MAJMUA'. Apparently the name of a Canon mentioned by Hāji Khalifa, auctore Ibn Shari', collecta de astrologia judiciaria.

28. MUKHTĀR auct. Shaikh Abu Mansur Sulaiman b. al Hussain-b-Bardowaih. Another work of the same name (Dilectus e libris

electionis dierum, astrologicæ) was composed by the physician Abu Nasr Yahya b. Jarir at Takriti for Sadid ud Daulah Abul Ghanāim Karim.

29. ABUL HASAN TUSI. This name occurs in the Fihrist (p. 71) as that of a scholar learned in tribal history and poetry. A son of the same name is mentioned as a distinguished doctor, but there is no notice of his astronomical knowledge.

30. AHMAD-b-ISHĀQ SARAKHSI.

The name of Ishāq does not occur in the genealogy of any Sarakhsi that I can discover. The text probably refers to Ahmad-b-Md. b. at Tayyib, the well known preceptor of the Caliph al Muatadhid by whom he was put to death in A. H. 286 (899) for revealing his pupil's confidences. D'Herb. states that he wrote on the *Eisagaege* of Porphirius, and Albiruni (Chronology) mentions him as an astrologer and cites a prophecy of his where he speaks of the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer.

31. GHARĀRI. Probably Al Fazāri. Abu Ishāq Ibrahim-b-Habib the earliest maker of astrolabes among the Arabs, who was the author of a canon and several astronomical works. Fihrist, p. 273, date not given.

32. AL HĀRUNI.

It is difficult in such bald mention of names, where so many are alike, to be sure of the correctness of allusion. This is, probably, Hārun-b-al Munajjim, an astrologer, native of Baghdad and an accomplished scholar. His great grandfather was astrologer to the Caliph al-Mansur and his son Yahya served al Fadhl-b-Sahl in the same capacity, died A. H. 288 (901). Ibn Khall. IV, p. 605.

33. ADWĀR I KIRĀIN (Cycles of conjunctions) the name of a Canon whose author I cannot discover.

34. YAKUB-b-TĀUS.

I may safely hazard the emendation Tariq for Tāus. This astronomer is mentioned by Albiruni. Ham. Purg. gives his date A. H. 218 (833) and a list of his works apparently copied from the Fihrist, p. 278.

35. KHWĀRAZMI.

Muhammad-b-Musa, by command of al Māmun, compiled an abridgement of the Sindhind (*Siddhānta*) ; better known as a mathematician than as astronomer—see Sedillot, I. xvi. He was the author of a Canon according to the Fihrist, p. 274. *Enc. Isl.* ii. 912.

36. YUSUFI. The secretary of Al Māmun, Abut Tayyib-b-'Abdillah is the only name I discover in this relative form. The Fihrist, (p. 123) mentions no astronomical works of his. Perhaps, Yusuf-b-Ali Thaita (1043) or Ibn Yusuf al Massisi may be meant : the text is too vague to determine accurately.

37. WĀFI—the work of Ulugh Beg "fi *Mawāh* ul āamāl un Najumiya" (de transtitibus operationum astronomicarum) is the only title approaching that of the text that I discover.

38. JAUZHARAYN—Jauzhar the Arabic form of Gauzhar, is the head and tail of Draco. The two points in the Ecliptic which mark its intersection by the orbit of a planet in ascent and descent, are called its Nodes or two Jauzhars—(Istilābāt ul Funon.) There is a Canon called *Fi Maqawām al Juzhar* de motu vero capitis et caudæ draconis, by Shaikh Ibn ul Qādir al Barallusi—see Haj-Khall, p. 561,

39. SAMA'ĀNI. D'Herbelot mentions under this surname Abu Saad Abdul Karim Muhammad, the author of a work on Mathematics entitled *Adāb fi istimāl il Hisāb*. A. H. 506—62. The Fihrist p. 244, records another Samaān as a commentator on the Canon of Ptolemy, and a third Ibn Samaān, the slave of Abu Mashar, and author of an astronomical work.

40. IBN SAHRA.

The variants of this name suggest its doubtful orthography. Ibn Abi Sahari is mentioned by Ham. Purg. as an astrologer of Baghdad whose predictions were fortunate. He lived in the latter half of the century, 132—232, (749—846) the most brilliant period in the annals of Arab literature.

41. ABUL FADHL MĀSHALLAH, incorrectly Māshada in the text. —Born in Al Mansur's reign, he lived to that of Al Māmun. His name "What God wills" is simply a rendering of the Hebrew Mischa. The Fihrist calls him Ibn Athra and notes his voluminous writings, copied by Ham, Purg. B. III. 257.

42. 'AĀSIMI—untraceable.

43. KABIR OF ABU MA'SHAR—a native of Balkh, a contemporary and envious rival of Al Kindi.—At first a traditionist, he did not begin the study of astronomy till after the age of 47. He died at Wāsit exceeding the age of 100, A. H. 272, (885)—An astronomer and astrologer of great renown. In the latter capacity, he paid the penalty of success in a prediction by receiving a flogging at the command of Al Musta'in ; upon which his epigram is recorded. "I hit and got hit." Thirty-three of his works are named in the Fihrist, p. 277. He was known in Europe as Albumaser and his works translated into Latin, see Sachau's Albiruni (Chronol.) p. 375,—also Haj. Khal. art. zij.

44. SIND-b-'ALI. See note p. 3.

45. IBN AĀLAM. See note p. 3.

46. SHAHRYĀRĀN.

This Canon occurs in Albiruni (*Chronol.*) with the addition of the word Shāh.—Sachau confesses his ignorance of it. Haj. Khal. gives a Canon called Shahryar which is well-known—translated into Arabic by At Tamimi from the Persian. Fihrist, 244. v. also Sachau's preface to Albiruni's *India*, p. xxx.

47. ARKAND.—In Albiruni called "the days of Arkand." The more correct form according to Reinaud, *Memoire sur l Inde*, p. 322, would be the Sanskrit *Ahargana*—See Sachau's note p. 375 of Albiruni's *Chronol.* from which I quote.

Albiruni made a new edition of the Days of Arkand, putting into clearer words and more idiomatic Arabic, the then existing translation which followed too closely the Sanskrit original.

48. IBN SUFI.

Al Shaikh Md b. Abil Fath as Sufi al Misri wrote an epitome of the Canon of Ulugh Beg with additional tables and notes. It was with reference to this epitome that the work of Al Baralkui, *Bihjat ul Fakr fi Hall is Shams W'āl Qamr* was written, of which the Jauzhar, one of its three parts, is alluded to in 38.

49. SEHALĀN KĀSHI.

Sehelān, Sehilān or Ibn Sehilān according to D'Herbelot was the name of the Minister of Sultān ud Daulah of the Buyide family, whose enmity with his brother Mushrafud Deulah was due to the policy or personal feeling of that statesman. A canon might have been published under his patronage and name.

50. AHWĀZI. D'Herbelot alludes to several authors under this name ; one a commentator on Euclid. The Fihrist names Md-b-Ishāq al Ahwazi, without date. He appears to have written on agriculture and architecture.

51. THE 'URUS OF ABU JAFAR BUSHANJI.

Bushanj, according to Yaqut (*Mujam il Buldān*) is a small town about 40 miles from Herat, which has given birth to some eminent scholars, but I can find no astronomer among them.

52. ABUL FATH—Shaikh Abul Fath as Sufi who amended the tables termed Samarqandi. Haji Khal, 566, III.

53. A'KKAH RĀHIBI—untraçeable.

54. MASAUDI.—The *Canon Masudicus* is extant in 4 good copies in European libraries, and waits for the combination of two scholars, an astronomer and an Arabic philologist, for the purpose of an addition and translation, v. Sachau, pref. to Alberuni's *India*, p. xvi. *Enc. Islam,* iii. 403.

55. MUATABAR OF SANJARI. The surname of Abul Fath Abdur Rahman, called the treasurer ; he was a slave of Greek origin, in the service of A'li al Khāzin al Marwazi and much in his favour. On the completion of his Canon, the Sultan Sanjar sent him a thousand dinars which he returned. Haj. Khal. III. 564.

56. WAJIZ-I-MUATABAR is doubtless, as its name imports, an epitome of the foregoing.

57. AHMAD ABDUL JALIL SANJARI, author of two treatises on stellar influences. D'Herbelot mentions him as an astrologer of note, but adds no particulars.

58. MUHAMMAD HASIB TABARI.
Untraceable.

59. 'ADANI.
60. TAYLASĀNI.
61. ASĀBAI.
62. KIRMĀNI.

These are names of tables which I do not find mentioned. By the term Taylasān is meant a paradigm showing astronomical calculations, in the shape of half an oblong quadrangular field divided by a diagonal. It is named after the form of the Scarf (Taylasān) worn by learned men in the East. A model will be found in Albiruni's Chronology. (Sachau), p. 133.

63. SULTAN 'ALI KHWĀRAZMI. Ali, Shah-b-Md-b-il Qāsim commonly known as 'Alāuddin Al Khwārazmi, the author of a Canon called *Shāhi*—the royal ; also of a Persian epitome from the Elkhāni Tables, called the *Umdat ul Elkhāniya*. Haj. Khal. p. 565, III.

64. FĀKHIR 'ALI NASABI
The variants indicate a corrupt reading—untraceable.

65. THE 'ALAI OF SHIRWĀNI. Fariduddin Abul Hasan Ali-b-il Karim as Shirwani, known as Al Fahhād, eminent among the later astronomers, the author of several canons besides the one mentioned —See Haj. Khal. p. 567, in two places.

There are two other Canons called *'Alai*, H. K. 556-7.

66. RĀHIRI—var. Zahidi—untraceable.

67. MUSTAWFI—mentioned by Haj. Khal. without author's name.

68. MUNTAKHAB (Selectus) OF YAZDI.

69. ABU RAZĀ YAZDI.

Yazd is a town between Naysabur and Shirāz. I find no record of either the canon or the astronomer.

70. KAYDURAH.

71. IKLILI.

Al Iklil is the 17th Lunar Station—three stars in the head of Scorpio. I infer from the absence of any mention of such astronomers that these canons are named after stars. I can learn nothing of Kaydurah.

72. NĀSIRI—perhaps called after Nāsirud-Daulah-b-Hamdān, temp. Mutii billah, A.H. 334. (946 A D.)

73. MULAKHKHAS. (Summarium).

74. DASTUR. *Dastur ul Aml fi Tashih il Jadwal*—a Persian commentary by Mahmud-b-Mahd.-b-Kādhizāda (known as Meriem Chelebi, in H. K. and D'Herb.) of the Canon of Ulugh Beg. See H. K. p. 560, III, and Sedillot, clv. I.

75. MURAKKAB. (Compositus).

76. MIKLA'MAH. (Calamarium).

77. 'ASĀ. (Baculas)

78. SHATSALAH. Var. Sashtalah.

79. HASIL. (Commodum).

80. KHATĀI. A name of N China: its people possessed an Astronomical Calendar in common with the Aighur Tribe, v. D'Herb. Art. *Igur*.

81. DAYLAMI.

This is a bare list of tables of whose authors there is no certain record. Two of them, Khatāi and Daylam point to the countries where they were in vogue. Kublai Khan the brother of Hulāku after his conquest of China, introduced into the Celestial Empire the astronomical learning of Baghdad, and Cocheon-king in 1280, received the tables of Ibn Yunas from the hands of the Persian Jamāluddin. For the extent of Chinese science at this time, see Sedillot. ci. I.

82. MUFRAD. (Simplex) OF MD.-b-AYYUB.

This Canon is in H. K. without the author's name.

83. KĀMIL (Integer) OF ABU RASHID.

There is a commentary of the *Shamil* of al Buzjani by Hasan-b-Ali al qumnāti, entitled the *Kāmil*, mentioned in H. K. p. 565. III.

84. ELKHĀNI.

There are the tables of Nasiruddin Tusi.

85. JAMSHIDI. Ghiyāthuddin Jamshid together with the astronomer known as Kadhizadah, assisted Ulugh Beg in the preparation of his Canon. The former died during the beginning of the work, the latter before its completion. H. K. 559. D'Herbelot (Art. sig. *Ulug. Beg.*) reverses this order and asserts that Jamshid finished it. I suspect that he has copied and mistaken the sense of H. K.

86. GURGANI. Another name for the Canon of Ulugh Beg. See Sed. p. cxix.

Whatever they set down, year by year from an astronomical table, as to the particular motions and individual positions *of the heavenly bodies,* they call an Almanac. It embodies, in fact, the diurnal progression of a planet from its first entrance into Aries to a determinate point in the ecliptic, in succession, and is in Hindi called *patrah*. The Indian sage considers astronomy to be inspired by divine intelligences. A mortal endowed with purity of nature, disposed to meditation, with accordant harmony of conduct, transported in soul beyond the restraints of sense and matter, may attain to such an elevation that earthly and divine forms, whether as universals or particularized, in the sublime or nethermost regions, future or past, are conceived in his mind. From kindliness of disposition and in the interests of science they impart their knowledge to enquirers of auspicious character, who commit their lessons to writing, and this writing they term *Siddhānt*. Nine such books are still extant; the *Brahm-Siddhānt,* the *Suraj-Siddhānt,* the *Som-Siddhānt,* the *Brahaspat-Siddhānt,* inspired by Brahma, the sun, moon, and Jupiter respectively. Their origin is referred to immemorial time and they are held in great veneration, especially the first two. The Garg-Siddhānt,[14] the Nārad-Siddhānt, the Parāsar-Siddhānt, the Pulast-Siddhānt, the Bashista-Siddhānt,—these five they ascribe to an earthly source. The unenlightened may loosen the tongue of reproval and imagine that these mysteries acquired by observation of *Stellar* movements, have been kept secret and revealed only in such a way as to ensure the gratitude of *reverential* hearts, but the keen-sighted and just observer will, nevertheless, not refuse his assent, the more especially as men of innate excellence and outward respectability of character have for myriads of years transmitted a uniform tradition.

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[14] These last are named after five celebrated Rishis or Munis. The antiquity of Indian astronomy is a matter of dispute among the learned. The curious inquirer may refer to the 8th Vol. of the Asiatic Researches where Mr. Bentley reduces its age, maintained by Monsieur Bailly to date back to the commencement of the Kali Yug, 3102 B.C.—to within a few hundred years, and fixes the date of the Súraj-Siddhānt—the most ancient astronomical treatise of the Hindus and professed to have been inspired by divine revelation 2,164,899 years ago,—to 1038 of our era. Mr. Bentley is in turn learnedly answered by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1807. Sir W. Jones' essay on the Chronology of the Hindus may be read in conjunction with the preceding papers, v. Alb. India, Chap. XIV, where the names of the Sidhānts and their sources are differently given.

Among all nations the Nychthemeron[15] is the measure of time and this in two aspects, *firstly*, Natural, as in Turān and the West, from noon to noon, or as in China and Chinese Tartary[16] from midnight to midnight; but the reckoning from sunset to sunset more universally prevails. According to the Hindu sages, in Jagmot[17]—the eastern extremity of the globe, they reckon it from sunrise to sunrise; in Rumak—the extreme west, from sunset to sunset; in Ceylon, the extreme south, from midnight to midnight and the same computation obtains in Delhi: in Siddhapur, the extreme north, from noon to noon. *Secondly*, the Equated also called Artificial, which consists of a complete revolution of the celestial sphere measured by the sun's course in the ecliptic. For facility of calculation, they take the whole period of the sun's revolution and divide equally the days thereof and consider the fractional remainder as the mean of each day, but as the duration of the revolutions is found to vary, a difference *between the natural and artificial day* arises. The tables of Al-Battāni assume it as 59 minutes, 8 seconds, 8 thirds, 46 fourths, 56 fifths and 14 sixths. Those of Elkhāni make the minutes and seconds the same, but have 19 thirds, 44 fourths, 10 fifths and 37 sixths. The recent Gurgāni tables agree with the Khwājah[18] up to the thirds, but give 37 fourths, and 43 fifths. Ptolemy in the Almagest accords in minutes and seconds, but sets down 17 thirds, 13 fourths, 12 fifths and 31 sixths. In the same way ancient tables record discrepancies, which doubtless arise from varying knowledge and difference of instruments. The cycle of the year and the seasons depend upon the sun. From the time of his quitting one determinate point till his return to it, they reckon as one year. The period that he remains in one sign is a solar month. The

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[15] This term for the twenty-four hours of light and darkness was used by the later Greeks and occurs in 2 Cor. xi. 25 Its precision of meaning commends its use which Sachau has adopted.

[16] Uighūr is the name of a Chaghtai tribe eponymously applied to this country, see D'Herb. Art. Igur and the observations thereon Vol. IV, p. 300.

[17] Cf. Albirúni's *India*, Edit. Sachau, p. 133, Chap. XXVI. This word should be "*Jamkót.*" Albirúni quotes from the *Siddhánta*. The 4 cardinal points mentioned are given as the names of 4 large towns—the globe is described a spheroid, half land, half water: the mountain Miru occupies the centre, through which the Equator (*Nalkash*) passes. The Northern half of the mountain is the abode of angelic spirits, the southern that of Daityas and Nāgs and is therefore called Daitantar. When the sun is in the medidian of Meru, it is midday at Jamkót, midnight at Rumak and evening at Siddpúr. The latter name is spelt by Abirúni with a double *d*. See a map of this peculiar geographical system prefixed, to Gladwin's translation of the *Aín* and in Blochmann's text edition, following the preface.

[18] Nasíru'ddín Túsí, author of the Elkhāni tables.

interval of the moon's departure from a given position to its return thereto with the sun in conjunction or opposition or the like, is a lunar month. And since twelve lunations are nearly[19] equal to one *annual* revolution of the sun, they are called a lunar year. Thus both the year and the month are solar and lunar : and each of these two is Natural when the planetary revolutions are regarded and not the computation of days, and Equated when the computation is in days and not in the time of revolution. The Hindu sage divides the year, like the month, into four parts, allotting a particular purpose to each. Having now given a short account of the night, the day, the year and the month which form the basis of chronological notation, we herein set down somewhat of the ancient eras to complete our exposition.

A note on Islamic astronomy (compiled from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* i. 497-501.) For the Muslims, as for the Greeks, astronomy only aims at studying the apparent movements of the stars and giving a geometrical representation of them; it comprises therefore what we call spherical astronomy and the "theory of the instruments". . . . The sum total of the practical knowledge necessary for determining by calculation or instruments the hours of day and night, having especially in view the fixing of the times of the five canonical prayers in the mosques, is called *'ilm al mawaqit* or science of the fixed times. In the beginning of Islam the Arabs already possessed some knowledge of practical astronomy. . . . But it was only in the 2nd century of the Hijra (=8th century A.D.) that the scientific study of astronomy was entered on, under the influence of two Indian books : the *Brahma-sphuta-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta (628) which was brought to the Court at Baghdad in 771 and was used as a model in Arabic by Ibrahim b. Habib al Fazari and Yaqub b. Tariq; and the treatise of Aryabhatta composed in 500, from which Abul-Hasan al Ahwazi derived his tables of the planetary movements. . . .

To these selections from Indian books there was soon added the Arabic translation of the Pahlavi tables entitled *Zik-i-shatroayar* ("royal astronomical tables") compiled in

[19] A synodical month, the interval between two conjunctions of the sun and moon, is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. It was founded on the most obvious determination of the moon's course and and furnished the original month of the Greeks, which was taken in round numbers at 30 days. By combining the course of the sun with that of the moon, the tropical year was assumed at a rough computation to consist of 12 unations or 360 days. See *Astron. of the Ancients* by Lewis, p. 16.

the last period of the Sassanian empire; but about the 11th century A.D. they ceased to be used.

The Greek influence was the last in order of time, but first in order of importance. It introduced into Muslim astronomy the geometrical representation of the celestial movement. The first (and unsatisfactory) Arabic translation of the *Almagest* dates from about 800 A.D.; it was followed by two other versions much superior (in 828 and *c.* 850.) Translations of other Greek works on astronomy, esp. Tables were made later in large numbers.

(The author of the above account, Signior C. A. Nallino, has treated the subject much more fully in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* xii. 94-101, under "Sun Moon and Stars".

—[*J. Sarkar.*]

ERA OF THE HINDUS

The creation of Brahmā is taken as its commencement and each of his days is an epoch. They assert that when 70 *kalps* are completed, each consisting of 4 Yugs[20] and the total of these being 4,320,000 years, a Manu appears. He is the offspring of the volition of Brahma and his co-operator in the creation. In each of his days fourteen *successive* Manus arise. At this time which is the beginning of the 51st year of the age of Brahma, there have been six Manus, and of the seventh, 27 *kalps* have elapsed, and three Yugs of the 28th, and of the fourth Yug, 4,700 years. In the beginning of the present Yug, Rājā Judhishthira conquered the universe and being at the completion of an epoch, constituted his own reign an era and since that time to the present which is the fortieth of the Divine era, 4,696 years have elapsed. It continued in observance 3,044 years. After him Bikramājit[21] reckoned from his own accession to

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[20] Viz., the Satya or Krita, Tretā, Dvāpar and Kali; the first comprises 1,728,000 years; the second, 1,296,000, the third, 864,000, the fourth, 432,000—being a total of 4,320,000. For Hindu Cosmogony and Cosmology, Hastings's *Encyclo. of Religion,* iv. 155-161 (H. Jacobi) and Hindu Calendar, *ibid.,* v. 870 (Hopkins.) The best and most detailed practical table is Swami-Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris,* 7vols. (1922), which supersedes all earlier and smaller works, but it covers only 700—1999 A.D. [J. Sarkar.]

The first is Svayambhuva (as sprung from Svayam-bhu, the self-existent,) the author of the famous Code: the next five are Svarochesha, Uttama, Támasa, Raivata, Chakshusha: the seventh is called Vaivasvata, or the Sun-born and is the Manu of the present period,—conjectured to be Noah, as the first is thought to be Adam.—Prinsep's *Useful Tables.*

[21] This era to which the luni-solar system is exclusively adapted is called Sanvat, Vulg. Sombat. It began when 3044 years of the *Kali Yug* had elapsed, *i.e.,* 57 years before Christ, so that if any year, say 4925 of the *Kali*

the throne and thus in some measure gave relief to mankind. He reigned 135 years. In this year 1652 years have since then gone by. They relate that a youth named Sālbāhan,[22] was victorious through some supernatural agency and took the Rājā prisoner on the field of battle. Since the captive was not deserving of death, he treated him with consideration and asked him if he had any request to make. He replied that though all his desire was centred in retirement from the world and in the worship of the one Supreme Creator, he still retained the wish that his era might not be obliterated from the records of the age. It is said that the boon was granted, and although he introduced his own era, he did not interfere with the observance of the other. Since this era, 1517 years have expired, and they believe that it will continue in use for 18,000 years more, after which Raja Ḅijiyābhinandan will institute a new era from his own reign which will last 10,000 years. Then Nāgā Arjun will come to the throne and promulgate another era which will continue for 400,000 years, after which Kalki,[23] whom they regard as an *avatar,* will establish a fresh era to last 821 years. These six are considered the principal eras and are called Saka, for there were many epochs and each termed "Sanpat."[24] After the invasion of Sālbāhan, the era of Bikramājit was changed from "Sāka" to "Sanpat." After *the expiration of these six,* the Sat[25] Yug will re-commence and a new epoch be instituted.

The Hindu astronomers regard the months and years as of four kinds—1st, "Saurmās," which is the sun's continuance in one sign of the Zodiac, and such a year consists

Yug be proposed and the last expired year of Vikramaditya be required, subtract 3044 therefrom and the result, 1881, is the year sought. To convert Samvat into Christian years, subtract, 57; unless they are less than 58 in which case deduct the amount from 58 and the result will be the date B.C. This era is in general use throughout Hindustan properly so called.—*Useful Tables,* Part II, p. 26.

[22] Sālivāhan, a mythological prince of Deccan who opposed Vikramáditya raja of Ujjain. His capital was Pratishthāna on the Godaveri. The Sáka era, dates from his birth and commences on the 1st Byaákh, 3179. K. Y. which fell on Monday, 14th March, 78 A.D. Julian style.—*Ibid.* p. 22.

[23] Vishnu, in his future capacity of destroyer of the wicked and liberator of the world. This is to constitute the tenth and last *avatár* and is to take place at the end of the four *yugs.* He is to re-appear as a Brahman, in the town of Sambhal, in the family of Vishnu Sarmá.

[24] Properly 'Sanwat.' *Sáká* signifies an era or epoch and is generally applied to that of Sáliváhan.

[25] The text is here in error. The full stop after *ást* nullifies the sense. It should be omitted together with the alif of *ást.* The sentence is then complete and the meaning obvious and consistent. *Sat* is the ordinary Persian transliteration of the Sanskrit *satya.*

of 365 days, 15 *gharis*,[26] 30 *pals*, and 22½ *bipals*; 2nd, "Chāndramās," which is computed from the first day of the moon's increase to the night of the new moon. This year is of 354 days, 22 *gharis*[27] and one '*pal*.' The beginning of the year is reckoned from the entry of the sun into Aries. This month consists of 30 lunar days (*tithi*). Each twelve degrees of the moon's course, reckoning from its departure from conjunction[28] with the sun is a *tithi*: and from the slowness or speed of the moon's progress there is a difference in the number of *gharis* from a maximum of 65 to a minimum of 54. The first, *tithi* is called Pariwā; the second Duj; the third Tij; the fourth Chauth; the fifth Panchamin; the sixth Chhath; the seventh Saptamin; the eighth Ashtamin; the ninth Naumin; the tenth Dasmin; the eleventh Ekādasi; the twelfth Duādasi; the thirteenth Tirudasi; the fourteenth Chaudas; the fifteenth Puranmāsi; and from the 16th to the 29th, they use the same names up to the 14th. The 30th is called Amâwas. From Pariwā the 1st to the 15th they call Shukla-pachch, and the other half Kishna-pachch. Some begin the month from the 1st of Kishna-pachch. In their ephemerides generally the year is solar and the month lunar.

And since the lunar year is less than the solar by ten days, 53 *gharis* 29 *pals* and 22½ *bipals*, on the calculation of a mean rate of motion *of the sun and moon*, the difference, after 2 years, 8 months, 15 days and 3 *gharis*, would amount to one month, and according to the reckoning in the ephemeris would occur in not more than 3 years or in less than 2 years and one month. According to the first calculation, there is this difference in every twelve months and in such a year they reckon one month twice: according to the latter system, in every solar month when there are two conjunctions,[29] and this must necessarily occur between

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[26] A *ghari* is 24 minutes, a *pal* 24 seconds, a *bipal*, a second. This would give 6 hours, 12 minutes and 22½ seconds, whereas according to our calculation, it should be 5 hours, 48 m. 47½ s. very nearly.

[27] This minus the *pal* is our calculation exactly.

[28] The year commences at the true instant of conjunction with the sun and moon, that is on the new moon which immediately precedes the beginning of the solar year, falling, somewhere within the 30 or 31 days of the solar month Chaitra. The day of conjunction (amāvasyā) is the last day of the expired month; the first of the new month being the day after conjunction. The *tithis* are computed according to *apparent* time, yet registered in *civil* time. For the comprehension of this perplexing notation I refer the reader to the *Useful Tables*, Part II, p. 24.

[29] When two new moons fall within one solar month, the name of the corresponding lunar month is repeated, the year being then intercalary or

Chait and Kuār (*āsvin*) and does not go beyond these seven months. They term this *intercalary* month Ādhik (*added*), vulgarly called Laund.

The third kind of month is Sāwan Mās. They fix its commencement at any day they please: it is completed in thirty days. The year is 360 days.

The fourth, Nachhattar, is reckoned from the time the moon quits any mansion to her return thereto. This month consists of 27 days and the year of 324.

The number of the seasons is, with them, six[30] and each they call *Ritu*. The period that the sun remains in Pisces and Aries, they term *Basant*: this is the temperate season: when in Taurus and Gemini, *Girekham*, the hot season; in Cancer and Leo, *Barkha*, the rainy season; in Virgo and Libra, *Sard*, the close of the rainy season and the beginning of winter; in Scorpio and Sagittarius, *Hemant*, winter; in Capricornus and Aquarius, *Shishra*, the season between winter and spring.

They divide the year likewise into three parts: to each they give the name of *Kāl*, beginning from Phāgun. They call the four hot months *Dhupkāl*; the four rainy months *Barkhakāl* and the four cold months *Sitkāl*. Throughout the cultivable area of Hindustan, there are but three seasons. Pisces, Aries, Taurus and Gemini are the summer; Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, the rains; Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus and Aquarius, the winter. The solar year they divide into two parts. The first beginning with Aries to the extreme of Virgo they term *Uttargol*, which is the sun's progress to the north of the Equator, and from the beginning of Libra to the extreme of Pisces, *Dakkhangol*, the sun's course to the south of the Equator. Also from the first of Capricorn to the end of Gemini, they call *Uttarāyan*, the sun's northern declination (the summer solstice): and from the 1st of Cancer to the end of Sagittarius *Dachchhanāyan*, or the sun's southern declination (the winter solstice). Many events, occurring in the first of these divisions, especially death, are deemed fortunate.

The Nycthemeron they divide into 60 equal parts and to each they give the name of *ghatis*, more commonly *ghari*. Each *ghari* is subdivided into the same number of parts,

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containing 13 months. The two months of the same name are distinguished by the terms *adhika* (added) and *nija* (proper or ordinary). *U. T.* p. 23.

[30] Of two sidereal months each, the succession of which is always the same: but the vicissitudes of climate in them will depend upon the position of the equinoctial colure.—*U. T.* II, 18.

each of which they call *pal*. In the same way they apportion the *pal*, and each part they term *nāri* and also *bipal*. Each *nāri* is equal to six respirations of a man of an equable temperament, undisturbed by running, the emotions of anger and the like.

A man in good health respires 360 times in the space of one *ghari*, and 21,600 times in a Nycthemeron. Some affirm that the breath which is respired, they term *Swās* and that which is inspired *Parswās*, and both together they called a *parān*. Six *parāns* make a *pal*, and 60 *pals* a *ghari*. An astronomical hour which is the 24th part of a Nycthemeron is equal to 2½ *gharis*. Each night and each day is again divided into 4 parts, each of which is called a *pahr*, but these are not all equal.

The Khatāi era.

They reckon from the creation of the world, which in their belief took place 8,884 *Wans* and 60 years previous to the present date. Each *Wan* is 10,000 years. They believe that the duration of the world will be 300,000 *Wans*—according to some 360,000. They employ the natural solar year and the natural lunar month. They begin the year from the sun's mid passage through Aquarius. Muhiuddin[31] Maghrebi places it at the 16th degree, others between the 16th and 18th. They divide the Nycthemeron into 12 *Chāghs*. Each of which is subdivided into 8 *Kehs*, and to evey one of these they give a different name.

They divide the Nycthemeron also into *Feneks*. For this computation of t ime they have three cycles, *viz.*, *Shāng Wan*, *Jung Wan*, and *Khā Wan*, each comprising 60 years and each year of the cycle is defined by a double[32]

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[31] He was a distinguished philosopher and mathematician in the service of the Sultan of Aleppo. Surnamed al Mughrebi from his having been educated in Spain and Africa, associated in A. H. 658 with Nasir-u'ddin Tusi in the superintendence of the observatory at Murāgha, and shared in the composition of the Elkhāni tables. D'Herbelot. See D'Herb. (Vol. IV. p. 42.) on this nomenclature and his tables of the cycles. For Chinese era, Hastings' *Ency.*, iii. 82.

[32] The word *bada* may also grammatically but in point of fact less accurately apply to the cycle. The following explanation taken from the *Useful Tables* (Part II. p. 14-15 under 'Chinese era'), will elucidate the text. They have two series of words, one of ten and the other of twelve words; a combination of the first words in both orders is the name of the 1st year; the next in each series are taken for the 2nd year, and so to the 10th; in the 11th, the series of 10 being exhausted, they begin again with the first combining it with the eleventh of the second series; in the 12th year, the second word of the first series is combined with the twelfth of the second;

notation. The revolution of the cycle is marked by a series of ten and a series of twelve *symbols*. The first is employed for the notation of the year and the day; the second is similarly applied and is likewise horary. By the combination of these two series, they form the cycle of 60 and work out detailed calculations.

The Turkish Era.

Called also the Uighuri. It is similar to the foregoing, except that this cycle is based on the series of 12. They reckon their years and days after the same manner, but it is said that some astronomical tables also employ the series of 10. The commencement of their era is unknown. Abu Raihān (Albiruni) says[33] that the Turks add nine to the incomplete Syromacedonian years and divide it by 12: and in whatever animal the remainder terminates, counting from the Sign of the Mouse, the year is named therefrom. But weighed in the balance of experiment, this is found wanting by one year. The intention, undoubtedly, is to carry the remainder down the animal signs of the series,

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for the 13th year, the third word of the first list with the first of the second list is taken, that list also being now exhausted. Thus designating the series of 10 by Roman letters, and that of 12 by italics, the cycle of 60 will stand thus.

1	a	a	21	a	i	41	a	e
2	b	b	22	b	k	42	b	f
3	c	c	23	c	l	43	c	g
4	d	d	24	d	m	44	d	h
5	e	e	25	e	a	45	e	i
6	f	f	26	f	b	46	f	k
7	g	g	27	g	c	47	g	l
8	h	h	28	h	d	48	h	m
9	i	i	29	i	e	49	i	a
10	k	k	30	k	f	50	k	b
11	a	l	31	a	g	51	a	c
12	b	m	32	b	h	52	b	d
13	c	a	33	c	i	53	c	e
14	d	b	34	d	k	54	d	f
15	e	c	35	e	l	55	e	g
16	f	d	36	f	m	56	f	h
17	g	e	37	g	a	57	g	i
18	h	f	38	h	b	58	h	k
19	i	g	39	i	c	59	i	l
20	k	h	40	k	d	60	k	m

The first cycle, according to the Jesuits, began in February 2397 B.C.; we are now, therefore, in the 72nd cycle, the 28th of which will begin in 1880. To find the Chinese time, multiply the elapsed cycle by 60, and add the odd years: then if the time be before Christ, subtract the sum from 2398; but after Christ, subtract 2397 from it; the remainder will be the year required.

[33] This reference I have not been able to trace in Albiruni's *Athār al Baqiya*, or his India. [Jarrett] The Turkish era has fallen into disuse, but the names of the Cyclic years as borrowed in Indo-China, Champa and Japan, are given in Hastings, *Encycl.*, iii. 110-115. [J. S.]

and beginning from the Mouse, to adopt the name of the animal in which it terminates. Although the commencement of the era is unknown, yet we gather sufficient information regarding the year of the cycle and its name. And if 7 years be added to the imperfect years of the Maliki era, dividing by 12, whatever remains is the year of the animal reckoning from the Mouse. This will prove correct according[14] to the following series.

Names of the twelve years of the Cycle.

1. *Sijqān,* the Mouse. 2. *Ud,* the Ox. 3. *Pārs,* the Leopard. 4. *Tawishqān,* the Hare. 5. *Loiy,* the Dragon, 6. *Y'ilān,* the Serpent. 7. *Yunt,* the Horse. 8. *Qu,* the Sheep. 9. *Bij,* the Ape. 10. *Takhāku,* the Cock. 11. *Yit,* the Dog. 12. *Tankuz,* the Hog. They add the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year.

The Astrological Era.

The astrologers reckon from the Creation and assert that all the planets were then in Aries. The year is solar. According to their calculation, from that time to the present 184,686 years have elapsed.

The Era of Adam.

Its beginning dates from his birth. The years are solar, the months lunar. According to the Elkhāni tables, 5,353 solar years have elapsed to the present date. But some of those possessing a book of divine revelation make it 6,346 solar years; others 6,938 solar: others again, 6,920, solar, but according to what has been reported from learned Christians, it is 6,793.

The Jewish Era.

Begins with the creation of Adam. Their years are natural, solar: their months, artificial, lunar. They reckon their months and days like the Arabians according to an intermediate system. The years is of two kinds, *viz.*, Simple, which is not intercalary, and Composite, in which

[14] These 12 signs of the Zodiac exactly correspond with the animals in the series of the Japanese Cycle given in the *Useful Tables*, but the vernacular names are different. The calculations based on them are vaguely stated: in Albiruni's *Chronology*, some information may be obtained from the Rules for the reduction of Eras.

an intercalation is effected. Like the Hindus they intercalate a month every three years.[35]

The Era of the Deluge.

This era is computed from this event; the year is natural, solar, the month natural, lunar. The year begins from the entry of the Sun into Aries. Abu Ma'shar of Balkh based his calculations regarding the mean places of the stars on this era from which to the present year 4,696 years have elapsed.

The Era of Bukht Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar).

This monarch instituted an era from the beginning of his own reign. The year is solar, artificial, of 365 days without a fraction. The month, likewise, is of 30 days and five days are added at the end of the year. Ptolemy in his Almagest computed the planetary motions on this era. Since its commencement 2,341 years have elapsed.

The Era of Philipus (Arrhidæus).[36]

Called also Filbus or Filqus. It is also known as the Era of Alexander of Macedon. It dates from his death. The years and months are artificial, solar. Theon of Alexandria has based his calculations of the mean places of the stars in his Canon on this Era, and Ptolemy has recorded some of his observations regarding it, in the Almagest. Of this period, 1,917 years have elapsed.

The Coptic Era.[37]

This is of ancient date. Al Battāni states that its years are solar, artificial, consisting of 365 days without a fraction. The Sultāni tables say that its years and months

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[35] Or 7 months in 19 lunar years. Cf. Albiruni's *Chronology*, p. 13. For the Jewish era, Hastings's *Encyclo.* iii. 117-123, after which Prinsep's *Useful Tab*, ii. 8 is unnecessary. For the era of Nebuchadnezzar, *Encyclo. of Islam*, under *Bukht-Nasar* (i. 784) and under *Tarikh* (Suppl. 231.) The Arabs have confounded Nabonassar with Nebuchadnezzar (though 143 years separate the two.) Ptolemy makes this era begin in 742 B.C. For calculating dates in this system, see Prinsep's *Useful Tab.* ii. 9. [J. S.]

[36] He was half brother of Alexander the Great, the son of Philip and a female dancer, Philinna of Larissa. Prinsep's *U. T.* ii. 10. *Enc. Islam*, Supp. 231, this era began on 12 Nov. 324 B.C.

[37] This is the era of Diocletian or the Martyrs; was much used by the Christian writers till the introduction of the Christian era in the 6th century, and is still employed by the Abyssinians and Copts. It dates from 29th August, 284. Prinsep, ii. 7. *Ency. Isl.* iv. 1211.

resemble the Syro-Macedonian. It has the same intercalations, but the Coptic intercalary days precede those of the Syro-Macedonian by six months.

The Syro-Macedonian Era.

The years and months are artificial, solar, and they reckon the year at 365¼ days exactly. In some astronomical observations, the fraction in excess is less than ¼. According to Ptolemy, it is 14 m. 48 s. The Elkhāni observations make the minutes the same, but 32 seconds and 30 thirds. According to the calculations of the Cathayans the minutes are the same, and 36 seconds, 57 thirds; to the recent Gurgāni observations, the minutes agree, with 33 seconds; the Maghrebi has 12 m.: the Battāni, 13 m. 36 s. Muhiyuddin Maghrebi says that some of the Syro-Macedonian calculations make the fraction more than a quarter, others less than a quarter, and thus a quarter has been taken as the medium. Others assert that the Syro-Macedonians have by observation determined the fraction to be a full ¼. Consequently it is a natural solar year, although Mulla 'Ali Kushji makes it a solar year even on the first mentioned basis. This era dates from the death of Alexander the second, [corr. IV] *Bicornutus*, but was not employed till 12 years after his death. Others assert that he established it in the 7th year of his reign when he set out from Macedonia, his kingdom, bent on foreign conquest. Muhiyuddin Mughrebi on the other hand, states that it began with the reign of Seleucus (*Nicator*) who founded Antioch. This era was in use both with the Jews and Syrians. They relate that when Alexander the son of Philip marched from Greece to the conquest of Persia, he passed through Jerusalem. Summoning the learned Jews of Syria he directed them to discontinue the Mosaical era and to employ his own. They thus answered him. "Our forefathers never observed any era above a thousand years and this year our Era will complete the thousand; from next year, therefore, thy command shall be obeyed." And they acted accordingly. And this took place in Alexander's 27th year. Some maintain that this Grecian era is of Hebrew origin. Kushyar in his Jāmi' says that there is no difference between the Syro-Macedonian and the Syrian era, except in the names of the months. The Syrian year begins on the 1st day of Tishrin

ul Awwal. This happened formerly when the sun was in the 4th degree of Libra, and now falls on the 11th.[38] With the Syro-Macedonians, that date is the 1st of Qanuni i Sāni, when the sun is near the 20th degree of Capricorn. Battāni mentions this era[39] as beginning with Philip, father of Alexander Bicornutus, but that he called it after his son to exalt his fame; and he has based on it the calculation of the mean places of the planets in his Canon. Of this era 1905 years have elapsed.

The Augustan Era.

He was the first of the Roman Emperors. The birth of Jesus Christ happened in his reign. The era begins with his accession. The year is the same as the Syro-Macedonian, and the months are Coptic; the last month in the common years has 35 days and in leap years 36. Of this era 1623 years have elapsed.[40]

The Christian Era.

Begins with the birth of Jesus Christ. The year consists, like the Syro-Macedonian, of 365 d. 5 h. At the end of 4 years, they add a day to the end of the second month. The beginning of their Nycthemeron is reckoned from midnight. Like the Arabians, they name the days of the week, beginning with Sunday. The commencement of their year, some take to be the entry of the sun in Capricorn: others, from the 8th degree of the same.

The Era of Antoninus of Rome.

It begins with his accession [138 A.D.]. The years are Syro-Macedonian, the months Coptic. Ptolemy deter-

[38] Another reading is 15th. Gladwin has 16th. Better known as the Seleucid era, began on 1 Oct. 312 B.C. (acc to Ginzel.) *Ency. Islam*, Supp 231; also iv. 1211.

[39] There is a discrepancy among chronologers as to the commencement of this era. Some determine it to the 1st October 312 B.C. (W. Smith,.-*Cl. Dic.* art Seleuc); the *U. T.* (ii. 11) places it, 311 y. 4 m. B.C. The Syrian Greeks began their years in September, other Syrians in October: the Jews, about the autumnal equinox. It is used in the book of Maccabees and appears to have begun in Nisan. Supposing it to begin on 1st September 312 B.C.; to reduce it to our era, subtract 311 y. 4 m.

[40] The Spanish era of the Caesars is reckoned from 1st January, 38 B.C., being the year following the conquest of Spain by Augustus. It was much used in Africa, Spain, and the south of France. By a Synod held in 1180, its use was abolished in all the churches dependent on Barcelona. Pedro IV of Arragon abolished it in 1350. John of Castile in 1382. It continued to be used in Portugal till 1455.—*U. T.*, ii. 11. But *Enc. Islam*, Supp. 231, differs; "its epoch 14 Feb. 27 B.C.".

mined the position of the fixed stars in his *Almagest* on this era of which 1,457 years have elapsed.

The Era of Diocletian[41] *of Rome.*

He was a Christian emperor. The era begins with his accession. The years are Syro-Macedonian, the months Coptic; 1,010 years have since elapsed.

The Era of the Hijra.

In pre-Islamic times, the Arabs had various eras, such as the building of the Ka'bah, and the sovereignty of Omar[42] b. Rabii'a to whom was due the rise of idolatry in Hijāz, and this continued in use till the year of the Elephant,[43] which they, in turn, observed as a fresh epoch. Every Arab tribe constituted any important event in their history, an era. In the time of the prophet this thread *of custom* had no coherence, but from the date of the Hijra, they gave each year a special name. Thus that year was called the "year of Permission," that is, the permission to go from Mecca to Medina. The second year was named the "year of Command," *i.e.*, to fight the unbelievers.[44]

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[41] The name in the text is Diocletian. Abul Fazl evidently meant Constantine, but probably following the text of Albiruni, (*Chronol*) he copied the heading of the Era of Diocletian, without noting in the body of the passage, the change of name to Constantine, as the 1st Christian Emperor. The number 1010 is an error. Gladwin has 1410. If Abul Fazl counts from the era of Diocletian A.D. 284, the intermediate years would be about 1310; if from A.D. 324, the date of Constantine's sole mastership of the empire 1270, if from his proclamation as Emperor by the legions in 306, the number would be 1290. His father Constantius was proclaimed Caesar by Diocletian in A.D. 292.

[42] An error (taken from Albiruni) for 'Amr-b-Lohayy, born about 167 A.D., was king of Hijaz; for his genealogy see *Ency Isl* i. 336, and Caus de Perc. *Essai Sur l'hist. Arab.* Tabl. II, VIII. The great tribe of Khuzaa'h trace their descent from him. Whilst at Balkā in Syria, he had seen its inhabitants practising idolatry; their idols, they averred, protected and favoured them, granting rain at their prayers. At his request they presented him with the idol, Hobal, which he set up in Mecca and introduced its worship.

[43] 570 A.D. the year in which Mahomed was born, and the name of which commemorates the defeat of Abraha, the Ethiopian king of Yaman. *Qurān*, Sura 105.

[44] The 3rd year was called, the year of the trial.

4th	,,	,,	,,	year of Congratulation on the occasion of marriage.
5th	,,	,,	,,	year of the earthquake
6th	,,	,,	,,	year of inquiring
7th	,,	,,	,,	year of victory.
8th	,,	,,	,,	year of equality.
9th	,,	,,	,,	year of exception.
10th	,,	,,	,,	year of farewell.

Chronol. Albiruni, Sachau, p. 35.

At the accession of the second Caliph (Omar), Abu Musa Asha'ri,[45] governor of Yaman made the following representation: "Your despatches have arrived dated the month of Shabān. I cannot discover what date is understood by Shabān." The Caliph summoned the learned. Some of the Jews advised the use of their era. The sage Hurmuzān[46] said; "the Persians have a computation which they call Māhroz" and this he explained. But as there were intercalations in both, their skill in calculation was slight, he did not accept either but adopted the era of the Hijrah. The month according to their system is reckoned from the sight of one new moon, after the sun has completely set, till the next is visible. It is never more than 30 nor less than 29 days. It sometimes occurs that four successive months are of 30 days, and three of 29. Chronologers putting aside calculations based on the moon's appearance, reckon lunar months in two ways, *viz.*, Natural, which is the interval of the moon's departure from a determinate position, with the sun in conjunction or opposition or the like to its return thereto; 2ndly, Artificial; since the motions of the moon are inconstant and their methodisation as well as an exact discrimination of its phases difficult, its mean rate of motion is taken and thus the task is facilitated. In the recent (*Gurgāni*) tables, this is 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes.[47] The rule is this, that when the fraction is in excess of half, it is reckoned as one day. Thus when the excess is over a half, they take the month of Muharram as 30 days, and the second month 29, and so on alternately to the last. In common years, therefore, Dhil Hijjah is 29 days. The mean lunar year consists of 354 d. 8 h. 48 m.[48] which is less than a solar artificial year by

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[45] Abu Musa Al Asha'ri was one of the Companions, a native of Kufah. He joined the prophet at Mecca and was a convert before the Flight to Medina. He was also one of the fugitives to Abyssinia and including his journey from Yaman to Mecca shared in the unusual distinction of three flights. *Ency. Islam*, I. 481.

[46] Hurmuzan was a learned Persian, taken prisoner by Abu Musa and sent to the Caliph Omar by whom his life was spared, though the grace was obtained with some difficulty. He subsequently became a convert. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 338. Nawawi, *Tahzib-ul-Asmā*.

[47] This is a lunation or synodical month, the interval between two conjunctions of the Sun and Moon. The periodical month, as distinguished from this, is the time taken in transit by the moon from any point of the Zodiac back to the same point: it consists of 27 d. 7 h. 43 m. Hence a lunar month is sometimes taken in round numbers at 28 d. and this is the length of a lunar month according to the law of England. Lewis. *Astr. of the Anc.* p. 20.

[48] And 36 seconds. *Ibid.*

10 d. 21 h. 12 m. Mirza Ulugh Beg has based his new Canon on this era of which 1002 years have elapsed to the present time.

The Era of Yazdajird.

He was the son of Shahryār Aparwez[49] b. Hurmuz b. Noshirwān. It began with the accession of Jamshid. After him every succeeding monarch renewed his designation by his own accession and Yazdajird also re-instituted it from his assumption of sovereignty.[50] The years are like the Syro-Macedonian; but the fraction in excess was reserved till at the end of 120 years, it amounted to a whole month, and that year was reckoned at 13 months. The first intercalation was after *Farwardin*, and it was called by the name of that month. Then *Urdibihisht* was twice counted and so on. When the era was renewed under the name of Yazdajird, and his authority terminated in disaster, the continuity of intercalation was neglected. The years and months are artificial, solar. 963 years have since elapsed.[51]

Note on the Hijera era. "The question on what day the 1st Muharram of the year 1 A.H. fell is not yet decided." (Discussion of different theories; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Suppl. 231).

"Authorities are not agreed on the exact date of the Hidjra. According to the most usual account, it took place on the 8th Rabi' I (20th Sept. 622 A.D.). But this would not be the date of the departure from Mecca but of the arrival in Medina. According to other versions, it was the 2nd or the 12th Rabi' I . . . . The 8th was preferred as it was a Monday. According to a tradition, the Prophet is said to have answered when asked why he observed Monday especially, 'on this day I was born, on this day I received my prophetic mission, and on this day I migrated' The fixing of the Hidjra as the beginning of the Muhammadan era dates from the Caliph 'Omar. The traditions which try

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[49] In Alberuni, Shahryār Parwez. Parwez or Aparwez signifies Victorious. Era of Yazdajird, *Ency. Islam*, Supp. 232. also Prinsep's *Useful T.* ii. 12. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 178, gives Yazdigird III. (r. 632-651 A.D.) after Ardashir III. (r. 628-630), with "several ephemeral rulers" between them. J. S.

[50] A.D. 632.

[51] "In Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival, but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected: the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces." Gibbon. *Decl. and Fall*, Vol. X, p. 367, Ed 1797.

to trace it to the Prophet himself are devoid of all probability." (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 302).

In *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1210 (under *Zamān*), there is a full discussion of the calendar adopted by the Muslims.

"Although the era of Islam begins with the 15th (16th) of July, 622 A.D., the lunar year, peculiar to the Muslims, was not established till the year A.H. 10. When Muhammad in that year (A.D. 631) made his last pilgrimage to Mecca, ... he arranged . . . that the year should consist of 12 lunar months of 29, (28, 30) days each, and that intercalation (*nasi'*) was to be forbidden (*Quran*, ix. 36 ff.) . . . The Meccans had had a more or less perfect solar year (before this, as) the names of the months in part indicate clearly certain definite seasons of the year—a situation, in the case of a changeable lunar year, evidently out of the question. . . . The Arabs adopted the week of the Jews and Christians." (K. Vollers in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion*, iii. 126-127).—*J. Sarkar.*

The Maliki Era.

It is also called Jalāli. The Persian Era was used at that period. Through the interruption of continuity in intercalation, the commencements of the years fell into confusion. At the instance of Sultān Jalāluddin[52] Malik Shāh Saljuki, Omar Khayyam and several other learned men instituted this era. The beginning of the year was determined from the sun's entry into Aries. The years and months were *at first* Natural, but now the month is the ordinary Artificial. Each month consists of 30 days and at the end of *Isfandārmuz,* they add 5 or 6 days. Of this era, 516 years have elapsed.

The Khāni Era

dates from the reign of Ghāzān[53] Khān and is founded on the Elkhāni tables. The years and months are Natural,

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[52] A brilliant sketch of his life may be read in Gibbon, Ch. 57, and *Enc. Isl.* iii. 211. For his era *Ency. Islam*, i. 1006 (under *Djalāli*), also iv. 672 (under *Tarikh*) and iii. 888 (under *Nawruz.*) The era begins on 15 March 1079 A D.

[53] Ghazan Khan, Mahmud, eldest son of Arghun, the 8th from Mangu Khan son of Jenghiz, of the Moghul Tartar or Ilkhanian Dynasty of Persia. He ascended the throne in A. H. 694 (A.D. 1294) and was succeeded by Ghiasu'ddin Au-gaptu Khuda bandah Muhammad, A. H. 703 (A. D. 1303). *U. T. P.* II, p. 146. The Ilkhani era, in *Ency. Isl.* Supp. 232. Ghāzān Kh. in *ibid.* ii. 149.

solar. Before its adoption the State records bore date from the Hijrah and the lunar year was current. By this means the road was opened to grievous oppression, because 31 lunar years are equal to only 30 solar years and great loss occurred to the agriculturists, as the revenue was taken on the lunar years and the harvest depended on the solar. Abolishing this practice Ghāzān Khān promoted the cause of justice by the introduction of this era. The names of the month are the Turkish with the addition of the word *khāni*. Of this, 293 years have elapsed.

The Ilāhi Era.

His Majesty had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra (*Flight*) which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted, ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts *of his subjects* did not carry out his design of *suppressing it*. Although it is evident to right-minded people of the world, what relevancy exists between the market-coin of commercial dealing and the night gleaming jewel of faith, and what participation between this chain of objective connection and the twofold cord of spiritual truth, yet the world is full of the dust of indiscrimination, and the discerning are heedful of the fable of the fox[54] that took to flight when camels were being impressed. In 992 of the Novilunar year, the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. The fortunately gifted, lovers of truth raised their heads from the pillow of disappointment and the crooked-charactered, drowsy-willed lay in the corner of disuse. Meanwhile the imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathullah Shirāzi,[55] the representative

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[54] *Gulistan* I. Story XVI. 'What connection, Madcap', they said to him 'has a camel with thee and what resemblance hast thou to it?' 'Peace!' he answered for if the envious should, to serve their own ends, say"—"This is a camel," who would care about my release so as to inquire into my condition?"

The Ilāhi era was introduced by Akbar at the beginning of the 29th year of his reign, 8th Rabi ul Awwal 992 A.H.=10th March 1584 (*Akbarnamah*, tr. iii. 644) Prinsep, *Useful Tables* ii. 37.

[55] See *Ain Akb. trans.*, Vol. I, p. 33, n.

of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and taking as his base the recent Gurgāni Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vassals of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural, solar, without intercalation and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32, and the two days of the last are called *Roz o Shab* (Day and Night). The names of the months of each era are tabulated for facility of reference. [Tr.'s *note*. The Uighur and Coptic months are spelt differently by Albiruni from Abul Fazl. The spelling of the Jewish month names also is incorrect in the printed text of the *Ain*.]

1. Hindu months.	2. Khatāi months.	3. The Ūighur Era.	4. The Era of the astrologers.	5. The Era of Adam.	6. The Era of the Jews.	7. The Era of the Deluge.	8. The Era of Nabonassar.	9. The Era of Philipus Arrhidaeus.	10. The Era of the Copts.
Chait	Chanweh	Arām Ay.	„	„	Tishri	„	Thoth	Thoth	Thoth
Baisākh	Zhezheweh	Ikandi Ay.	„	„	Marheshwān	„	Bāpeh	Bāpeh	Pāopi
Jeth	Sāmweh	Ochanj Ay.	„	„	Kislew	„	Hātor	Hator	Athyr
Asārh	Harweh	Dardanj Ay.	„	„	Tebeth	„	Kahak	Kehak	Khawāk
Sānwan	Uweh	Beshanj Ay.	„	„	Shebāt	„	Tubah	Tubah	Tybi
Bhādon	Luweh	Altinj Ay.	„	„	Adhār	„	Amsher	Amsher	Makhir
Kunwar	Cheweh	Yetinj Ay.	„	„	Nisān	„	9	Barmahāt	Phamanoth
Kātik	Bāweh	Saksanj Ay.	„	„	Iyār	„	9	Barmulah	Pharmuthi
Aghan	Kheweh	Tuksanj Ay.	„	„	Siwān	„	9	Bashans	Pachon
Pus	Shabweh	Onnanj Ay.	„	„	Tammuz	„	9	Bonah	Payni
Māgh	Shayayweh	Onbaranj Ay.	„	„	Āb	„	9	Abib	Epiphi
Phāgun	Sirweh	Haksabāt Ay.	„	„	Elul	„	9	Misri	Mesori

11. Syro-Macedonian Era.	12. The Augustan Era	13. The Christian Era.	14. The Era of Antoninus.	15. The Era of Diocletian	16. Era of the Hijrah.	17. Era of Yazdijird.	18. The Maliki Era	19. The Khāni Era	20. The Divine Era.
Tashrinu'l Awwal	Identical with those of Nabonassar.	January		Identical with those of Nabonassar.	Muharram	Farwadin Māh. Old Style	Farwardin Māh i Jalāli	Arām Ay. Khani	Farwardin Māh i Ilāhi
Tashrinu'l Ākhir		February			Safar	Ardibihisht Māh, O. S.	&c.	&c.	&c. like 18, substituting "Ilāhi" for "Jalāli."
Kānun'l Awwal		March			Rabia' I.	Khurdād Māh. O.S.	&c.	&c. like 3 with the word "Khāni" after "Ay" In the 4th month the word "Tortanj" occurs, where in Col. 3, it is "Dardanj."	
Kānunu'l Ākhir		April			Rabia' II	Tir Māh. O S	&c.		
Shebāt		May			Jumāda I	Amurdād Māh. O.S	like 17, with the word "Jalāli" after "Māh."		
Āzār		June			Jumāda II.	Sharewar Māh. O.S.			
Nisān		July			Rajab	Mihr Māh. O. S.			
Ayyār		August			Sha'bān	Abān Māh. O. S.			
Hazurān		September			Ramadhān	Āzar Māh. O. S.			
Tamuz		October			Shawwāl	Dav Māh. O. S.			
Āb		November			Dhi Ka'da	Bahman Māh. O S.			
Aylul		December			Dhi Hijjah	Isfandārmaz Māh. O. S.			

The events of the world recorded in chronological sequence, are accounted the science of history, and he who is proficient in them, is a historian. Many writings in this branch of knowledge regarding India, Khatā, the Franks, Jews and other peoples are extinct. Of the Muhammadan sect, the first who in Hijaz occupied himself with this subject was Muhammad-b-Ishāq, then follow Wahab-b-Murabbih, Wāqidi, Asma'i, Tabari, Abu A'bdullah Muslim-b-Qutaybah, Aa'tham of Kufa, Muhammad Muqanna, Hakim A'li Miskawaih, Fakhruddin Muhammad-b-Ali, Dāud Sulaiman Binākiti, Abul Faraj, 'Imadu-ddin-b-Kathir, Muqaddasi, Abu Hanifah Dinawari, Muhammad-b-Abdullah Masa'udi, Ibn Khallākān, Yāfa'i, Abu Nasr Utbi; amongst the Persians, Firdausi Tusi, Abul Hasan Baihaqi, Abul Husain author of the *Tārikh-i-Khusrawi*, Khwājah Abul Fazl Baihaqi, A'bbās-b-Musa'b, Ahmad-b-Sayyār, Abu Ishāq Bazz'az, Muhammad Balkhi, Abul Qāsim Ka'bi, Abu'l Hasan Fārsi, Sadruddin Muhammad author of the *Tājul-Maāsir*, (*Corona monumentorum*), Abu Abdullah Juzjāni (author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*), Kabiruddin Irāqi, Abul Qāsim Kāshi, author of *Zubdah* (*Lactis flos*), Khwājah Abul Fazl, author of the *Makhzan ul Balāghat* (*Promtuarium eloquentiæ*) and *Fadhāil-ul-Muluk* (*Virtutes principum præstantes*) A'lauddin Juwaini, brother of the Khwājah Shamsuddin, author of a Diwān, (he wrote the *Tārikh Jahānkushā, Historia orbis terrarum victrix*), Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazwini, Qādhi Nidhām Baydhāwi, Khwājah Rashidi Tabib, Hāfiz Abru, and other trustworthy writers.

For a long time past, likewise, it has been the practice to record current events by a chronogram and to make the computation of years appear from a single word, a hemistich and the like, and this too they term a date; as for instance, for the accession of his Majesty, they have devised the words *Nasrat-i-Akbar* (*victoria insignis*) and *Kām Bakhsh* (*Optatis respondens*), but the ancients practised it little: thus the following was written on Avicenna.—

The Demonstration of Truth, Abu A'li Sina,
Entered in Shaja' (373) from non-existence into being.
In Shasā (391) he acquired complete knowledge.
In Takaz (427) he bade the world farewell

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

"The whole of this series of authors is taken bodily and in the same order by Abul Fazl from the *Raudhat-us-Safā* without acknowledgement." (*H. S. Jarett.*)

For convenience of printing and also of study, Jarrett's notes on the ancient authors, a bare list of whose names is given by Abul Fazl, have been here collected in one place, instead of being dispersed as separate footnotes. For more modern and detailed information consult the *Encyclopædia of Islam* under each name." (*J. Sarkar.*)

Md.-b-Ishāq,—author of the well-known work *Al Maghāzi wa's Siyar* (expeditiones bellicæ et biographiæ); he was a native of Medina and as a traditionist held a high rank, and regarded by Al-Bukhāri and As-Shāfa'i as the first authority on the Muslim conquests. He died at Baghdad A.H. 151 (A.D. 768). It is from his work that Ibn Hishām extracted the materials for his life of the Prophet.

Wahab-b-Murabbih,—was a native of Yaman and one of the "Abnā", *i.e.,* a descendant of one of the persian soldiers settled there. He died at Sana'ā in Yaman A.H. 110, in Muharram (April-May A.D. 728)—(others say in 114 or 116) at the age of 90. He was a great transmitter of narrations and legends. A great part of the information given by Moslem historians regarding the pre-Islamic history of Persia, Greece, Yaman, Egypt, etc., comes from him. He was an audacious liar, as Moslem critics of a later period discovered. Ibn Khall. De. Sl. IV. p. 672-3.

Wāqidi,—Abu A'bdullah, Muhammad-b-Omar. Wāqid, al Wāqidi, a native of Mecca, author of the well-known *"Conquests"* of the Moslems, born A.H. 130 (Sept. A.D. 745), died on the eve of Monday 11 Zul Hijjah, A.H. 206 (27th April A.D. 823).

Asma'i,—Abu Sa'id A'bdu'l Malik-b-Kuraib al Asma'i, the celebrated philologer, a complete master of Arabic. He was a native of Basra, but removed to Baghdad in the reign of Hārun-ar-Rashid. It is said he knew by heart 16,000 pieces of verse; born A.H. 122 (A.D. 740) and died in Safar A.H. 213 (March-April A.D. 728). *Ency. Isl.* i. 490.

Tabari,—Abu Jafar M-b-Jarir at-Tabari, author of the Great Commentary of the *Qurān* and of the celebrated history. He is regarded as an exact traditionist, born A.H.

224 (A.D. 838-9) at Amol in Tabaristān and died at Baghdad A.H. 319 (A.D. 923). *Ency. Isl.* iv. 578.

Abu Abdullah Muslim,—(213-270 A.H.) A native of Dinawar, some say of Marw, author of the *Kitāb-ul-Ma'ārif* and *Adāb-ul-Kātib* (=the Writer's Guide): the first a work of general knowledge, from which Eichhorn extracted his genealogies of the Arabs published in his *Monumenta historiæ Arabum*: it contains a number of short biographical notices of the early Moslems.

Aa'tham Kufi,—Muhammad-b-A'li, known as Aa'sim Kufi; his work the *Futuh Aa'thim* (H.K.) is a short account of events from the death of the prophet to the death of Husain at Karbalā. It was translated into Persian by Ahmad-b-Mustaufi.

Md. Muqanna',—Freytag gives his name from the Scholia as Muhammad-b-Ohmaizah. He is said to have been called Muqanna' from the veil he wore to protect the beauty of his person. He squandered his wealth in lavish gifts and in the time of the Omayyads was still living, of much account with his people, but in poverty. Not to be confounded with Abu 'Amr (afterwards Abu Md.) *Ibn al Muqaffa'* (*Ency. Islam* ii. 404), who was known as the Katib or Secretary and was the author of some celebrated epistles, and also translated *Kalila and Damna* into Arabic.

Abu Ali Ahmad-b-Miskawaih,—a Persian of good birth and distinguished attainments. He was treasurer tc Malik Adhd-ud-daulah-b-Buwaih, who placed the utmost trust in him. He was the author of several works. Abul Faraj relates (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 328) that Avicenna consulted him on a certian abstruse point; and finding him slow of intelligence and incapable of solving his difficulty, left him. His death is placed about A.H. 420.

Daud Sulaiman Binakiti,—author of the *Raudhat-ul-Albāb* (*Viridarium cordatorum*) a compendium of Persian history. He lived tempore Jinghiz Khan and wrote on the history of Khātāi kings at the request or command of Sultan Abu Said Bahādur.

Abul Faraj,—(1) 897-967 A.D., author of the great *Kitāb al Aghani*. (2) Barhebraeus, 1226-1286, author of a famous Universal History (See *Ency. Isl.* under the above two names).

Hafidh I'maduddin,—Ismail-b-A'bdu'llah ad Dimashqi died in A.H. 774 (A.D. 1372). The name of his history is

'Al Bidāyah wa'l Nihāyah (*Initium et finis*) and is continued to his own time.

Muqaddasi,—There are several of this name. Shamsuddin Abdullah was the author of a geography entitled Ahsanu'l taqasim fi Ma'rifati'l aqalim, a description of the seven climates, died A.H. 341 (A.D. 1049, *Ency. Isl.* iii. 708); a second Husāmuddin Md. b. A'bul Wāhid author of a work on judicial decisions; died A.H. 642 (A.D. 1245); a third, probably the one alluded to, Shahābuddin Abu Mahmud as Shāfa'i author of the work *Muthirul Gharam ila' Ziāratil Quds wāl Shām* (*Liber cupidinem excitans Hierosolyma et Damascum visendi*). He died in 765 (A.D. 1363). H. K.

Abu Hanifa Ahmad-b-Dāud ad Dinawari, author of a work *Islah ul Mantiq* (*Emendatio sermonis*). He died 290 (A.D. 902) H. K.

Masāudi,—author of the *Muruj-ud-Dahāb.* (*Prata Auria*) which he composed in the reign of the Caliph Mutia' Billah and many other works. It begins with the creation of the world, and is continued through the Caliphs to his own time. He died in Cairo in 346 A.H. (A.D. 957). *Ency. Isl.* iii. 403.

Ibn Khallakan,—the famous biographer : his work the Wafayātul Aa'yān containing the lives of illustrious men is well-known. It was composed in Egypt under Sultān Baybars of the Mameluke dynasty. He has given a few particulars of his life at the close of this work which was finished in A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4). He was born in 608 (A.D. 1211) and died in 681 (A.D. 1282, *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 396).

Abdullah-b-Asa'd al Yaja'i al Yamani, died 768 A.H. (A.D. 1266). He wrote the *Mirat ul Janān wa I'brat ul Yakdhān* (speculum cordis et exemplum vigilantis), a historical work beginning with the Flight and continued to his own time. Another is the *Raudhatul Riahin* (*Viridarium hyacinthorum*) containing lives of Moslem saints. *Ency. Isl.*, iv. 1134.

Utbi,—author of the *Tārikh Yamini* which contains the history of the Ghaznivide Sultan Yamin ud Daulah Mahmud-b-Subuktigin of whom he was a contemporary : it is brought down to the year 427 (A.D. 1036-7).

Baihaqi,—(1) Abu Hasan' Ali-b-Zayd al Baihaqi author of the *Wishāhi Dumyatil Qasr* : a supplement to the *Dumyat ul Qasr* of al Bakharzi the poet, who died A.H. 467

(A.D. 1075), and author of work called *Tārikhi Baihaq*. *Ency. Isl.*, i. 592.

Baihaqi,—(2) Abul Fazl Md. b. Husain, author of a history of the Ghaznavids in more than 30 vols., of which only five volumes covering the reign of Masa'ud b. Mahmud has been preserved. *Ency. Islam*, i. 592-593.

Abul Husain,—Muhammad-b-Sulaiman Al Asha'ri; the *Tārikh Khusrawi,* is a history of the Persian kings.

Abbas b. Musa'b,—author of the *Tārikh Khorāsān.*

Ahmad-b-Sayyār-b-Ayyub,—the Hāfidh; Abul Hasan al Marwazi, a traditionist of great repute and accuracy. Died A.H. 268, A.D. 881. *Abul Mahasin* V. II. p. 45.

Abu Ishaq-Muhammad-b-al Bazzāz was the author of a history of Herat.

Muhammad-b-Akil al Balkhi-d—A.H. 316 (A.D. 928). (Abul Mahasin II. p. 235) author of a history of Balkh. H. K.

Abu'l Qāsim Ali-b-Mahmud, author of a history of Balkh.

Abu'l Hasan,—Abdul Ghāfir-b-Ismail *Al Fārsi,* author of the *Siyāq fi daili tārikh Nishabur* (*Cursus orationis appendix ad historiam Nishaburae*). He died A.H. 527 (A.D. 1132). H. K.

Juzjāni,—The *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* is on the military expeditions of Nāsiruddin Mahmud Shāh-b-Iltamish of Delhi. The name of the author is Abu Omar, Othman-b-Muhammad al Minhāj, Sirāj al Juzjāni. Translated by Raverty in Biblio. Indica series.

Kabiruddin Irāqi,—son of Tajuddin Irāqi, who wrote of the conquests of Sultan Alāuddin Khilji. He was a skilled rhetorician, and writer; see a slight sketch of him in the *Tārikh Firoz Shāhi,* of Ziāuddin Barni, p. 361.

Abul Qāsim Jamāluddin Muhammad,—d. 836 (A.D. 1432), author of the *Zubdatut Tawārikh,* in Persian.

Abul Fadhl Ubaidullah—(H.K. : in *Raudhat us Safa,* 'Abdullah) -b-Abi Nasr Ahmad-b-Ali-b-al Mikāl; both the works mentioned are historical.

Alauddin Ata Malik al Juwaini,—the author of the *Jahān Kushā'* a Persian history, *Ency. Isl.*, i. 1067-1070, under *Djuwaini.*

Hamdullah Qazvini,—author of the *Tārikh Guzida* (*Prœstantissima ex historia*) which ranks among the best general histories of the East, written for the Wazir Ghiāthuddin Muhammad. It was first composed in 50,000 verses,

and then turned into prose about A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329-30). *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 844.

Qadhi Nasiruddin Abdullah-b-Omar al *Baidhāwi-d*—A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285), author of the *Nidhamut Tawārikh* (*Ordo historiarum*), a compendium of Persian history with an account of Moslem dynasties from the house of Umayyah to that of Khwārazm and the Mongols (1275 A.D.). *Ency. Isl.*, i. 590.

Khj. Rashidi,—Khwājah Rashiduddin Fadhlullah, Tabib, "one of the greatest historians of Persia (put to death in 718, A.D. 1318), author of the *Jamiut Tawārikh* (*Historia universalis*). He began it just before the death of Ghāzān Khan A.H. 704 (1304 A.D.). His successor Khudabandah Muhammad ordered him to complete it and preface it with his name and to add to the history of the Jingiz dynasty, a more general account, *Ency. Isl.*, iii. 1124.

Hāfidh Abru,—Shihābuddin Abdullah b. Lutfullah b. Abdur Rashid al Khwāfi (and not *al-Haravi*), author of the *Zubdatut Tawārikh* composed for Baisonghor Mirzā, an account of the principal events and strange or extraordinary occurrences recorded in the history of the world, carried down to A.H. 829 (1425 A.D.). He died in 834 (A.D. 1430). *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 213.

Avicenna,—The full name of this philosopher is Abu Ali Husain-b-Abdullah-b-Sina, as Shaikh, ar-Rāis. He is therefore known in the East as *Ibn Sina* and *Pur-i-Sina*, from his father's name. *Ency. Isl.*, ii. 419-420 (under *Ibn Sina*). He was born in Bukhārā A.H. 370 (A.D. 980) and died in 428 (A.D. 1036) at the age of 58.

A'IN I.

The Provincial Viceroy, Sipah Sālār, literally, *Commander of the Forces.*[36]

He is the vicegerent of His Majesty. The troops and people of the provinces are under his orders and their welfare depends upon his just administration. He must seek the

[36] The Sipah-Sālār's duties are described also in a *farmān* of Akbar included in *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (Gaekwad's Or. Series), i. 163-170. See *Mughal Administration* by Jadunath Sarkar. 3rd ed., ch. iv. §2 for further details and references to additional sources. The distintcion between the provincial

will of God in all that he undertakes and be constant in praise and supplication. He must never lay aside the consideration of the people's prosperity nor suffer his zeal to sleep. He must not be prompt to vain converse or asperity of manner. Vigilance and the due distinction of ranks must be his care, especially towards subordinates near his person and officials at a distance. What is the duty of dependents must not be committed to his sons, and what these can perform he should not execute himself. In all transactions he should confide in one wiser than himself and if he can find none such, he should confer with a few chosen individuals and weigh carefully their deliberations.

> It haps at times, the hoary sage
> May fail at need in counsel right,
> And unskilled hands of tender age
> A chance shaft wing within the white.
> [S'adi, *Gulistān*, Ch. 3.]

He should not admit many men to his secret councils, for the prudent, zealous, warm, disinterested adviser is rare, lest one of them should provoke dissension, and opportunities for timely action escape. He should regard his office of command as that of a guardian, and exercise caution, and making a knowledge of the disposition of men a rule of government, live as it behoves his office. Levity and anger he should keep under the restraint of reason. He should reclaim the rebellious by a just insight into the conduct of affairs and by good counsel, failing which, he should be swift to punish by reprimands, threats, imprisonment, stripes or amputation of limb, but he must use the utmost deliberation before severing the bond of the principle of life. He should not pollute his tongue with abuse which is the manner of noisy vagabonds of the market place. He should refrain from the use of oaths in speech for this is imputing falsehood to himself by implication and distrust in the person he addresses. In judicial investigations, he should not be

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viceroy (*sipah sālār*) and the revenue-head (*diwān*) is as old as the first government set up by the Arabs after the conquest of Egypt: "In the early centuries of Arab rule (in Egypt) two political functions are sharply distinguished, the governorship and the treasury. The governor, *Amir*, had control over the military and police only. . . . Alongside of him was the head of the treasury the *'Amil*. . . . These two officials had to keep a strict watch on one another." (C. H. Becker in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 13.) These provincial viceroys were afterways called *nāzims* and *subah-dārs*. Akbar divided his empire into 12 provinces and appointed a uniform set of officials to each, first in his 24th regnal year (1579). See *Akbarnāmah*, tr. ii. 413. [*J. Sarkar*.]

satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold inquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight, nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude.

Beware lest justice to that judge belong,
Whose own ill-deed hath wrought the suppliant's wrong.

Let him not inflict the distress of expectation upon supplicants for justice. He should shut his eyes against faults and accept excuses, and adopt such a course of conduct as will not disparage his good breeding and dignity. He should not intefere with any man's creed. A wise man, in worldly affairs that are transient, seeks not his own loss, why then should he knowingly abandon the spiritual life that is eternal, for if it be true, disturbance is criminal and if otherwise it is the malady of ignorance and is deserving of kind treatment. Each division of the kingdom, he should entrust to zealous upright men and provide for the safety of the roads by the establishment of trusty guards and from time to time receive reports of them. He should select for purposes of secret intelligence honest, provident, truthful and unavaricious men, and if such needful individuals are not to be obtained, in every affair he should associate several who are unknown to each other and inspecting their several reports thus ascertain the truth. His expenditure should be less than his income, and from his treasury he should supply the needy, especially those who loose not their tongues in solicitation. He should never be negligent of the supplies and accoutrements of the troops. He should not refrain from the practice of horsemanship, and should use the bow and the matchlock and command this exercise to his men. In attaching individuals to his own person and in the increase of confidence, he should employ a cautious circumspection. Many are the evil dispositioned and licentious of nature who profess sincerity and sell themselves at a high price. He should turn his attention to the increase of agriculture and the flourishing condition of the land and earn the gratitude of the people by the faithful discharge of his obligations and account the befriending of the agriculturists as an excellent service to the Almighty. He should retain impartial collectors of revenue and from time to time obtain information regarding their actions. Let him store for himself a goodly reward in the making of reservoirs, wells, watercourses, gardens, serais and other pious foundations, and set about the repairing of what has fallen into

ruin. He should not be given to retirement nor be unsettled in mind which is the manner of recluses, nor make a practice of associating with the common people nor be ever surrounded by a crowd which is the fashion of blind worshippers of outward appearances.

Court not the world nor to it wholly die;
Walk wisely : neither phœnix be nor fly.

Let him hold in honour the chosen servants of God, and entreat the assistance of spiritually-minded anchorites and of mendicants of tangled hair and naked of foot. The imploring of blessings from the sun and the solar lamp, he should not consider as its deification or a worshipping of fire.[57] Let him accustom himself to night vigils and partake of sleep and food in moderation. He should pass the dawn and the evening in meditation and pray at noon and at midnight. When he is at leisure from worldly affairs and introspection of conscience, he should study works of philosophy and act according to their precepts. If this does not satisfy his mind, he should peruse the spiritual admonitions of the Masnawi [of Jalāl-ud-din Rumi] and regardless of the letter imbibe its spirit. He should entertain his mind with the instructive stories of Kalila and Damna, and thus gaining a knowledge of the vicissitudes of life, regard the experience of the ancients as his own. Let him apply himself to the cultivation of true knowledge and put aside childish tales. Let him associate with a discreet and trusty friend and give him permission to look carefully into his daily conduct in order that he may privately represent whatever, in the balance of his discretion, appears blameworthy and if at any time his penetration should be at fault he should not be thereat displeased for men have ever been backward in uttering a displeasing truth especially in a season of anger when reason slumbers and the spirit is aflame. Courtiers, for the most part, seek pretexts of evasion and lend a false colouring to error, and if perchance one of them should be really concerned, he will hold his peace for fear, for he is indeed difficult to find who would prefer another's benefit to his own injury. Let him not be roused to anger by the representations of detractors, but rest in the path of circumspection, for men of evil nature, dissemblers in speech, palm off their tales with the semblance of truth and representing themselves as disinterested, labour to in-

[57] See Vol. I, pp. 200-202.

jure others. He should not consider himself as fixed of residence but hold himself ever ready for a summons to the presence. Let him not be malevolent, but prefer courtesy and gentleness. He should not subvert ancient families but let an illustrious ancestry redeem unworthy successors. Let him see that the younger among his followers when they meet, use the greeting *Allah u ākbar,*[58] 'God is greatest', and the elder reply *Jalla-jalāluhu,* 'His majesty is eminent'. Let him not take as food a sheep or a goat of under one year and he should abstain from flesh for a month after the anniversary of his birthday. He shall not eat of anything that he has himself killed. He should restrict himself in sensual gratification and approach not a pregnant woman: The food which is bestowed in memory of the deceased, he should prepare each year on his birthday and regale the needy.

> With heavenly treasures store thy grave—provide
> While yet in life—none may when he hath died.
>
> [*Gulistan.*]

When the sun advances from one sign of the zodiac to another, let him offer up a thanksgiving and discharge cannon and musketry to arouse the slumberers in forgetfulness. At the first beams of the world-illumining sun and at midnight which is the turning point of its re-ascension, let him sound the kettle-drum and enforce vigilance.

A'IN II.

The Faujdār.

In the same way that His Majesty, for the prosperity of the empire, has appointed a Commander of the forces for

[58] *Allahu akbar.*—This formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God (Allah) over the idols of the pagan Arabs, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of Allah, His greatness and goodness is suggested. . . . The call to the daily prayer (*azan*) is opened with a four-fold *takbir* (=the cry *Allahu akbar.*) The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbir* during the Hajj. (*Ency. Islam*, iv. 627 under *takbir.*)

Akbar's order for its general use as a form of salutation among the public in the place of the customary *salām 'alaikum* (sanctified by its frequent occurrence in the *Qurān*, xvi. 34, xxxix. 73 &c.), led the ignorant populace to believe that he wished to be acknowledged as God. "This caused great commotion." (Badayuni, tr. ii. 308.) For Abul Fazl's vexation at this misrepresentation, *Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii. 397. V. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 177 ("ambiguous phrase"), 218 and *n.* [*J. Sarkar.*]

each province, so by his rectitude of judgment and wise statesmanship he apportions several pargannahs to the care of one of his trusty, just and disinterested servants,[*] appreciative of what is equitable, and faithful to his engagements; and him they style by the above name. As a subordinate and assistant he holds the first place. Should a cultivator or a collector of the crown lands or an assignee of government estates prove rebellious, he should induce him to submit by fair words, and if this fail, he shall take the written evidence of the principal officers and proceed to chastise him. He should pitch his camp in the neighbourhood of the body of rebels and at every opportunity inflict loss upon their persons and property but not risk at once a general engagement. If the affair can be concluded with the infantry he should not employ cavalry. He should not be rash in attacking a fort, but encamp beyond bowshot and the reach of its guns and musketry, and obstruct the roads of communication. He should be vigilant against night attacks and devise a place of retreat, and be constant in patrolling. When he has captured the rebel camp, he must observe equity in the division of the spoil and reserve a fifth for the royal exchequer. If a balance of revenue be due from the village, this should be first taken into account. He should constantly inspect the horses and accoutrements of the troops. If a trooper be without a horse, his comrades should be assessed to provide for him and if a horse be killed in action, it should be made good at the expense of the State. He must duly furnish a roll of the troops present and absent, to the royal court and ever bear in mind the duty of carrying out its sacred ordinances.

A'IN III.

The Mir A'dl and the Qāzi.

Although the supreme authority and the redress of grievances rests with sovereign monarchs, yet the capacity of a single person is inadequate to the superintendence of

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[*] For the duties of the *faujdar* (modern district magistrate *cum* superintendent of police and commandant of local forces but *not* collector), see Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 3rd. ed., IV. § 4.

the entire administration. It is therefore necessary that he should appoint one of his discreet and unbiassed servants as his judiciary delegate. This person must not be content with witnesses and oaths, but hold diligent investigation of the first importance, for the inquirer is uninformed and the two litigants are cognisant of the facts. Without full inquiry, and just insight, it is difficult to acquire requisite certitude. From the excessive depravity of human nature and its covetousness, no dependence can be placed on a witness or his oath. By impartiality and knowledge of character, he should distinguish the oppressed from the oppressor and boldly and equitably take action on his conclusions. He must begin with a thorough interrogation and learn the circumstances of the case; and should keep in view what is fitting in each particular and take the question in detail, and in this manner set down separately the evidence of each witness. When he has accomplished his task with intelligence, deliberation and perspicacity, he should, for a time, turn to other business and keep his counsel from others. He should then take up the case and reinvestigate and inquire into it anew, and with discrimination and singleness of view search it to its core. If capacity and vigour are not to be found united, he should appoint two persons, one to investigate whom they call a Qãzi;[60] the other the Mir A'dl to carry out his finding.

A'IN IV.

The Kotwãl.[61]

The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Through his watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and

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[60] *Qazi* in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Ch. II, § 7.

[61] *Kotwal* in *ibid.*, Ch. IV, § 5, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, i. 168. In the later Mughal Empire the inspection of markets was often entrusted to the *muhtasib* (from Aurangzib's reign).

bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny. He should establish a separate *serāi* and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of divers detectives take account of them. He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration. Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as guildmaster, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these also he should require frequent reports. He should see to the open thoroughfare of the streets and erect barriers at the entrances and secure freedom from defilement. When night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft. He should remove former grievances and forbid any one from forcibly entering the house of another. He shall discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess (*bāj wa tamghā*) save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every Subah a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration of value in the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation, he shall recover to the amount of the deficiency. He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchases to be made outside the city. The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. Hs shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more nor less than thirty *dāms*. In the *gaz* hereinafter to be mentioned, he should permit neither decrease or increase, and restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an

inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public watercourses, and prohibit women from riding on horseback. He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered, and forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled, nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve. Above this limit of age, the permission may be accorded. Religious enthusiasts, calenders, and dishonest tradesmen he should expel or deter from their course of conduct, but he should be careful in this matter not to molest a God-fearing recluse, or persecute barefooted wandering anchorites. He should allot separate quarters to butchers, hunters of animals, washers of the dead, and sweepers, and restrain men from associating with such stony-hearted gloomy-dispositioned creatures. He shall amputate the hand of any who is the pot-companion of an executioner, and the finger of such as converse with his family. He should locate the cemetery outside of, and to the west of the city. He should prohibit his adherents from wearing sombre garments in mourning and induce them to wear red. From the first till the nineteenth of the month of Farwardin, during the whole month of Abān, the days of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, *viz.*, the first of every solar month, the sixteenth of the same, the Ilāhi festivals, the days of the eclipse of the sun and moon, and on the first day of the week, he shall prohibit men from slaughtering animals, but hold it lawful as a necessity for feeding animals used in hunting and for the sick. He shall remove the place of execution to without the city and see that the Ilāhi festivals are observed. He shall have lamps lit on the night of the Nauroz (New Year's day) and on the night of the 19th of Farwardin. On the eve of a festival, as well as on the festival itself he shall cause a kettle-drum to be sounded at each watch. In the Persian and Hindu almanacs, he shall cause the Ilāhi era to be adopted and the beginning of the month according to the Hindu nomenclature he shall place in *Shukla-pachch*.

A'IN V.

The 'Aml-guzār or Collector of the Revenue.

Should be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord paramount and establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator. He should deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by admonition and, if this avail not, proceed to chastisement, nor should he be in apprehension of the land falling waste. He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers and evildoers, nor from heavily mulcting them, and so administer that the cry of complaint shall be stilled. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money and recover them gradually. And when through the exertions of the village headman the full rental is received, he should allow him half a *biswah*[62] on each *bigha*, or otherwise reward him according to the measure of his services. He should ascertain the extent of the soil in cultivation and weigh each several portion in the scales of personal observation and be acquainted with its quality. The agricultural value of land varies in different districts and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors and remedy the produce of ignorance or dishonesty. He should strive to bring waste lands into cultivation and take heed that what is in cultivation fall not waste. He should stimulate the increase of valuable produce and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation. And if the husbandman cultivate less and urge a plausible excuse, let him not accept it. Should there be no waste land in a village and a husbandman be capable of adding to his cultivation, he should allow him land in some other village.

He should be just and provident in his measurements. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements, take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage. Should some

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[62] The 20th part of a *bigha*.

prefer to engage by measurement and others by appraisement of crops, let him forward the contracts with all despatch to the royal presence. Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments but also in kind. This latter is effected in several ways. First, *kankut* : *kan* in the Hindi language signifies grain, and *kut*, estimate. The whole land is taken either by actual mensuration or by pacing it, and the standing crops estimated in the balance of inspection. The experienced in these matters say that this comes little short of the mark. If any doubt arise, the crops should be cut and estimated in three lots, the good, the middling and the inferior, and the hesitation removed. Often, too, the land taken by appraisement, gives a sufficiently accurate return. Secondly, *bātāi*, also called *bhāoli*, the crops are reaped and stacked and divided by agreement in the presence of the parties. But in this case several intelligent inspectors are required, otherwise the evil-minded and false are given to deception. Thirdly, *khet batāi*, when they divide the fields after they are sown. Fourthly, *lāng batāi*; after cutting the grain, they form it in heaps and divide it among themselves, and each takes his share home to clean it and turn it to profit. If it be not prejudicial to the husbandman, he may take the value of the corn-bearing land in cash at the market rate. If on this land they sow the best kinds of produce,[63] in the first year he should remit a fourth of the usual assessment. If at the time of collection, the better produce is found to be larger in quantity than the previous year, but less land cultivated, and the revenue be the same, let him not be provoked or removed to contention. He should always seek to satisfy the owner of the crops.. He should not entrust the appraisement to the headman of the village lest it give rise to remissness and incompetence and undue authority be conferred on highhanded oppressors, but he should deal with each husbandman, present his demand, and separately and civilly receive his dues.

He must take security from land surveyors, assessors and other officers of revenue. He should supply the officials engaged in the land measurements, for each day on which

[63] *Jins-i-Kāmil* such as sugar, *pān*, indigo, opium or cotton in contradistinction to *jins-i-ādna*, inferior crops, such as maize,

they are employed, with 16 *dāms* and 31 *sers*, and as a monthly ration, on the following scale :

	Flour. ser	Oil. ser	Grain. ser	Vegetables &c. dām
Superintendent of survey ...	5	½	7	4
Writer	4	½	4	4
Land surveyor and four thanadars, each ...	8	1	5	5

He shall affix a mark to the land surveyed and shall take a bond from the headman that there shall be no concealment regarding the land, and the various crops shall be duly reported. In the process of measurement if any inferior portion of land be observed, he shall at once estimate its quantity, and from day to day take a note of its quality and this voucher he shall deliver to the husbandman. But if this discovery be made after the collection of the revenue, he shall gather information from the neighbours and from unofficial documents and strike an average. In the same way as the *kārkun* (registrar of collections) sets down the transactions of the assessments, the *muqaddam*[84] (chief village revenue officer) and the *patwāri* (land-steward) shall keep their respective accounts. The Collector shall compare these documents and keep them under his seal and give a copy thereof to the clerk. When the assessment of the village is completed, he shall enter it in the abstract of the village accounts, and after verifying it anew, cause its authentication by the *kārkun* and *patwāri*, and this document he shall forward weekly to the royal presence and never delay it beyond fifteen days. After the despatch of the draft estimates to the imperial court, should any disaster to the crops occur, on ascertaining the exact particulars on the spot, he shall calculate the extent of the loss and recording it in writing, transmit it without delay in order that it may be approved or a commissioner despatched. He should collect the revenue in an amicable manner and extend not the hand of demand out of season. He should begin the collection of the spring harvest from the *Holi*, which is a Hindu festival occurring when the sun is about to pass from Aquarius and is entering or has reached midway in Pisces and the Autumn harvest from the *Dasharah*, which is a festival falling when the sun is in the middle or

[84] For *muqaddam*, Wilson, 351.

last days of Virgo or the first ten of Libra. Let him see that the treasurer does not demand any special[illegible] kind of coin, but take what is of standard weight and proof and receive the equivalent of the deficiency at the value of current coin and record the difference in the voucher. He should stipulate that the husbandman bring his rents himself at definite periods so that the malpractices of low intermediaries may be avoided. When there is a full harvest, he should collect the appropriate revenue and accept no adjournment of payments on future crops.

Whosoever does not cultivate land liable to taxation but encloses it for pasturage, the Collector shall take for each buffalo six *dāms,* and for an ox, three *dāms* yearly, but for a calf or a buffalo which has not yet calved, he shall make no demand. He shall assign four oxen, two cows and one buffalo to each plough and shall lay no impost on these. Whatever is paid into the treasury, he shall himself examine and count and compare it with the day-ledger of the *kārkun.* This he shall verify by signature of the treasurer and placing it in bags under seal, shall deposit it in a strong room and fasten the door thereof with several locks of different construction. He shall keep the key of one himself and leave the others with the treasurer. At the end of the month, he shall take from the writer (*bitikchi*) the account of the daily receipts and expenditure and forward it to the presence. When two lakhs of *dāms* are collected, he shall remit them by the hands of trusty agents. He shall carefully instruct the *pātwari* of each village to enter in detail in the memorandum which he gives to the husbandman, the amount he receives from the same; any balances he shall enter under each name in a book and forward it attested by the signatures of the headmen; and these, at the next harvest, he shall recover without distress. He shall carefully inspect the *suyurghal*[illegible] tenures, sending copies of them to the registry office to be compared. He should ascertain the correctness of the *chaknāmah,*[illegible] and resume the share of a deceased grantee or one who is an

[illegible] *Zar-i-khās* in the text should be translated as His present Majesty's coin. Jarrett took it to mean 'any special kind of coin', but this interpretation is wrong. It is not necessary to read *Khālis* for *Khās* (from a variant) as suggested by Jarrett (="fine gold"). *J. S.*

[illegible] An assignment of land revenue for charitable purposes: also a grant of land without stipulation of any condition or service. Wilson, [illegible].

[illegible] This is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak*, according to Elliot, is a patch of rent-free land detached from a village. Wilson, 97.

absentee or actually in service of the state. He should take care that land cultivated by the farmer himself and not by the tenant, as well as resumed lands, should not be suffered to fall waste; the property of the absentee or of him that dies without an heir he should duly keep under ward and report the circumstances. He should see that no capitation-tax be imposed nor interfere with the remission of dues granted by former governments.

He shall not make the occasions of journeying, feasting or mourning an opportunity for exactions, and refrain from accepting presents. Whenever a *muqaddam* or *patwāri* shall bring money or, advancing to the dais, shall present a *dām* in obeisance, he shall not accept it. In the same way he shall renounce *balkati,* which is the practice of taking a small fee from each village when the harvest is ready for reaping. He shall also waive all perquisites on handicrafts, market-booths, police, travelling passports, garden produce, temporary sheds, enclosure, fishing rights, port-dues, butter, oil of sesame, blanketing, leather, wool, and the like malpractices of the avaricious who fear not God. He shall provide for the periodic appointment of one among those best acquainted with the district, to reside at the royal court and furnish it with the minutest particulars. Every month he shall submit a statement of the condition of the people, of the *jāgirdārs,* the neighbouring residents, the submission of the rebellious, the market prices, the current rents of tenements, the state of the destitute poor, of artificers and all other contingencies. Should there be no *kotwāl,* the Collector must take the duties of that office upon himself.

A'IN VI.

The Bitikchi[illegible]

Must be conscientious, a good writer, and a skilful accountant. He is indispensable to the collector. It is his duty to take from the *kanungo*[illegible] the average decennial state

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[illegible] A word of Turkish origin, signifying a writer or scribe. *Enc. Isl.* i, 734.

[illegible] An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwāris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land &c. which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the tahsildār. Carnegy, *Kachh. Technical.* Wilson, [illegible].

of the village revenues in money and kind, and having made himself acquainted with the customs and regulations of the district, satisfy the Collector in this regard, and lend his utmost assistance and attention. He shall record all engagements made with the agriculturists, define the village boundaries, and estimate the amount of arable and waste land. He shall note the names of the *munsif*,[79] the superintendent (*sābit*), the land-surveyor and *thānadār*, also that of the cultivator and headman, and record below, the kind of produce cultivated. He should also set down the village, the pergunnah and the harvest, and subtracting the deficiency take the value of the assets, or after the manner of the people of the country, inscribe the name, the kind of produce, and the deficiency below the date of cultivation.

When the survey of the village is complete, he shall determine the assessment of each cultivator and specify the revenue of the whole village. The Collector shall take the revenue on this basis, and forward a copy of the survey, called in Hindi *khasra* to the royal court. When drawing out the rolls, if the former documents are not available, he should take down in writing from the *patwāri* the cultivation of each husbandman by name and thus effect his purpose, and transmit the roll together with the balances and collections punctually, and he shall enter the name of the *tahsildar* below each village, in the day-ledger. He shall record the name of each husbandman who brings his rent aud grant him a receipt signed by the treasurer. Copies of the rolls of the *patwāri* and *muqaddam* by means of which they have made the collections, together with the *sarkhat*, that is the memorandum given to the husbandman, he shall receive from the *patwāri*, and inspecting them, shall carefully scrutinize them. If any falsification appears, he shall fine them and report to the Collector daily and the collection and balances of each village and facilitate the performance of his duty. Whenever any cultivator desires a reference to his account, he shall settle it without delay and at the close of each harvest he shall record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the *patwāri's*, and enter each day in the ledger the receipts and disbursements under each name and heading, and authenticate it

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[79] *Munsif*—An officer employed to superintend the measurement of the lands of a village in concert with the villagers. [Wilson, 356]. For the position of the *munsif* in Sher Shah's revenue system, see 'Abbās Sarwāni, near the end. [*J. S.*]

by the signature of the Collector and treasurer. At the end of the month, he shall enclose it in a bag under the seal of the Collector and forward it to the presence. He shall also despatch daily the price-current of mohurs and rupees and other articles under the seals of the principal men, and at the end of each harvest, he shall take the receipts and disbursements of the treasurer, and forward it authenticated by his signature. The abstract and settlement of the assessment, at the close of each year, he shall transmit under the signature of the Collector. He shall enter the effects and cattle plundered in any village, in the day-ledger, and report the circumstances. At the year's end, when the time of the revenue-collections has closed, he shall record the balances due from the village and deliver the record to the Collector and forward a copy to the royal court. When removed from office, he shall make over to the Collector for the time being his account under the heads of balances, advances &c., and after satisfying him in this regard, take the detail thereof and repair to the Court.

AIN VII.

The Treasurer (Khazānadār)

Called in the language of the day *Fotadār.*[71] The treasury should be located near the residence of the governor and the situation should be such where it is not liable to injury. He should receive from the cultivator any kind of mohurs, rupees or copper that he may bring,- and not demand any particular coin. He shall require no rebate on the august coinage of the realm but take merely the equivalent of the deficiency in coin-weight. Coinage of former reigns he shall accept as bullion. He shall keep the treasure in a strong room with the knowledge of the *shiqdār*[72] and the registrar, and count it every evening and

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[71] The term *fota* is applied in Arabic, to cloths used as waist wrappers brought from Sind, and the word itself is supposed to be derived from that country and not to be of Arabic origin. The office was no doubt originally named from this distinguishing portion of apparel; whence the common name *Poddār* applied to a banker, cash-keeper, or an officer in public establishments for weighing money or bullion. See Wilson's *Gloss.*, 100 and 422.

[72] *Shiqdār*, an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land under the Moghul government; it was sometimes applied to the chief financial officer of a province or to the viceroy in his financial capacity.—Wilson's *Glossary*, 480. For this officer in Sher Shah's system, see 'Abbās Sarwāni, near the end.

cause a memorandum thereof to be signed by the Collector and compare the day-ledger with the registrar's account and authenticate it by his signature. On the door of the treasury as sealed by the Collector, he should place a lock of his own, and open it only with the cognisance of the Collector and registrar. He shall not receive any monies from the cultivator save with the knowledge of the Collector and registrar, and he shall grant a receipt for the same. He shall cause the *patwāri's* signature to be affixed to the ledger known in Hindustan as *bahi*, so that discrepancy may be avoided. He shall consent to no disbursements without the voucher of the *diwān*,[73] and shall enter into no usurious transactions. If any expenditure should be necessary that admits of no delay, he may act under the authority of the registrar and *shiqdār* and represent the case to government. The aforementioned duties, from those of the commander of the troops up to this point, are primarily under the direct cognisance of the sovereign authority and as no one individual can perform them, a deputy is appointed for each function and thus the necessary links in administration are strengthened.

Currency of the means of Subsistence.

Since the benefit and vigour of human action are referrible to bodily sustenance, so in proportion to its purity is the spirit strengthened; the body, were it otherwise, would grow corpulent and the spirit weak: the thoughts too under such a regimen, incline to refinement and actions to virtue. The seekers of felicity, sober in conduct, are before all things particularly careful in the matter of food and do not pollute their hands with every meat. To the simple in heart who fear God, labour is difficult and their means of living straitened. They have not that luminous insight which penetrating to the essence of things, dwells in repose, but through fear of the displeasure of God, are sunk in exhaustion of soul from the pangs of hunger. As for instance in the case of the man who possessed a few cows, his legitimate property, and subsisted on their milk. By the accident of fortune, it chanced that they were

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[73] *Diwān*. This term was especially applied to the head financial minister whether of the state or of a province, being charged in the latter with the collection of the revenue, its remittance to the imperial treasury and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes. Wilson's *Glossary*, 144-146. For a full description, see Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Ch. 3, § 1-6.

carried off, and he passed some days fasting. An active fellow after diligent pursuit brought them back, but he would not accept them and replied, "I know not whence those dumb animals have had food during these past few days." In a short space this simple soul died. Many tales are told of such dull-witted creatures who have thus passed away. There are also avaricious worldlings who do not recognize the difference between other people's property and their own, and gratify themselves at the expense of their spiritual and temporal good. The ignorant and distraught in mind, making their own necessities an occasion of spoliation and seizure, prepare for themselves eternal punishment.

Simple, innocent-minded folk consider that there are no unappropriated waste lands and were they obtainable, it would be difficult to furnish the implements of cultivation, and if these could be had, the means of providing food which would enable them to labour, are not manifest. They can discover no mine to excavate, and if one were pointed out to them which had no owner, it would be extremely onerous to obtain a living therefrom. They are averse too, from the profession of arms, lest dear life be the exchange for base lucre. They withdraw themselves also from commerce for this reason that many ask a high price for their goods, conceal their deficiencies and praise them for qualities which are not in them, while they close their eyes to the evident excellencies of what they purchase and disparage it for faults it does not possess, preferring their own benefit to another's loss. And they disapprove also of those who are content to hold lawful the sequestration of the goods of rival sectaries, and they affirm that if the fautor of such pretension be discerning and wise, it will seem an occasion for additional anxiety rather than a sanction to retain the property of another; for how can the illicit seizure of what is another's be commendable on the score of a difference of faith? On the contrary, it is a suggestion of the evil one, a phantasy of the dreams of the avaricious and unfit for the ears of the good. At the present time His Majesty has placed a lamp upon the highway before all men, that they may distinguish the road from the pitfalls, and sink not into the slough of perdition, nor pass their dear lives in unprofitableness.

Since there is infinite diversity in the natures of men and distractions, internal and external, daily increase, and

heavy-footed greed travels post haste, and light-headed rage breaks its rein, where friendship in this demon-haunted waste of dishonour is rare, and justice lost to view, there is, in sooth, no remedy for such a world of confusion but in autocracy, and this panacea in administration is attainable only in the majesty of just monarchs. If a house or a quarter cannot be administered without the sanctions of hope and fear of a sagacious ruler, how can the tumult of this world-nest of hornets be silenced save by the authority of a vicegerent of Almighty power? How, in such a case can the property, lives, honour, and religion of the people be protected, notwithstanding that some recluses have imagined that this can be supernaturally accomplished, but a well-ordered administration has never been effected without the aid of sovereign monarchs. That fiery wilderness of talismanic power, too, is haunted by spells and sorcerers, and storms of confusion from this sea of undiscernment have arisen and arise, and many souls, through simplicity and shortsightedness, in the turbulent billows of inexperience have been and are still ever engulfed, while those who by the light of wisdom and through the grace of acceptance have bridled their desires and garnered provisions for the long journey to come, have, in the cross-roads of distraction, become the reproach of high and low, for their folly, irreligion and unbelief. In that assembly of ignorance should a philosopher of experience enter, he must needs take up the fashion of fools and so escape from the contumely of the base.

It is evident that in all cultivated areas, the possessors of property are numerous, and they hold their lands by ancestral descent, but through malevolence and despite, their titles become obscured by the dust of uncertainty and the hand of firmness is no longer stretched above them. If the cultivator hold in awe the power of the Adorner of the universe and the Elixir of the living, and the merchant turn back from evil designing and reflect in his heart on the favour of the lord of the world, the depository of divine grace, his possessions would assuredly be approved of wisdom. Thus the virtue of property lies in the pledge of intention, and a just ruler, like a saltbed, makes clean the unclean, and the evil good. But without honest coadjustors, abundant accessories of state and a full treasury even he could effect nothing and the condition of subserviency and obedience would lack the bloom of

discipline. Now the man of robust frame should, in the first place, choose the profession of arms and reflect on the assistance which he is capable of rendering, so as to regard his life as devoted to the task of preserving human society from dissolution. The means of sustenance are likewise as abundant to the labourer as forage for his cattle. But if a man is unequal to this, he should endeavour, in some way, to enter into the number of state servants. Thus the currency of the means of subsistence rests on a twofold basis, *viz.*, the justice of sovereign monarchs and regard to the welfare of well-disposed dependents. The base materialist understands not the language of reason and never transcends the limits of bodily sense. This unfertile soil needs the water of the sword, not the limpid spring of demonstration. In the presence of the majesty of the prince, the proud and perverse of disposition sink into obscurity while the prosperity of the good who seek after justice is ever continuous.

Of a truth, whatever be the recompense of the guardianship over the four[74] priceless elements of the constitution, it is both meet and expedient and according to the Almighty will. To the watchmen over the house, the lord thereof appoints the guerdon, and to the watchmen of the universe, its shepherds. If the whole of a man's possessions were spent for the protection of his honour, it would be but fitting if in gratitude he further pledged his whole credit, how much the more when it is a question of the guardianship of the four great elements of State polity? But just monarchs exact not more than is necessary to effect their purpose and stain not their hands with avarice; and hence it is that this principle varies, as has been stated, according to diversities of age and country. From this suggestive digression, it will be evident that whatever circumspect rulers exact from their subjects after due deliberation and to subserve the interests of justice and grant to their submissive dependents, has a perfect propriety and is universally in vogue. It is also clear that the maintenance of the soldier should be ampler and more choice. Next follow the cultivators and then other artisans.

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[74] In Vol. I. Abul Fazl's preface, they are named as (1) the warriors, (2) the artificers and merchants, (3) the learned, and (4) the husbandmen and labourers,—who are respectively likened to the four elements, fire, air, water and earth. [J. S.]

Ancient Greek[78] treatises affirm that professions are circumscribed to three classes, the Noble, the Base, and the Intermediate. The former refers to the mind and is, also, of not more than three kinds: the first concerns the pure intellect, as sagacity and capability of administration; the second, acquired knowledge, as composition or eloquence. the third personal courage, as military duty. The Base also is of three kinds: the first is opposed to the common weal of mankind, such as the hoarding of grain; the second is the contrary of any one virtue, as buffoonery; the third is such as the disposition is naturally averse from, as the trade of a barber, a tanner or a sweeper. The Intermediate comprises various callings and trades; some that are of necessity, such as agriculture; others which could be dispensed with, as dyeing; others again simple, as carpentry and ironmongery; and some compound, as the manufacturing of scales or knives.

From this exposition the distinguished character of the military profession is evident. In short, the noblest source of maintenance is to be found in a profession which is associated with just dealing, self-restraint and bravery and apart from evil doing and sensuality. The good regard three things as necessary in a profession—avoidance of tyranny, refraining from what is dishonourable, abstinence from all that is mean; by what is dishonourable, is meant buffoonery and the like low pursuits; by what is mean, is understood an inclination to base callings.

When an appropriate means of maintenance is secured, it is a requisite condition of economy to husband a portion of one's means, provided that the household is not thereby straitened. The mendicant should not be turned away disappointed nor subjected to the reproof of covetousness and greed. The proper control of an estate is conditional on the expenditure being less than the income; it is permitted to indulge a little in commercial speculation and engage in remunerative undertakings, reserving a part in coin and valuables, a part in goods and wares, and somewhat invested in the speculations of others, and yet a por-

[78] The reference is, no doubt, to Aristotle's *Politics* z. (Δ) the true sense of which has been lost by filtration through some Arabic version or paraphrase. [H. S. J.]

The reader will find most of these ideas in a rather different form in Aristotle's Politics, Walford's translation in Bohn's Classical Library (1853), Bk. IV. Ch. IV (pp. 130 sqq.) Bk. III. Ch. V (p. 91). [J. S.]

tion in lands and immoveable estates, and a share may be entrusted to borrowers of credit, and expenditure regulated with circumspection, justice and modesty. Let such a one be frank in his commercial dealings and give no place in his heart to self-reproach. He should keep in view of his purpose, the will of God, not the hope of gratitude, the increase of reputation or the expectation of reward. He should also give freely to the needy whose destitution is unexposed. There is also a twofold manner of munificence which if exercised in just measure, is meritorious. Firstly, what is given in pure generosity or largesse such as a present and the like. This should be done quickly and secretly and without setting store on its amplitude or abundance, nor yet so as to cripple one's resources or exhaust them.

Secondly what is called for by occasional exigencies, either in procuring comforts or removing grievances, such as what is given to oppressors or to the profligate in order that person, property and honour may escape their injury. But in this he should use moderation. In procuring the conveniences of life, however, it is better that the bounty should be liberal.

People of the world in the matter of living are to be resolved into three classes. One class are fallen into such heedlessness that spiritual needs do not enter their comprehension, much less are practically considered. Another through their luminous fortune are so immersed in the consideration of essential truths that they give no thought to their means of sustenance. But those who seek the felicity to come, the circumspect in conduct, neglect not a just appreciation of life but make external conditions the instrument of interior well being in the hope of admission among those absorbed in divine love, and so attaining to the third degree of felicity, whence after traversing the arid waste of deliverance, they may repose in the second.[76]

The dues of sovereignty have thus been set forth. The circulation of the means of sustenance, thus, is seen to rest on the justice of prudent monarchs and the integrity of conscientious dependents. And because the conditions of

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[76] That is, according to the theology of the mystics, the third stage in the progressive spiritual life is the attraction of the soul to God *Allah*; the second is immersion in the Divine love *fi-Allah;* the supreme stage is the unitive *Ma' Allah* reserved for his chosen saints.

the royal state and prerogative vary in different countries, and soils are diverse in character, some producing abundantly with little labour, and others the reverse, and as inequalities exist also, through the remoteness or vicinity of water and cultivated tracts, the administration of each state must take these circumstances into consideration and fix its demands accordingly. Throughout the whole extent of Hindustan where at all times so many enlightened monarchs have reigned, one-sixth of the produce was exacted; in the Turkish empire, Irān and Turān a fifth, a sixth, and a tenth respectively. In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called, *khirāj*. Kubād disapproved of this practice, and resolved that the revenue should be fixed upon arable land accurately surveyed. But his death occurred before he could accomplish his design. Noshirwān (his son) carried it to completion and made the *jarib* of ten square reeds.[77] This was sixty royal yards square. One fourth of this was taken as a *qafiz*[78] and valued at three dirhams,[79] and the third part was fixed as the contribution due to the state. *Qafiz* is a measure, called also *sāa'* weighing eight *ratl*,[80] and, some say, more. The dirham is equal in weight to one *misqāl*. When the Caliphate fell to Omar, at the suggestion of the learned, he adopted the plan of Noshirwān but through the vicissitudes of temporal conditions, he introduced some alterations which may be gathered from ancient volumes. In Turān and Irān from ages past, they have exacted a tenth, but the exactions have increased to more than a half which does not appear exorbitant to a despotic government. In Egypt they take for a

Faddān of the best soil,	3	*Ibrahimis*
,, ,, ,, middling,	2	,,
,, ,, ,, worst,	1	,,

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[77] In the original, the word *qabzah* is written erroneously for *qasbah* which is corrected in the subsequent page with the following note. "According to the glossaries, 6 barleycorns make an *asba'*. (finger breadth) : 4 *asba'*, a *qabzah* : 8 *qabzah*, a *zarāa'* (cubit) : 10 cubits, a *qasbah* : 10 *qasbah*, an *ashl* : a *jarib* is 1 square *ashl*, *i.e.*, 10 square *qasbah* or 100 square cubits. According to the *quddmah*, 4 *asba'* is equal to a *qabzah*, and 10 *qabzah* a cubit, and 60 cubits an *ashl*. According to this, a *jarib* would be 60 square cubits."

[78] *Qafiz*.—A space of ground containing from about 124 to 144 cubits square. It is also a dry measure. *Enc. Isl.* ii. 622.

[79] *Dirham* in *Ency. of Islam*, i. 978; and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. Ain II.

[80] *Ratl* is variously rated at 12 to 16 oz. At Bombay it is said to be equal to 36 Surat rupees. In the Red Sea littoral the Rottolo, as it is corruptly called, varies from 10 to 24 oz. avoirdupois. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 441.

The *faddān*[80a] is a measure of land of 100 square reeds, each of which is equal to one *bāa'*. An *Ibrahimi* is current for 40 *kabirs* and 14 *kabirs* is equal to a rupee of Akbar Shāh. In some parts of the Turkish empire, they exact from the husbandman 30 *Ākchehs* for every yoke of oxen. The *Ākcheh* is a silver coin equal to 81 *Ibrahimis*. And from crown lands the demand is 42 *Ākcheh*, and from each soldier 21, besides which the governor of the Subah takes 15 more. In some parts for each plough 20, and from each soldier 7 *Ākcheh*, while the Governor takes six. In others, the *Sanjaqbegi*[81] receives 27 and the *Subashi* (kotwāl) twelve. Other systems are also given which obtain in that empire.

Note on Islamic land-tax.

The very obscure and complicated subject of the land system of early Islam can be best studied in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* by piecing together information scattered under the following words :—*Kharadj* (ii. 902), *Muqasama* (Suppl. 154), *'Ushr* (iv. 1050-1052), *Dār-al-Sulh* (i. 919), and *Fai'* (ii. 38). Abu Yusuf Ibn Yaqub's *Kitāb-ul-Khirāj* (Fr. tr. by. E. Fagan) is not very helpful. The application of the system to India in Aurangzib's reign is discussed in detail in Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 3rd ed., ch. XI.

The term *sulhiy*, for the meaning of which Abul Fazl refers us to "ancient documents," will be understood from the following passages of the *Ency. Islam* (i. 919, under *Dār ul Sulh*) : "With the Christian population of Najran Muhammad himself entered on treaty relationships, guaranteeing their safety and laying on them a certain tribute. See on the whole story, Baladhuri, *Futuh-al-Buldān*. The constitutional situation on the matter is thus

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[80a] *Faddān*, a certain measure of land, subdivided into 24 *qirāt*—loosely reckoned as the quantity which a yoke of oxen will plough in one day and commonly defined as consisting of 333⅓ *qasabehs*, the latter being 24 *qabdah*, and the *qabdah* being the measure of a man's fist with the thumb erect, or about 6¼ inches. Lane's *Arab. Lex*. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 36.

[81] *Sanjaq* is a word in Turkish, signifying a flag or standard : it also means a minor province of which several form one Eyālat or Government. It is in this latter sense that the word should probably be taken, signifying the provincial governor. An *Ākcheh* is ⅓ of a *pāra* and consequently the 1/120 of a piastre or the 1/8 of a penny; it is frequently mentioned under the name of *asper*, a corruption of the Greek equivalent for the proper Turkish word. [*Ency. Islam*, iv. 148. *Aqcha*, in *ibid*., i. 229].

formally laid down by Mawardi: All territories . . . under Muslim control . . . fall into three divisions: (*i*) those taken by force of arms; (*ii*) those taken without fighting after the flight of their previous owners; (*iii*) those taken by treaty (*Sulh*). . . In the last (class) if the title to the soil remains with the original owners, . . . the terms of the treaty are that the owners retain their lands and pay a *Kharāj* from their produce; that this *kharāj* is regarded as a *jizya* which falls away when they embrace Islam; that their lands are absolutely their own to sell or pledge; and that their country is neither *Dār-ul-Islām* nor *Dār-ul-Harb* but *Dār-ul-Sulh*. When these lands pass to a Muslim, *Kharāj* can no longer be collected . . . Mawardi includes among the *Bilād al Islām* this *Dār-ul-Sulh*." Also, *ibid.*, ii. 38 under *Fai'*:—"Verses lix. 6, 3 and 10 of the *Qurān* were revealed when Muhammad had resolved not to divide the fields and orchards left by the Ban u'l Nādir, who had been driven out of the country, as booty of war among those who had taken part in the siege, but to give them to the Muhājirs exclusively. He justified this action by arguing that these were really obtained not by fighting, but in a peaceful fashion, by surrender."

"At a later period 'Umar I thought that this principle should be applied to the newly conquered territories also. He ordered that only movable property captured should be divided among the Arab conquerors, but not the land. . . . As a rule only the native population was to till the ground and pay . . . tribute to the Muslim treasury. This payment (*kharāj*) was to be bound up with the possession of land for all time . . . The only exception was those districts, whose inhabitants had voluntarily surrendered on the approach of the Arab army on condition that they were allowed to retain possession of their lands. In such districts (the so called *Dār-al-Sulh*) the land did not belong to the *fāi*." [*J. Sarkar.*]

The Muhammadans account conquered lands of 3 kinds: *U'shri*, *Khirāji* and *Sulhiy*. The first two are subdivided into five kinds and the last into two. *U'shri*, 1st kind; the district of Tehāmah which comprises Mecca, Tāif, Yemen, O'mān, Bahrayn.[82] 2nd kind; land of which

[82] The text has a word following "Bahrayn" which may possibly be read as a proper name. Either Rabah or Rayah, but Abu'l Fazl quotes evidently from the Fatāwa of Qāzi Khan (A.H. 592, Hāj. Khal.) where the definition

the owner has voluntarily embraced that faith. 3rd, Lands which have been conquered and apportioned. 4th, Land on which an adherent of that faith has built a mosque or planted a vine or laid out a garden or fertilized it with rain water; otherwise other conditions apply. 4th, Waste land which has been brought into cultivation by permission of the owner. *Khirāji* 1st kind; Persia proper and Kirmān. 2nd, Land which a tributary subject has laid out as grounds round about his house. 3rd, Land which a Muslim has reclaimed and irrigates from a source constructed from the public revenues. 4th, Land which has been acquired by convention. 5th, Land cultivated by means of water that pays revenue. *Sulhiy,* Lands of the Bani Najrān and Bani Taghlib;[83] the details of these may be learnt from ancient documents. Likewise, in some treatises, land is regarded under three heads. 1st, Land cultivated by Muslims which they deem *U'shr.*[84] 2nd, Land of which the proprietors have accepted that faith. According to some, this is *U'shri,* and others say that it is *U'shri or Khirāji,* according to the determination of the Imām. 3rd, Land acquired by conquest, which some make *U'shri* and others *khirāji,* and others again affirm that its classification rests with the Imām. 4th, Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirāji.* Tribute paid by *khirāji* lands is of two kinds. 1. *Muqāsamah* (divided), is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. 2. *Wazifah*[85] which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirāj,* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *Zakāt*[86] is taken from the amount under certain stipulations and this they call a tithe, but on

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of the limits *of U'shri* are laid down exactly as in the text with the omission of Rabeh. The Fatāwa i A'lamgiri follows Qāzi Khān. From the variants of this doubtful reading given in the notes, it is clear that there is some corruption and perhaps the variant of M.S. *Dal* is correct.

[83] The text has Tha'lab, a misprint. The details of the submission of these two tribes may be gathered from Caussin De Perc. *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes. Ency. Islam,* iii. 825 (under *Nadjrān*), *Sup.* 264 (under *Uqail*), Sup. 223 (under *Taghlib*).

[84] This word signifies a tenth and is the tithe assessed on lands under Muslim rule. *U'shri* are therefore those lands subject to the tithe.

[85] *Wazifah* signifies a stipend or any thing stipulated or agreed upon; hence, revenue collected at a stipulated or fixed rate for a certain quantity of land. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 557.

[86] *Zakat,* the poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may *purify* it thereby, the root of the word, *zakā,* denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p.c. provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months. See *Ency. Isl.* iv. 1202-1204.

each of these points there is much difference of opinion. The Caliph Omar, during his time, taxed those who were not of his faith at the rate of 48 dirhams for persons of condition, 24 for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class. This was called the *Jaziyah* (capitation tax).

In every kingdom government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue and this they call *Tamghah*.[87] In Irān and Turān they collect the land tax from some, from others the *Jihāt* and from others again the *Sāir Jihāt*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajuhāt* and *Farua'āt* are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Māl*. Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihāt*, and the remainder *Sair*[88] *Jihāt*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajuhāt*; otherwise they are termed *Furua'āt*.

In every country such demands are troublesome and vexatious to the people. His Majesty in his wise statesmanship and benevolence of rule carefully examined the subject and abolished all arbitrary taxation, disapproving that these oppressions should become established by custom. He first defined the *gaz*, the *tanāb*, and the *bighah* and laid down their bases of measurement: after which he classed the lands according to their relative values in production and fixed the revenue accordingly.

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[87] The Turkish word *tamghā* means a royal seal or stamp: sometimes written *altamgha* from the Turkish *āl*. red The word also signifies a royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes and recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable. Although, perhaps, originally bearing a red or purple stamp, the colour of the imperial seal or signature became in Indian practice indifferent. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 19. *Ency. Isl* ii. 171.

[88] In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* or all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, as customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax &c., in which sense it is current throughout India: the several imposts under this name were abolished by the British Government, except customs, duties on spirituous liquors and other minor items. The privilege of imposing local taxes under the name of *Sāir*, was also taken away from private individuals, but it still applies to various items of the income from landed property not comprised in the produce of cultivation, as rent from fisheries, timber, fruit-trees, bees'-wax &c.; it also designates certain admitted manorial rights or prescriptive fees and cesses levied from residents in a village, or from cultivators by the proprietors, which have long been established and are upon the record: the former of these additions are usually taken into account, the latter not, in fixing the assessment. It is also a tax on personal property. In Marathi it also signifies the place where the customs are levied. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 454.

A'IN VIII.

The Ilāhi Gaz

Is a measure of length and a standard gauge. High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, *viz.*, long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *Tassuj*.[88a] A *Tassuj* of the 1st kind was equal to 8 ordinary barley-corns placed together breadthways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, roads, distances, forts, reservoirs and mud walls. The middling was employed to measure buildings of stone and wood, bamboo-built houses, places of worship, wells and gardens, and the short *gaz* for cloth, arms, beds, seats of state, sedan chairs, palanquins, chairs, carts and the like.

In some other countries, although they reckon the *gaz* as consisting of 24 *Tassuj*, they make

1 Tassuj	equal to	2 Habbah (grain).
1 Habbah	,,	2 Barley-corns.
1 Barley-corn	,,	6 Mustard seeds.
1 Mustard seed	,,	12 Fals.
1 Fals	,,	6 Fatila.
1 Fatila	,,	6 Naqir.
1 Naqir	,,	8 Qitmir.
1 Qitmir	,,	12 Zarrah.
1 Zarrah	,,	8 Habā.
1 Habā	,,	2 Wahmah.

Some make 4 Tassuj	equal to	1 Dāng.
6 Dāng	,,	1 Gaz.

Others reckon the *gaz* as 24 fingers, each finger equal to the breadth of 6 barley-corns, and each barley-corn equal in thickness to 6 hairs from the mane of a cob. In some ancient books they make the *gaz* equal to two spans and twice round the joint (*girih*) of the thumb, and they divided it into 16 *girih* and each *girih* was subdivided into 4 parts

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[88a] *Tassuj* is an arabicized word from the Pers. *tasu*, a weight of 4 barley-corns, the 24th part of a weight measure or day. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 682 (under *Tasudj*).

which they called 4 *pahr*, so that a *pahr* was the sixty-fourth part of a *gaz*.

In other ancient records the *gaz* is reckoned of seven kinds. 1st, The *Gaz i Sauda* (*Gaz* of traffic) consisting of 24 digits and two-thirds of a digit. Harun ur Rashid of the House of 'Abbās took this measure from the hand of an Abyssinian slave who was one of his attendants: the Nilometer[88b] of Egypt is on this measure, and houses and cloths are also measured by it. 2nd, *Zirāa' i qasbah*, (Reed-yard) called also *A'āmah*; and *Daur*, of 24 digits: this was introduced by Ibn Abi Laila.[89] 3rd, The *Yusufiyah*, used by the provincial governors of Baghdad for the measurement of houses: it consisted of 25 digits. 4th, The short *Hāshimiyah*, of 28 digits and a third. Bilāl[90] the son of Abi Bardah introduced it: according to some it was Abu Musa Ash'ari his grandfather. 5th, The long *Hāshimiyah* of 29 digits and two-thirds which Mansur the A'bbaside favoured. It is also called the *Maliq* and *Ziyādiyah*. Ziyād[91] was the so-called son of Abu Sufiyān who used it to measure the lands in Arabian I'rāq. 6th, The *Omariyah* of 31 digits. During his Caliphate, Omar carefully considered the long, short and middling *gaz*. He took the three kinds together and to one-third of the aggregate he added the height of the closed fist and the thumb erect. He closed both ends of the measure with tin and sent it to Hudaifah[92] and Othmān[93]-b-Hunaif which they used for the measurement of the villages in Arabian Irāq. 7th, The *Māmuniyah* of 70 digits less a third. Mamun brought it into use, and it was employed for measuring rivers, plains and road distances

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[88b] The cubit of the Nilometer is supposed to be the same as that of the Jews, which is exactly two feet English: if so the 24 digits will be precisely inches. A finger's breadth may be safely taken as three quarters of an inch. *Useful Tables*, pp. 87, 88. For *Zirā'* see *Ency. Isl.* i. 959 (under *Dhirā'*).

[89] *Muhammad-b-Abdur Rahmān*, surnamed Ibn Abi Layla, was a distinguished jurisconsult and one of the *Tābiis*. He was Qadhi of Kufa where he was born A.H. 74, and died in A.H. 148 D'Herb.

[90] *Bilāl*. -The grandson of Abu Musa al Ashari, Qādhi of Basrah, of which his grandfather had been Governor. See a brief notice of him in Ibn Khall Vol. II, p. 2.

[91] *Ziyād*, the governor of Irāq (*Enc. Isl.* iv. 1232).

[92] *Hudaifah*, one of the most eminent of the Companions of Muhammad. Omar appointed him to the government of Madāin, where he died after the assassination of Othmān and 40 days after the accession of 'Ali. Ibn Hajar. *Biog. Dict.*

Othmān.—He was governor of Basrah under the Caliph 'Ali. Ibn Khall, p. 391, Vol. IV.

Some in former times reckoned the cloth-measure (*gaz*) to be seven times the fist, and the fist was equal to four fingers closed; according to others, one finger less. The survey *gaz*, according to some, was the same seven fists: others made it seven fists together with one finger (thumb?) erect added to the seventh fist. Others again added another finger to that fist; while some made it seven fists with one finger adjoined to each fist.

Sultan Sikander Lodi in Hindustān introduced another *gaz* of the breadth of 41 *Iskandaris* and a half. This was a copper coin mixed with silver. Humayun added a half and it was thus completed to 42. Its length was 32 digits. But some authors anterior to his time make mention of a similar measure. Sher Khān and Salim Khān [Sur], under whom Hindustān was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment, in measuring land used this *gaz*. Till the thirty first-year of the Divine Era, although the *Akbar Shāhi gaz* of 46 fingers was used as a cloth-measure, the *Iskandari gaz* was used for cultivated lands and buildings. His Majesty in his wisdom, seeing that the variety of measures was a source of inconvenience to his subjects, and regarding it as subservient only to the dishonest, abolished them all and brought a medium *gaz* of 41 digits into general use. He named it the *Ilāhi gaz* and it is employed by the public for all purposes.

A'IN IX.

The Tanāb.[94]

His Majesty fixed for the *jarib* the former reckoning in yards and chose the measurement of sixty square, but adopted the *Ilāhi gaz*. The *Tanāb* (tent rope) was in Hindustān a measure of hempen rope twisted which became

[94] The *Tanāb, Jarib* and *Bigha* seem to have been indiscriminately used as nearly interchangeable terms. The *Jarib* in its original use, according to Wilson (*Glossary*), was a measure of capacity equal to 60 *qafiz* or 384 *madd*, about 768 pounds. It then became applied to a land measure, or as much land as could be sown with a *jarib* of seed-corn, and then appears to have been loosely used for a *bigha*. In course of time it occurs as a measure of land of various extent, and as the chain or rope for measuring. In the N. W. P. the measurements were made by a chain, and the *jarib* is=to 5

shorter or longer according to the dryness or moisture of the atmosphere. It would be left in the dew and thus fraudfully moistened. Oftentimes it would be employed in the early morning when it had got damp and had shrunk, and by the end of the day it had become dry and had lengthened. In the former case, the husbandmen suffered loss, in the latter the royal revenues were diminished. In the 19th year of the Divine era, the *jarib* was made of bamboos joined by iron rings. Thus it is subject to no variation, and the relief to the public was felt everywhere while the hand of dishonest greed was shortened.

A'IN X.

The Bigha

Is a name applied to the *jarib*. It is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3600 square *gaz*.[85] They divide the *bigha* into 20 parts, each of which is called *biswah*, and this is divided into 20 parts each of which is termed *biswānsah*. In measuring they reduce no further. No revenue is required from 9 *biswānsah*, but ten they account as one *biswah*. Some, however, subdivide the biswānsah into 20 parts, each of which they called *taswān-*

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chains of 11 yards each, or to 60 *gaz* or 20 gathas or knots. A square of one *jarib* is a *bigha*. Before the new system of survey, it was usual to measure lands paying revenue with a *jarib* of 18 knots only, two being coiled round the measurer, but free lands were measured with the entire rope of 20 knots. In Sindh a *jarib* is a measure of a 150 square feet In Telegu, it is applied to garden land or its produce. The standard *bigha* of the revenue surveyors of the N. W. P. is = to 3,025 sq. yds. or ⅝ of an acre. In Bengal the *bigha* contained only 1,600 sq. yds. or a little less than ⅓ of an acre. In Benares at the time of the settlement, it was determined at 3,136 sq. yds. In other perganahs it was equal to 2,025 to 3,600 or 3,925 sq. yds. A *kachha bigha* is in some places a third, in others only a fourth of a full *bigha*. Akbar's *bigha* of 3,600 Ilahi *gaz* was considered = to 3,025 sq. yds. of the *bigha* of Hindustān. In Cuttack the *bigha* is now considered to be an English acre. The Maratha *bigha* is called 20 *pāuds* or 400 sq. *kāthis* or rods of (each) 5 cubits and 5 hand-breadths. The Guzerāt *bigha* contains only 284⅟ sq. yds. Mr. Elliot specifies six variations found in the Upper Provinces. See Wilson's *Gloss.* under *Bigha* and *Jarib*. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 530-539 (under *al-Misāha*) and i. 1018 (under *Djarib*). Elliot *Memoirs*, ii. 189 (*jarib*).

[85] The text has an error of 60 for 600. 3600 sq. gaz = 2,600 sq. yards = 0·538 or somewhat more than half an acre. *U. T.*, p. 88

sah, which they again divide into 20 parts, calling each *tapwānsah*. This again they partition into 20 portions, and name them severally *answānsah*. A *bigha* as measured by the *tanāb* of hemp, was two *biswah* and 12 *biswānsah* smaller in extent than the *bigha* measured by the *tanāb* of bamboo. This makes a difference of 10 *bigha* in a hundred. Although the *tanāb* of hemp was of 60 *gaz*, yet in the twisting it shrank to 56. The *Ilāhi gaz* was longer than the *Iskandari* by one *biswah*, 16 *biswānsah*, 13 *taswānsah*, 8 *tapwānsah*, and 4 *answānsah*. The difference between the two reduced the *bigha* by 14 *biswah*, 20 *biswānsah*, 13 *taswānsah*, 8 *tapwānsah*, *and* 4 *answānsah*. In one hundred *bighas* the variation in the two measures amounted to 22 bighas, 3 *biswah* and 7 *biswānsah*.

A'IN XI.

Land and its classification, and the proportionate dues of Sovereignty.

When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanāb*, and the *bigha*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

Polaj is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow.

Parauti is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength.

Chachar is land that has lain fallow for three or four years.

Banjar is land uncultivated for five years and more.

Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khān, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money.

Produce of Polaj Land.[36] *Spring Harvest, called in Hindi Asādhi.*

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj*.		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts.		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj*.		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Wheat	18		12		8	35	38	35	12	38⅓	4	12⅞
Nukhud—(Vetches) ...	13		10	20	7	20	31	0	10	13⅓	3	18
Adas—Pulse (Cicer lins) in Hindi. *Masur* ...	8	10	6	20	4	25	19	15	6	18⅓	2	6
Barley	18	0	12	20	8	15	38	35	12	38⅓	4	12⅞
Linseed	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Safflower—(carthamus tinctorius)	8	30	6	30	5	10	20	30	6	36⅔	2	12
Arzan—Millet (Penicum miliaceum (in Hindi *China*)	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1⅔	2	27⅕
Mustard	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1⅔	2	27⅕
Peas	13	0	10	20	8	25	32	5	10	28	3	23
Fenugreek (*Methi*) ...	14	0	11	0	9	35	34	35	11	25	3	35
Kur rice	24	0	18	0	14	10	56	10	18	30	6	10

The revenue from musk melons, *ajwāin* (*Ligusticum ajowan*), onions and other greens not counted as produce, was ordered to be paid in ready money at the rates hereinafter mentioned.

[36] I have copied the *form* of the 4 following tables from Gladwin. Abul Fazl makes the calculation for the 4th and 5th columns for wheat only. For vetches and pulse he omits the 4th column and omits the 4th and 5th of all the remainder. The fractions below a quarter of a seer are discarded in calculating the proportion fixed for revenue: the thirds are not always mathematically exact, and fractions are sometimes raised to a unit or altogether omitted.

Polaj Land.

The Autumn Harvest, called in Hindi SĀWANI.

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj.*		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts.		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj.*		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Molasses[97]	13	0	10	20	7	20	31	0	10	13⅓	3	18
Cotton	10	0	7	20	5	0	22	20	7	20	2	20
Shāli Mushkin—Dark coloured, small in grain and white, fragrant, that ripens quickly and pleasant to taste ...	24	0	18	0	14	10	56	10	18	30	6	10
Common rice, not of the above quality ...	17	0	12	20	9	15	38	35	12	38⅓	4	13
Māash—in Hindi *Mung* (Phaseolus mungo) ...	10	20	7	20	5	10	23	10	7	30	2	23⅓
Mush Siah—H. *Uridh* (a kind of vetch) ...	10	20	7	20	5	10	23	10	7	30	2	23⅓
Moth (lentils), coarser than the white *mung* and better than the dark ...	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	6⅔	1	29
Jowār (Andropogon Sorghum. Roxb.) ...	13	0	10	20	7	20	31	0	10	13⅓	3	18
Shamākh—H. *Sanwān* (Panicum frumentaceum. Roxb.)	10	20	8	20	5	5	24	5	8	1⅔	2	27⅓
Kodron[98] (like Sanwān) but its outer husk darkish red	17	0	12	20	9	15	38	35	12	38⅓	4	12⅘
Sesame	8	0	6	0	4	0	18	0	6	0	2	0
Kanguni (Panicum italicum)	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Turiya, like mustard seed, but inclined to red ...	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Arzan (Panicum miliaceum) generally a spring crop	16	0	13	20	10	25	40	5	13	1⅔	4	13⅓
Lahdarah grows in ear, the grain like *Kanguni*	10	20	7	20	5	10	23	10	7	30	2	23⅓
Mandwah (Cynosurus corocanus) the ear like Sānwan, the seed like mustard seed, but some red, some white ...	11	20	9	0	6	20	27	0	9	0	3	0

[97] The 4th and 5th columns have been omitted by Abul Fazl.

[98] A variant gives *Kodon* and *Koderam* probably the same as *Kodo*—a small grain (Paspalum frumentaceum). Wilson's *Glossary*, 292.

The Autumn Harvest, called in Hindi SĀWANI.—*Contd.*

	Produce of a *bigha* of the best sort of *Polaj*.		Produce of a *bigha* of the middling sort.		Produce of a *bigha* of the worst sort.		Aggregate produce of three *bighas* of different sorts		One third of the preceding, being the medium produce of a *bigha* of *polaj*.		One third of the medium produce, being the proportion fixed for the revenue.	
	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.
Lobiya (Dolichos sinensis), resembles a bean, somewhat small	10	20	7	20	5	10	28	10	7	30	2	20⅓
Kudiri, like *Sānwan* but coarser	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29
Kult, (Dolichos uniflorus) like a lentil somewhat darker, its juice good for camels: it softens stone and renders it easy to cut	10	20	7	20	5	10	23	10	17	30	2	20⅓
Barti, like *Sanwān* but whiter (a species of Panicum)	6	20	5	10	3	30	15	20	5	7	1	29

As a consideration for watching the crops a quarter of a seer (per maund) is allowed in some places and in others more, as will be shown.

The revenue from indigo, poppy, *pān*, turmeric, water chestnut[99] (trapa bispinosa), hemp, *kachālu* (arum colocasia) pumpkin, *hinna* (Lawsonia inermis) cucumbers, *bādrang* (a species of cucumber), the egg-plant (solanum melongena), radishes, carrots, *karelā* (momordica charantia) *kakura* (Momordica Muricata), *tendas*,[100] and musk-melons,

[99] This is the *Singārah* or Singharah. In the month of November, the nut ripens and such of the fruit as remains ungathered, falls off and sinks to the bottom of the pond. When the water dries up in May or June, these nuts or bulbs are found to have thrown out a number of shoots. They are then carefully collected and placed in a small hole in the deepest portion of the tank and covered with water. In the rains when the ponds begin to fill, the bulbs are taken up, each shoot is broken off, enveloped in a ball of clay to sink it and thrown into the water at different distances. They at once take root and grow rapidly until in a short time the surface of the water is covered with leaves. The fruit forms in October. The produce of a standard *bigha* is about 2¼ *mans* which at the selling price of 10 *sers* for the rupee, represent a total value of Rs. 10. It is much more extensively consumed by the Hindus than the Mahomedans. Carnegie's *Kachhari Technicalities*.

[100] Also called *tendu*: resinous fruit of the tree Diospyros glutinosa.

not counted as produce, was ordered to be paid in ready money at the rates hereafter mentioned.

Parauti land when cultivated, pays the same revenue as *polaj*.

His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the abovementioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwari* and the *qānungo*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *qānungo* (one per cent.) is remitted and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank. The salary of the first is fifty rupees: of the second, thirty; of the third, twenty; and they have an assignment for personal support equivalent thereto. It was the rule that the commissaries of the *shiqdar*, *karkun*,[101] and *Amin* should receive daily 58 *dāms* as a perquisite, provided that in spring they did not measure less than 200, nor in autumn less than 250 *bighas*. His Majesty whose heart is capacious as the ocean, abolished this custom and allowed only one *dām* for each *bigha*.

Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindustān were remitted by His Majesty as a thank-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following:

The capitation tax, *jizya*.
The port duties, *mir-bahari*.
Tax[102] per head on gathering at places of worship, *kar*.
A tax on each head of oxen, *gāo-shumāri*.
A tax on each tree, *sar-i-darakhti*.
Presents, *peshkash*.
Distraints, *qurq*.
A tax on the various classes of artificers, *peshawar*.
Dārogha's fees, *dāroghānah*.
Tahsildār's fees, *tahsildāri*.
Treasurer's fees, *fotahdāri*.

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[101] *Kārkun*, the registrar of the collections under a *Zamindar*. The *Amin* was an officer employed either in the revenue department to take charge of an estate and collect the revenues on account of government, or to investigate and report their amount: or in the judicial department, as a judge and arbitrator in civil causes. Wilson's *Gloss.*, 261.

[102] The word is *kar* in the text, and is probably from the Sansk. कर an impost, fee or cess. These imposts are called *wajuhāt* in the text, and *ābwābs* in the later Mughal days. For a full account of the *ābwābs*, see Sarkar's *Mughal Adm.*, 3rd ed., ch. v. § 8 and 9.

Complimentary offerings on receiving a lease and the like, *salāmi*.

Lodging charges, *wajih kirāya*.
Money bags, *kharitah*
Testing and exchanging money, *sarrāfi*.
Market duties, *hāsil-i-bāzār*.

Sale of cattle (*nakhās*); also on hemp, blankets, oil, raw hides, weighing (*Kayyāli*), scaling; likewise butcher's dues, tanning, playing at dice,[103] passports for goods, turbans,[104] hearth-money [*dudi, har ke ātish āfruzad chize bar dehad, i.e.*, fee for illumination?] fees on the purchase and sale of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth, *balkati* on permission to reap the harvest, felt, manufacture of lime, spirituous liquors, brokerage, catching fish, the product of the tree Āl (*Morinda citrifolia*);[105] in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindustān include under the term *Sair Jihāt*,[106] were remitted.

ĀIN XII.

Chachar land.

When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year, therefore, but two fifths of the produce is taken: in the second three-fifths; in the third,[107] four-fifths and in the fifth, the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation, the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent. and one *dām* for each bigha[108] are added.

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[103] Two words follow which are marked in the text as doubtful, there is doubtless an omission.

[104] The word is *pag*, contraction of *pagri*, a turban. It was a kind of poll tax levied on every turban.

[105] From which a dye is extracted.

[106] See p. 63.

[107] There is probably an error in the text as the fourth year is omitted. Gladwin has "the third *and fourth* years fourth-fifths each"

[108] I take the *wa* between *dah wa nim* to be an error, as by retaining it the percentage would rise to 15 or at least to 10½. Five per cent. was levied on manufactures; it may therefore have been an extra charge on land though I do not see its reason or its justice. Gladwin translates as I have done.

AIN XIII.

Banjar land.

When through excessive inundations production has seriously diminished, the revenue is collected in the following proportions :

Spring Harvest.

Proportion of revenue from one Bigha of Banjar land for five years.

		1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		5th year
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	
Wheat	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	as *polaj*
Mustard	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Vetches *Nukhud*	I.	0	10	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Barley	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	35	1	20	2	20	,,
Pulse (*Cicer lens*) *Adas* ...	I.	0	10	0	30	1	10	1	30	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	1	30	,,
Millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) *Arzan* ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	0	,,
Linseed	I.	0	10	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	5	0	30	1	10	,,

Note. I stands for inundated land, and R for that which has suffered from rain.

Autumn Harvest.

Proportion of revenue from one Bigha of Banjar land for five years.

		1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year		5th year
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	
Māsh	I.	0	20	1	0	1	20	2	10	as *polaj*
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	0	1	20	,,
Jowār	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	0	2	0	,,
Moth	R.	0	5	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,
Lahdarah	R.	0	5	0	20	1	10	2	0	,,
Kodron	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	20	1	20	2	20	,,
Mendwah	I.	0	20	1	0	2	0	3	0	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	10	2	10	,,
Kudiri	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Kangni, (Pers. *kāl*) ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Turiya	I.	0	20	1	0	1	10	1	20	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Sanwdn (Pers. *Shamākh*) ...	I.	0	10	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	25	0	35	1	10	,,
Arzan	I.	0	10	0	30	1	0	1	10	,,
Do.	R.	0	5	0	30	1	0	1	10	,,
Sesame	R.	0	5	0	20	0	30	1	10	,,

In the 4th year the charges of 5 per cent and one *dām* for each *bigha* were collected and this is still in force.

In *Banjar* land for the 1st year, one or two *sers* are taken from each *bigha;* in the 2nd year, 5 *sers;* in the 3rd year, a sixth of the produce; in the 4th year, a fourth share together with one *dām* : in other years a third suffices. This varies somewhat during inundations. In all cases the husbandman may pay in money or kind as is most convenient. *Banjar* land at the foot of the hills and land subject to inundations in the districts of Sanbhal and Bahrāich, do not remain as *banjar,* for so much new soil is brought down with the overflow that it is richer and more productive than *polaj*. His Majesty, however, in his large munificence places it in the same class. It is in the option of the cultivator to pay in ready money or by *kankut or bhaoli*.

AIN XIV.

The Nineteen Years' Rates.[100]

Intelligent people have from time to time set themselves to record the prices current of the Empire, and after careful inquiry the valuation of grain was accepted on this basis.

The revenue rates for *a bigha of polaj* land were fixed as has been stated. From the 6th year of the Divine Era which runs with the Novilunar year 968 (A. D., 1560-1) and concluding with the 24th year of this reign, the statistics were collected and have been tabulated for reference after the most diligent investigation. The figures are entered under the heading of each year.

[100] Nineteen years correspond with a cycle of the moon during which period the seasons are supposed to undergo a complete revolution. Gladwin, p. 282, Vol. I.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year	18th year.	19th year	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
Wheat ...	90 *dams* D.	80 to 90 D	90 D.	50 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	56 to 60 D.	52 to 60 D.	38 to 48 D.	36 to 52 D.	36 to 74 D	43 to 54 D.	32 to 50 D.	40 to 58 D.	42½ to 80 D.	64 to 94 D.	40 to 58 D.	52 to 116 D.
Cabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38-57	38-57	38-57	38-57	38-57	38-57	38-57	38-57	28-52	50-85
Indian do ...	80	76-80	80	44-56	44-56	44-56	44-56	32-40	20-38	20-30	20-48	19-28	19-20	21-38	19-44½	26½-40	22-37	40-86
Barley ...	80	60-76	60	38-50	38-50	40-52	40-54	36-40	21-28	21-34	21-54	28-30	20-40	28-40	28-52½	36-54	28-36	40-90
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	52-60	50-70	50-60	40-54	40-60	44-62	44-60	44-60	46-60	46-60
Poppy ...	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	140	180	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-130	100-180	100-130	100-180
Safflower	20 *sers*	20 sers.	20 sers	80 D.	80	80	80	70-76	60-70	60-70	52-70	50-70	40-78	54-78	54-78	54-78	54-73	54-78
Linseed	...	...	80 D.	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	50-56	24-30	18-30	18-28	23-26	24-28	24-26	16-34½	16-34½	18-26	24-42
Mustard	80 D.	80	80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	50-56	22-30	20-30	24-32	22-30	22-26	19½-30	19-32	20½-32	18½-26	30-48
Adas (Pulse)	60	60-68	50	32-50	32-50	32-50	32-50	26-32	15-24½	15-28	15-30	15-22	15-28	17-25	16-40½	16-20½	16-24	25-50
Arzan (Millet)	44	44	30	30	30	30	30	26-28	14-20	15-22	15-24	14-18	14-17	16-19	11½-25	12½-24	12-24	16-34
Peas ...	...	68	...	..	...	...	44	15-26	15-42	15-42	15-42	19-24	17-28	17-30	17-30	17-30	18-28	32½-56
Persian Musk-melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	36-120	36-120	36-120	36-120	36-120	36-120	32-120	32-120	32-120	32-120
Indian do ...	10	10	...	...	8	8	8	16	16	15-16	15-16	8-16	15-16	15-16	10-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ...	60	60	60	50-60	54-60	60	54-70	40-54	36-48	36-44	36-54	32-50	32-42	32-54	34-56	34-48	34-48	50-70
Ajwain Ligusticum ajowan ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70-90	70-71	60-90	70	50-80	70-90	70-90	70-74	72-74

Note. In these tables D stands for *dām* and J for *Jetal* the 25th part of a *dām* which is the 40th part of a rupee.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra, continued. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
									D.	D.	D.	D.	D.		D.	D.	D.	D.
Onions ..	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	17 to 73	54-70	70-73	70-72	72-	-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80
Fenugreek ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	50-70	40-70	70	-80	60-70	28-80	32-80	40-80
Carrots ..	*1 man*	*1 man*	*1 man*	...	...	...	...	...	20-60	20-30	20-28	20-40	20-40	16-26	16-26	18-25	18-25	22-40
Lettuce .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	24 .5	25	25	25	16	16

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	6th & 7th years	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*) ..	...	...	...	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	150-200	150-200	180-200	170-200	160-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200
Common sugar-cane ..	180	180	180	140-160	140-160	140-160	140-160	134-154	112-174	100-150	90-134	96-134	96-134	94-189	104-170	100-140	76-100	88-126
Shali Mushkin Dark coloured rice ..	...	...	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	64-70	52-64	29-74	40-64	52-70	42-70	47-87	47-80	47-80	56-80	60-80
Common rice	70	70	70	60	52-60	52-60	56-65	44-52	36-45	36-52	36-45	36-42	34-50	29-50	25-58	40-74	38½-66	46-48
Munji rice ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-65	48-66
Cotton ..	120	120	120	110	110	110	110	70-92	90	85-90	70-90	62-90	70-90	59-94	76-101½	60-90	44 58	44-60
Potherbs ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	60-70	50-70	50-70	60-80	30-80	60-80	56-70	56-76
Sesame seed	60	60	80	70	70	70	70	60-64	50	50	40-50	28-50	25½-50	21-38	21-32½	19-36½	24-37	10½-48
Moth lentils	48	48	54	36-44	40-60	40-48	30-36	20-28	19-36	19-26	14-22	18-23½	16-21	10½-25	19-26	13-21	18-25	10½-32
Mâsh ..	48	48	54	36-44	44	44-50	40-44	32-36	28-32	25½-32	26-32 D. and 18 J	25-36	22-40	25½-45	22-40	22-39½	27-47½	20½-60

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra, continued. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
ng ..	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	82-40	32-40	82-40	82-40	26-40	22-34	27½-48	22-65½	22-50	27-44	32-50
ar ..	50	50	60	40-48	40-48	40-48	40-48	80-40	26-30	24-88	24-30	24-84	22-34	20-84½	22½-46½	26-47	84-48	34-53
darah ..	48	48	48-50	86-44	86-50	36-44	20-24	20-36	20-24	20-86	18-24	18-24	17-81½	17-31½	18-38	18-88	20-80	24-40
iya ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20-32	15-42	20-82	14-82	19-32	19-37	16-86½	20-36½	19-27	22-87
daram ..	44	44	50	44	40-44	40-48	80-86	20-28	20-82	21-22½	19-24	16-82	18½-35	18½-35	21-41	21-42½	21-39½	24-50
i ..	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16-20	10-28	8-28½	8-26	10-26	7-23½	5-28½	5-28½	7-28½	7-20	7-28
mākh ..	36	36	50	26-80	28-30	30-36	26-34	18-20	10-12	10-20	10-12	7-12	8-16	6½-15½	6½-14	7-17	7-13	9-14
(a sort of illet) ..	44	44	50	36-40	86-40	40	40	22-28	13-14	13-28	18-14	18-14	8-14	9-17	9-23	8½-28	8½-18½	12-18
an ..	44	44	50	80-40	82-40	} 86-40												
dwah ..	48	48	50	86-40	82-40		86-40	84-86	15-24	15-86	15-24	15-86	13-24	18-24	13-24	12-28	12-28	12-26
igo ..	140	140	160	140	140	180	126-180	128-136	124-182	116-140	116-186	180-160	186-140	136-140	137-140	130-140	186-140	136-140
ap ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-78	70-76	70-78	70-76	60	60-76	70-76	74-78	68-80	60-84	60-84
iya ..	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	82-40	30-40	32-40	24-40	28½-82	29-40	17½	17½-40	23-40	23-40
meric ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
hālu (arum-locasia) ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60-70	54-70	54-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60	60
t ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	28	24	24	20	26
na ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	60-70	24	53-72	58	53
ermelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10-12	9-11	9½-15	10-13	10-18	10-13	10-13	10-14
..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
hārah ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad. Nineteen years' Rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat ..	90	90	90	60-64	80-100	80-100	70	62	48-70	42-100	42-100	48-70	40-70	42½-64½	48½-86	62½-86	40-62	40-75
Cabul Vetches	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	38-50	50	50	50	50	33-50	33-50	83-75	26-75	40-68½
Indian do. ..	80	80	80	56-64	76-90	76-90	76-90	76-90	24-70	18-40	32-45	20-45	20-45	30-74½	48½-57½	38-50	22½-44	24-43
Barley ..	70	80	80	80-120	80	80	80	70-76	50-106	50-100	50-100	40-100	40-100	40-100	44-60	46-60	43-60	37-60
Pot-herbs ..	80	80	80	80-120	80	80	70-76	60-70	44	28-70	32-50	30-50	21-50	22-50	22½-47	45-83	38-56	24-56
Poppy ..	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	130	100-130	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-180	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower ..	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	70-80	80	80	80	76	60-70	60-70	60-70	52-70	50-70	43-70	56-70	56-70	56-70	56-70
Linseed ..	80	80	80	70-80	80	80	80	64	80-80	26-64	30-64	18-64	20-64	22-81	28-28	20-28	18-22	18-24
Mustard ..	80	80	80	70-80	80	80	80	20-60	30-80	28-44	28-44	22-44	24-44	25-48	26½-46½	28-38	22-30	22-44
Adas ..	60	60	50	40-54	54-60	54-60	54-60	42	17-60	18-40	24-40	15-40	15-40	18-43	24-86	21-35½	25-28	17-38½
Arzan ..	44	44	20	30	40	30-40	26-36	19-36	17-36	17-36	14-36	16-36	16-23	14-28	16-28	14-23	14-28	14-30½
Peas ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15-60	18-45	17-40	14-40	15-40	17-34	17-44	17-44	17-44	17-28	18-41½
Persian Musk-melons ..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	120	120-160	120-160	120-160	80-160	66-160	43-160	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-130
Indian do. ..	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10-12	12-16	12-16	12-16	8-16	9-16	12-40	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ..	60	60	60	60	54-80	60	60-70	40-60	44-46	40-48	40-48	36-46	38-46	22-42	36-42	32-42	40-42	42-50
Ajwain ..	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-100	70-100	70-100	60-100	52-100	52-70	52-73	70-73	52-78	52-78
Onions ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-100	70-76	62-76	72-76	72-76	70-95½
Fenugreek ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	36-70	36-70	36-70	36-70	36-70	50-73	52-72	52-72	28-80	40-80
Carrots ..	1 *man*	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	24-30	24-30	24-30	28-40	20-40	20-32	20-26	20-25	14-25	16-24
Lettuce ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	16	25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*) ..	...	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	170-200	160-200	180-200	180-200	180-200	180-200
Common sugar-cane	180	180	180	180	180	180	180	170-180	174-180	100-144	86½-102	100-120	100-130	86½-184	86½-165½	86-70	86-70	70-126
Dark coloured rice (*Shāli Mushkin*) ..	...	...	...	80	80	80-90	80	80	56-100	56-76½	56-76	56-76	50-76	54½-77	49-77	49-77	56-76	56-76
Common rice	70	70	70	60	80-90	80-90	70	48	36-80	36-50	36-57½	34-57½	37-57½	37-58	42-59	40-50	36-44	30-61
Munji rice ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	48	48	48	48	60	44½	65	65	65
Cotton ..	120	120	180	110	120	120	120	96	90-120	90-120	70-120	70-120	70-120	70-120	70-128	80½-102½	70-102½	50-70
Pot herbs ..	70	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70-100	60-100	50-100	50-100	60-94	60-94	60-94	60-86	60-99½
Sesame seed	60	60	80	70	80	80	80	64	50-100	30-50	39-40	28-40	28-40	26½-38	22-32	24-32	24-52	24-46
Moth (lentils)	48	48	54	44	54-70	50	50	36	22-60	29-46	22-46	20-46	18-46	18-30	22-28	16½-20	16-27	16½-28
Māsh ..	48	48	54	44	54-70	50	48	36	28-70	28-42	28-42	24-42	25-42	27-44	21-44	21-40	24-45	24-45
Mung ..	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	32-72	32-46	32-46	30-46	38-46	32½-48	28½-56	34-56	30-60	26-56
Jowār ..	50	50	60	48	60	48	48	40	28	28	28	26-27	22-26	29-46½	22½-54	30-54	32-40	24-44
Lahdarah ..	48	48	48	44	50-56	50-56	50-56	40-56	20	20	20	20-22	16-40	20-48	20-48	20-48	24-40	28-61
Lobiya ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	56	42	32-42	32-42	32-42	21-48	34-44½	28-58	20-36½	20-44
Kodaram ..	44	44	44	44	44-64	54-64	54-64	36	21-60	21-33	20-44	20-22	16-36½	20½-38	76-48	31-48	22-30	21-39½
Kori ..	40	40	50	24	30	30	30	20	10	10	10	10	7-22	7-14	7-14	7-14	16	7-14
Shamākh ..	36	36	50	30	36	54	36-54	30	30	20	10-40	10-22	10-22	7-22	8-22	7-14	10½-18	10-17
Gāl ..	44	44	50	40	50-56	50-56	50-56	28	18-44	18-24	18-24	10-24	8-24	10½-21½	15-23	15-23	14½-24	[illegible]

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad (continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Arzan ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	86	20-86	20-86	20-86	20-36	18-36	20-88	14-28	14-28	14-28	14-30
Mandwah ...	46	48	50	40	40	52-56	52-56	84	22-56	22-29½	22-29½	17-29½	18-29	19-39½	25-82	25-32	22-28	18-28
Indigo ...	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	186	150-160	130-160	120-180	130-160	180-180	190-140	132-140	132-140	182-140	182-160
Hemp ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	77	70-120	70-80	70-80	76-80	76-80	60-88	60-90½	80	80	80
Turiya ...	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32-80	82-44	32-44	24-44	24-44	82-40	26-40	26½-40	26½-40	26½-40½
Turmeric ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kāchālu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Kult ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	86	86	36	86	24	24	24	18	29½
Hinna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-80	60-60
Watermelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	19½-12	10-14	10-14	10-14	10-14	10-14
Pān ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	180	180	180	180	160	200	200	240	240
Singhāra ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Arhar (Cytisus Cajan) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Oudh. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat	90	90	90	52-60	52-80	52-80	52-70	46-65	48	42-50	50-52	33-46	33-48	46-50½	46-70	54-74½	32-44	38-46
Cabul vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	50	5[illegible]	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Indian do. ...	80	80	80	40-56	48-76	48-76	48-74	34-58	24-88	26-33	26-38	2[illegible]-27	20-28	80-41	42-57	80-57½	19-44	21-40
Barley	80	70	60	42-50	42-60	52	48-50	36-44	28-82	80-32	82-61	20-27	20-28	29½-45	43-62	34-56½	2-30	24-40
Pot-herbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	62-72	56-60	50-6[illegible]	5[illegible]-61	40-62	40-60	40-52	40-52	40-52	44-60	24-60
Poppy	160	160	160	140	140	140	140	130	130	180	100-18[illegible]	100-130	100-130	100-180	100-180	100-130	100-180	100-180
Safflower	½ man	½ man	½ man	80	80	80	80	60-70	70	60-70	6[illegible]-7[illegible]	52-7[illegible]	52-70	54-60	54-60	34-70	54-70	54-70
Linseed	80	80	80	68-80	68-80	68-80	68-80	50-68	80-81	26-81	26-81	8[illegible]-31	18-31	20-27	21-81	17½-28	17-20	17-24
Mustard	80	80	80	68-80	68-80	68-80	68-80	54-60	80-38	28-33	26-38	22-83	22-83	25-39	19-31	25-31	20-28	21-22
Adas	60	60	50	40	40-54	40-54	50-54	82-40	18-27	19-2[illegible]	20	14-19	14-18	17-24	20-24	19-28	19-22	18½-25
Arzan	44	44	20	80	80-40	30-40	80-40	26	15-17	17-20	17-20	14-18	14-16	16-18	14-17	16-17	14-16	14-17
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	28	16-28	15-81½	15	10-28	16-22	16-24	16-81
Persian Muskmelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	120	160-180	66-120	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120	86-120
Indian do. ...	10	10	10	10	8-10	8-10	8-10	8-10	16	8-16	16	18-16	8-16	15-18	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice	66	66	66	50-60	50-60	50-60	60-72	52-60	44-46	36-46	36-46	86-46	28-46	22-42	82-42	85-42	85-42	86-58
Afwain	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70	7[illegible]-71	60-70	70	5[illegible]-70	52-78	70-78	52-78	52-73
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-73	70	70-78	70-73	70	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	52-80	52-80	50-80	52-60	50-80
Carrots	1 man	do.	do.	...	...	...	...	...	90	24	24	50-90	24	20-25	20-28	20-28	14-28	17-28
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	... 24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	16	25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*paunda*)	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common Sugar-cane	180	180	180	160	160-180	160-180	160-180	160-180	144	124-144	100-110	100-110	100-110	90-106	70-100	70-100	64-80	64-107
Dark coloured rice (*Shali Mushkin*)	...	...	...	80	80	80	80	60	56	56-68	56	56-70	50-70	54-70	49½-68	44-76	40-76	36-60
Common rice ...	70	70	70	60	60-80	60-80	60-80	48-52	36	36-48	36-38	36-38	28-36	24-38	22-46	36-40	21-56	22-36
Munji rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	48	48	48	48	60	44½	65	65
Cotton ...	120	120	130	110	110-130	110-120	110-120	88	90	90	70-90	70-74	72-130	72-130	65-79	64-70	50-60	46-90
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	60-70	50-76	60-70	64-94	64-94	64-94	64-94	60-70	60-64
Sesame seed ...	60	60	80	70	70-80	70-80	70-80	64	50	50	40-50	28-50	24-50	28-32	29-90½	21½-33	21½-30	19-28
Moth ...	48	48	54	44	44	44	44	44	22	22-36	22	20-22	20-22	13-21½	18-25	16-25	12-20	16-20
Mash ...	48	48	54	44	44-54	44-50	50-54	36	28	28-36	28	27-28	26-28	23-35	28-42½	28-34	15-36	16-28
Mung ...	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-40	32-48	28½-44	30-52	36-46	25-30
Jowar ...	50	50	60	48	48-60	46-60	48-60	40	26	26-40	26	26-27	24-26	23-40	23-48	25½-48	30-40	24-48
Lahdarah	48	48	48-50	44	16-44	44-50	44-50	20-70	20-40	20	20-40	18-48	18-48	20-40	18-48½	30-40	18-30	18-30
Lobiya ...	...	...	16-44	44	44-54	...	...	...	24	15-50	32	32	30	36¼	35	20	20	20
Kodaran ...	44	44	44-50	44	44-54	44-54	50-54	36	21-23	21-36	20-21	20-21	16-24	22-30	28-41	22-34	18-28	15-28
Kori	40	40	50	24	24-30	24-30	30	20	10	10	8-10	10	10	9-10	9-12½	9-12½	9-12½	10½-18½
Shamakh ...	36	36	50	30	30-36	30	36	20	10	10-20	10	9-10	9-10	9-12½	8½-18	10-16	8-12	11-16½
Gal ...	44	44	50	40	40-50	40-50	44-50	26	13	13-28	13	10-13	10-13	11-15	12-23	12-23	14-14½	12-14
Arzan ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	34-36	20	20	20	20	18-28	20-28	14-28	14-28	14-22	14-25
Mandwah	48	48	50	40	40	40-52	50-52	34	22-23	22-23	22-23	16-22	18-20½	18-31½	22-31	18-28	14-28	14-28
Indigo ...	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	136	132	130-136	130-136	136	130-136	140	140	140	140	140
Hemp ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70-78	70	70-78	70	70	70	70-80	80	80	60-80	60-80
Turiya ...	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	24-32	24-32	20-32	18-32	20-32	20-32	14½-24

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh (continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Turmeric ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kachālu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	70	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Kult ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	36	36	36	36	24	24	24	18	29½
Hinna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	58-70	58-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Water melons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	16-18	10	10	10	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12	10-12
Pān ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	180	180	180	180	300	200	200	240	240
Singhārah ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Arhar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Delhi. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat ...	90	84-90	90	44-60	48-56	56	56	50-56	44-57	36-48	37-64	40-48	24-40	31½-50	45-83	36½-82	20-56	65-102
Cabul vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54½	54	54	54	33-58	54	54-57	54½-57	50-57	57-60½
Indian do. ...	70	70-86	80	44-56	40-44	40-50	40-50	30-44	20-30	21-30	21-30	21-40	19-30	19-50	19-24	21-30½	24-38	19-37
Barley ...	80	60-70	60	32-50	32-40	40	40	36	16-37	16-39	20-44	12-37	12-30	12-30	20-34	19-37	26-42	40-72½
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	40-70	40-70	40-60	40-54	40-60	40-60	40-60	40-69	40-60	40-60
Poppy ...	108	108	108	108	140	140	140	130-140	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130	100-130
Safflower ...	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	80	80	80	80	76-80	60-70	60-70	60-70	50-70	50-70	50-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	54-70
Linseed ...	...	...	80	60-80	80	...	60-70	50	20-30	20-30	20-30	19-30	19-30	19-30	28-70	14½-28	8-19	26-30
Mustard ...	80	80	60	60-70	60	60-70	60-70	48-60	22-30	19-30	27-28	19-26	19-27	19-27	14½-24	19½-30	19½-24	28-48

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Delhi (continued). Nineteen years' rate.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24t year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Adas	60	60-70	50	34-40	34-36	36-40	36-40	26-28	19-24	19-24½	19-28	15-18	15-18	15-18	14-30	16-25	16-25	30-40
Arzan	44	44	20	30	30	30	30	24-28	15-20	15-20	15-20	12-30	12-17	12-17	12½-18	12-18	12-20	16-30
Peas	...	66-70	...	...	...	...	...	...	15-26	15-24	15-30	15-44	15-24	15-24	15-25	17-32	17-24	20-56
Persian Musk Melons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120	66-130	80-120	80-120	80-120	80-120
Indian ditto	10	10	..	...	8-10	8-10	8-10	11-15	11-16	11-16	10½-16	11-16	11-16	10-16	12-16	12-16	12-16	12-16
Kur rice ...	60	60	60	40-60	40-60	60	54	[illegible]	36-64	34-45	34-48	28-52	24-54	24-54	30-56	30-56	30-56	30-70
Afmlin	80	80	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-80	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70-73	70-73	70-73	70-73
Onions .. .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70-78	70-78	70-73	70-78	70-73	70-73	70-73	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	—	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	70	30-70	22-70	30-40	42-60	42-60
Carrots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19-24	19-26	19-26	19-24	19-25	22-25	16-25	16-25	16-25	28-40	28-40
Lettuce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24-25	24-25	24-25	24-25	25	25	25	25	25	16-18	24-25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi. Nineteen years' rate.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugar-cane (*pounda*)	...	...	...	200	180-200	180-200	do.	do	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common sugar-cane	180	180	180	106-140	106-140	106-140	106-140	106-140	112-164	104-130	90-134	96-134	90-134	90-106	90-123½	94-104	80-100	80-102
Dark coloured rice *Shali mushkin* ..	...	...	...	70-80	70-80	70-80	70-72	64	47-57	48-57	47-57	48-57	44-57	64-77	47½-70	47½-77	54-78	42-90
Common rice ...	70	70	70	70	52-60	52-60	52-60	56	44-48	32-45	31-45	30-49	28-50	18-50	32-57	20-58	36-64	34-66
Munji rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47-65	48-65	43-65	48-65	40-65	[illegible]	44½-65	43-65	43-65	36-65

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi—(continued). *Nineteen years' rates.*

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Cotton	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	90	90	75-90	70-90	60-90	70-90	76-112	88-150	56-120	44-68	45-70
Pot-herbs	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	44-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	54-70	57-60	57-60	57-60
Sesame seed	60	60	80	80	80	80	80	80	60-64	50	32-50	35-80	35-50	21-50	21-43	19½-45	19½-36½	20-36
Moth	48	48	54	36-44	40	40	32	20 22	18-22	18-22	19-21	16-22	19½-22	10-19½	10-18	16 21	19-36	19-36
Mash	48	48	54	36-44	36-44	44	40	32	26-30	25½-35	26-35	22-32	19-31	22-36	19-29½	16-22	25-44	28-54
Mung	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	44	28-32	28-32	28-32	28-32	22-45	24-40	22-40½	23-36	30-44	30-55
Jowar	50	50	60	40-48	40-48	40-48	40-44	32-34	26	22-26	22-26	22-26	18-26	20-42	19-42	19-42	25-32	26-53
Lahdarah	48	48	50	40-44	36-44	36-44	36-44	28-30	20	20	20	18-20	16-21	19-27	17-22	19-28	18-31	18-44
Lobiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20-32	20-32	20-32	20-32	14-23	19-33	20-33	20-33	20-33	20-33
Kodaram	44	44	50	44	40-44	40-44	40	30	20-21	21	21	16-20	14-24	17½-35	17½-36	19½-43	20-39	29-30
Kori	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16	10	9½	10	10	6-10	4-10	5-10½	5-14	5-12½	10½-15
Shamukh	36	36	60	30	26-30	30-36	26	16-20	10-15	9½-15	9½-15	9½-15	6½-15	6½-11½	5½-12	12-28	7-13	10½-15
Gal	44	44	50	32-40	32-40	36-40	36-40	34-36	20	20	16-20	16-20	13-20	12-22	8½-21	12½-22	16-25	14½-25
Arzan	44	44	50	32-40	32-40	36-40	36-40	34-36	20	20	16-20	16-20	13-20	12-22	8½-21	10½-22	14-25	14½-25
Mandwah	48	48	50	36-40	36-40	40	40	30-34	22	22	22	16-22	14-22	14½-25	13-22	17½-33	24-35	23-44
Indigo	140	140	180	140	140	140	140	136	120-136	126-132	200-136	124-186	126-136	126-136	134-136	136-150	136-150	130-150
Hemp	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	78	70	67-70	67-70	66-70	66-70	66-70	50-66	66-70	60-80	60-80
Turiya	80	80	80	...	60-80	...	...	...	32	32	32	28-32	32	19½-40	17½-40	30½-38	18½-40	18½-38
Turmeric	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100-120	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kachalu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	60-70	54-70	54-70	57-60	57-60	57-60	52-60	54-60
Kult	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	28	26	22	22	28	24	24	20	26
Hinna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	56	58	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Water-melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10-12	10-12	9½-15	10-12	10-12½	15	10-12½	10-12½

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Lahore—(continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D	D	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat	90	80	90	50	56	56	60	60	44-52	48-52	40	24	30	40-43	28-38	44-55	33-64	55-68
Cabul Vetches ..	..	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	• 43½-53	D. J- 57½-3½	D. J. do.	D. J. 57-16	D. J. 57½-3½	57	D. J. 57½-3½	D. J. 57-3½	57½-63	do.
Indian ditto ..	80	70	80	48	48	48	50	50	26-30	32-33	25	16	20	24½-28	16-21	28-34	28-34	40-53
Barley	70	70	60	40	40	40	40	40	26-34	32-36	24	12	21	22-27	18-24	26-40	30-51	40-51
Potherbs	80	80	80	80	60	80	80	80	60-70	50-60	60	50	50	54	54	54	54-74	54-74
Poppy	160	160	160	...	...	..	...	130	120	100	100	100	104	104	104	104	104	104
Safflower	½ *man*	do.	do.	80	80	80	80	80	76	70	60	60	70	64	64	64	64	64
Linseed . .	...	...	50	80	60	60	50	50	28-30	28-30	25	16	24	20-23	14-23	15-30	16-30	25-40
Mustard	80	80	80	60	60	60	60	60	28-30	25	19	30	22-23	16-23	18-28	18-28	20-26	30-42
Adas	60	60	50	36	36	36	40	40	27 28	24-27	20	12	16	12½-19	13-16½	19-26	26-42	29-42
Arzan	44	44	20	30	30	30	30	24	19-22	20-22	16	13	20	16-18	7½-10½	7½-14	12-20	18-24
Peas	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	15	15	19-28	28-36	15	19-23	19	19-28	19-30	28-36
Persian Muskmelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50-100	120	120	120	120	80	66	86	86	86
Indian ditto ...	10	10	...	...	8	8	12-24	12-24	13	13	13	15	15	11-12	12	12	12	12
Kur rice	60	60	60	54	54	60	54	40-44	40-44	24	24	27	27	26-27	26-27	34-40	36-50	36-50
Ajwain	80	80	80	80	80	80	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70-74	70-76	70-76	73-74	73-74
Onions	...	..	...	...	...	..	.	..	73	73	73	73	73	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74	70-74
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	.	...	...	..	70	70	70	70	70	42-54	20-74	20-32	30-64	40-64
Carrots	½ *man*	½ *man*	½ *man*	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	18-26	21-32
Lettuce	...	...	..	...	...	..	...	..	25	25	25	25	21	21	18½	18½	16-20	25-50

* D stands for *Dām* and J for *Jetal*. In these six columns, the J applies only to the Cabul Vetches and not to the following figures.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common sugarcane ...	180	180	180	160	160	160	160	150	100-120	100-120	100-120	100-120	117½-120	40-107½	94-131	94-130	70-130	105-130
Dark coloured rice (*Shāli Mushkīn*) ...	...	...	...	80	80	80	80	60	60	46	46	42	40	50-60	40½-62	44-60	43-60	60-75
Common rice ...	80	70	70	60	60	60	60	44	45-50	36-40	36-40	32-36	26-32	32½-42½	22-32½	24-38	30-48	45-56
Munji do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	65	65	65	65	50	50	43-50	30-56	50-52
Cotton ...	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	99	120	96-104	70	64	80	90-95½	90-120	80-160	44-70	55-68
Pot-herbs ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	76	70	60-70	50-60	50-60	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70	60-70
Sesame seed ...	60	60	80	70	70	70	80	64	50-58	48	40	36	36	25-40	22-28	18-26	20-34	32-40
Moth ...	48	48	54	44	44	44	46	30	36	28-30	30-38	24-25	20-21	20-21	18½-23	12-17	10½-17	14-28
Māsh ...	48	48	54	44	44	44	46	36	30-28	36-50	24-25	24-25	34	20-26	18-32	22-60	39-50	39-50
Mung ...	48	48	48	44	44	44	44	30	28-30	28-28	20-28	24-26	21	23	15-20	18½-23	16-24	26-34
Jowār ...	50	50	60	48	48	48	44	32	30-32	82	32-36	25-27	25	38½	24½-30	23-30	18-40	40-60
Lahdarah ...	48	48	50	44	44	44	44	30	30-32	26-28	20-28	24-26	21	23	15-23	15½-23	16-24	26-34
Lobiya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	30	30	30	23	14-23	12½-27	20-30	24-28
Kodaram ...	44	44	50	44	44	44	44	30	30-32	32	30-32	30	26	24-30	18½-28	18½-28	18½-28	26-44
Kori ...	40	40	50	24	24	24	24	16	16	10	10	10	5	10	5-12	6½-10	8-12	5-14½
Shamākh ...	36	36	50	30	30	30	30	16	16	10	10	10	7	7-10½	7-10	8-10	9-12	12-18
Gāl ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	20	18-20	17	16-17	12-14	13-14½	7½-15½	8½-11½	10-14	10-14½	12½-20
Arzan ...	44	44	50	40	40	40	40	36	18-20	20-24	20-24	16-20	14-18	16-21½	6½-15	8-15	10-20	15-20
Mandwah ...	48	48	50	40	40	40	40	30	28-30	26-28	26-28	26-28	22-26	21	25	18-25	20-26	26-36½
Indigo ...	140	140	160	140	140	140	140	136	136	136	136	120	120	130-134	130-134	134	134	134
Hemp ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	78	78	78	78	70	70	72	...	60-80	60-80	60-80
Turiya ...	80	80	80	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	34	34	34	34	30-34	23-34
Turmeric ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	104	104	104	104	104	104	104
Kachālu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	70	60	60	68-70	70	68-70	68-70	28-70
Kult ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	26	26	22	22	24-28	24	24	48	26-32
Hinna ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	68-71	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70	67-70
Water melons ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	11
Pān ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	223-5 D. J. to 263	...	

Spring Harvest of the Subah of the Multān. Ninteen years' rates.

	6th and 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52 57-16	52 ditto	36 ditto	24 ditto	30 ditto	36-60 ditto	21½-40 ditto	... ditto	40-52 ditto	46-64 ditto
Kabul Vetches	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	D. J.									
Indian ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	32	23-25	16	20	21½-40	13½-40	20½-40	20-48	26-48
Barley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	36	22	12	21	20½-40	16-40	20½-40	20-48	26-48
Potherbs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	60	56-60	50	50	53-60	44-50	34-40	52-60	52-60
Poppy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130	130	100	100	100	60-104	60-104	60-104	60-104	60-104
Safflower	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	60	60	70	60-64	40-64	64-70	64-70	60-70
Linseed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	20	19	24	24	23	23	16-30	28-30
Mustard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30	25	19	30	18-60	15½-40	14½-28	20-36	36
A'das	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	28	19	12	16	6-20½	12½-40	18½-40	10-42	27-42
Arzan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	22	16	13	20	16-37	18½-40	10-16	13-20	17-24
Peas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	19-20	28-30	15½	19	19	18½	9-22	20-30
Persian Muskmelons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	82	66	60-80	86	86	86	86
Indian ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13	13	11	11	12-19	12-40	11-12	11-16	12
Kur rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	44	44	44	27	26	28-36	40	40	40
Afwān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	70	70	70	70	64-70	44-70	52-74	56-74	44-60
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	70	70	70	70	60-74	40-74	52-74	56-74	44-60
Fenugreek	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72	70	70	70	70	60	35-40	14½-52	40-70	40-70½
Carrots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	24	24	24	20-21	20-21	20-21	20	16	24-26
Lettuce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	25	25	25	21	20	18½	18½	20	25

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Common sugarcane ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	120	100-120	100-120	100-120	100-120	100	100-110	70-100	100
Dark coloured rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	46	46	40	40	*60	45-62	45-62	54-62	65-72
Common rice ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	40	40	32	32	48½-48	28-40	28-40	32½-40	38-48
Munji do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	65	65	65	65	50	50	50	56	52
Cotton ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	104	70	64	80	70-96	40-95½	70-76	44-90	56-90
Potherbs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	60-70	60	50	40-76	40-70	70	60-70	60-70
Sesame seed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	48	40	36	36	40-48	19½-40	24-26	20-26	28-40
Moth ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	25	25	21	20	23-40	13-40	13-40	14-18	24-28
Māsh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	30	30	25	24-25	34-48	18-40	20-32	20-26	26-40
Mung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	27	34-48	34-40	26-36	32-23	32-50
Jowār ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	32	32	27	25	39-48	15½-40	24-26	25-32	32-48
Lahdarah ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	28	28	28	21	23-48	23-40	13	16	28-30
Lobiya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	25	23-36	22-40	26-27½	22-26	28-38
Kodaram ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	32	23-36	22-40	26-27½	22-26	28-38
Kori ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	32	32	32	28	24-30	18½-30	18½-30	16	28
Shamākh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	10	16	10	5	10-16	9-10	9-10	10-12	5-12½

* Gladwin has 46½ but the text has no variant.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān—(continued). Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Gāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	16	10	10	10	7	10-12½	9-10	9-10	8-10½	12-12½
Arzan ..	...	...	...	..	...	.	...	...	20	24	24	24	14	20½-48	20½-40	10-21	10-20	15-20
Manduah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	28	28	24	21	25	25	25	18-25	26-30
Indigo	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	136	136	136	120	120	130-134	184	134	184	184
Hemp	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78	78	78	70	70	48-72	48-72	48-72	60-70	70-82
Turiya	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82	82	32	82	82	84	84	34	24-84	28-34
Turmeric . ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	120	120	104	104	104	104	104	104	104
Kāchālu ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	70	70	60	60	68-70	68-70	68-70	70	70
Kult	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	28	26	26	22	22	28	24	24	24	24-30
Hinna ...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	58	58	58	58	48-70	40-70	70	70	70
Water melons ...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	11
Pān	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	180	6½ Rp.	do.	do.	do.	300	200	200	200	200
Singhārah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Athar	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	20	20	20	20	20

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.										
Wheat	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	Muzaffairs[1] 2 to 50	do.	do.	do.	do.	1¾M to 43½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1¾M to 48½	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Indian do. ...	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	2M to 50D	do.	do.	do.	do.	1¾M to 43½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Barley	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...										
Pot-herbs ...	75	75	75	75	75	75	75	75										
Poppy	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50										
Safflower ...				...	...	...	...	...		3	Muzaffaris to 75 dams.							
Linseed ...	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50										
Mustard ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...										
Adas and *Arzan*	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50										
Peas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...										
Persian muskmelons	...		...	...	...	...	...	...		2	Muzaffaris to 50.							
Indian do. ...	10	10	10	10	50	50	50	50										
Kur rice ...	60	60	60	54	54	60	54-70	56										
Afwain ...	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80		8	Muzaffaris to 75.							
Onions, Fenugreek																		
Carrots, lettuce ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		2	Muzaffaris to 50.							

[1] See Vol. I, p. 23. There were three Sovereigns of Gujarāt of the name of Muzaffar: the 1st reigned A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396): the 2nd in A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511): the 3rd in 969 (A.D. 1561). The last named abdicated in favour of Akbar in 980 (A.D. 1572), but in 991, he collected a force, defeated Akbar's general and re-ascended the throne. His second reign was brief and the kingdom became a province of the Empire. Mālwah was united to Gujarāt under Bahādur a king of the latter dynasty A.H. 937, (A.D. 1530). I take these details from Mr. Oliver's note on the the coins of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarāt. In the list of coins there are two of copper of Muzaffar Shāh II, of 169 and 160 grains respectively, and three of silver of Muhammad Shāh III, of 73 and 175 grains. The latter, No. XXXI, of the Catalogue, is remarkable as having been struck during the second brief accession of this monarch to power. See also History of Gujarāt, Bayley, Index, Muzaffar.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah. Nineteen years' rates.

	6th & 7th years.	8th year.	9th year.	10th year.	11th year.	12th year.	13th year.	14th year.	15th year.	16th year.	17th year.	18th year.	19th year.	20th year.	21st year.	22nd year.	23rd year.	24th year.
	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	M. D.	D.	D.	D.	D.	M. D.	D.	D.	D.	D.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	...	...	...	150	150	150	150	6-150	do.	do.	do.	do.	7 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common Sugarcane ...	150	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	6-150	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 7 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Dark coloured rice ...	...	...	...	62½	do.	do.	do.	do.	2½-62½	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 8 to 75	do.	do.	do.	do.
Common rice ...	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 1 to 48¾	do.	do.	do.	do.
Munji „ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 1-43¾	do.	do.
Cotton	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. 2½-62½	do.	do.	do.	do.
Pot-herbs ...	75	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	8-75	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Sesame seed ...																		
Moth																		
Māsh																		
Peas ...																		
Jowār																		
Lahdarah														M. D.				
Lobiya	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	1-48¾	do.	do.	do.	do.
Kodaram ...																		
Kori																		
Shamākh																		
Gāl																		
Arzan																		
Mandwāh									M. D.									
Indigo	150	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	6-150	do.	do.	do.						
Hemp	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.						
Turiya	50	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	2-50	do.	do.	do.						

AIN 15.

The Ten Years' Settlement.

From the beginning of this immortal reign, persons of intelligence and void of rapacity, together with zealous men of experience, have been annually engaged in noting the current prices and reporting them to His Majesty, and taking the gross produce and estimating its value, they determined the rates of collection, but this mode was attended with considerable inconvenience. When Khwajah Abdul Majid Āsaf Khan was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khān and Rajah Todar Mull, in the 15th year of the reign, a redistribution of the imperial assessment was made through the *qanungos*, and estimating the produce of the lands, they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qanungos* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qanungos* and lodged them in the imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimate and the receipts.

When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and on the other the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years: the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the Divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity.

The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows.

(A Note on *Dastur-ul-'aml*: *Sarkar*, &c.)

For a full description and discussion of the official manuals called *Dastur-ul-'aml*, see J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* 3rd. ed., ch. XIV. § 2.

Sir Henry Elliot writes, in his *Supplemental Glossary*, revised ed. by J. Beames, entitled *Memoirs of the History* &c. of *N.W.P.* (1869), :—"*Dastur-ul-aml*, a body of instructions, and tables for the use of revenue officers under the Native Government. . . . No two copies can ever be found which correspond with each other, and in most respects they widely differ. Those which profess to be copied from the *Dastur-ul-'aml* of Akbar, are found to contain on close examination sundry interpolations of subsequent periods.

"Besides the *Dastur-ul-'aml*, another book, called the *'Aml Dastur*, was kept by the Qanungoes, in which were recorded all orders which were issued in supersession of *Dastur-ul-'aml*." (ii. 156-157.)

"A *Sarkār* is a subdivision of a *subah*. Each *subah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkārs*, and each *sarkār* into *parganahs* or *mahals* (which are used as equivalent expressions), and the parganahs again are aggregated into *Dasturs* or districts. . . .

"*Dastur* besides signifying a rule, is also a minister, a munshi. *Parganah* means tax-paying land; the *Burhan-i-Qati'* gives the meaning *Zamine ke āz ān māl wa kharāj bagirand*. . . .

"The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *parganah* were *shiqq*, *Khita*, *'arsa diyār*, *vilāyat*, and *iqta'*, but the latter (term) was generally applied when the land was assigned for the support of the nobility or their contingents." (See *Ikta'* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii. 461, for a fuller treatment. J.S.)

"I have endeavoured to restore the *sarkars*, *dasturs*, and *parganahs* (in the N. W. Provinces of Allahabad and Agra) as they stood in the time of the Emperor Akbar. The copies of the *Ain-i-Akbari* vary so much, and such ignorance is frequently exhibited by the transcribers, that to verify the names of *parganahs* has been a work of great labour. . . . ,

"But it is in separating the *sarkārs* into *dasturs* that the ignorance of the copyists has been chiefly exhibited, for all the *parganahs* are frequently mixed together, as if there were no meaning at all attached to *dastur.*" (ii. 201-203.)

The word *dastur* in the sense of a subdivision of land for revenue purposes, went out of use in the official histories of the Mughal empire after Akbar's time. It may have lingered on in the N.W. Provinces up to the Mutiny, but only in the village records, as it does not occur in any history or revenue-manual of the Central Government of the later Mughals known to me. (*Jadunath Sarkar.*)

The *Subah* of *Allahabad* comprises nine *sarkārs* (districts) and possesses fifteen separate revenue codes. (*dastur-ul-'aml.*)

1. The *Sarkār* of *Allahabad* includes fifteen mahals and has three revenue codes.

The suburban district of Allahabad comprises three mahals, *viz.*, the suburbs of *Allahabad, Kantit,* and a tract on the extreme limits of the *subah* of Agra, and possesses one revenue code.

Jalālābād [*i e*, Arail] has three mahals and a revenue code.

Bhadoi, seven mahals, *viz.*, *Bhadoi, Sikandarpur, Sorāon, Singror, Mah, Kewāi, Hādiābās* [=Jhusi]—and a revenue code.

2. The *Sarkār* of *Benāres* has eight mahals and a revenue code. The detail is as follows—the suburban district of *Benares*, the township of *Benares, Pandrah, Kaswār, Harhwā, Byālisi.*

3. The *Sarkār* of *Jaunpur* has 41 mahals and two codes.

The suburban district of *Jaunpur*, 39 mahals, one code, *viz.* :—

Aldimao, Angli, Bhileri, Bhadāon, Talhani, Jaunpur, Suburban Jaunpur, Chandipur Badhar, Chāndah, Chiriyā Kot, Chakesar, Kharid, Khāspur Tāndah, Khānpur, Deogaon, Rāri, Sanjholi, Sinkandarpur, Sagdi, Sarharpur, Shādi-ābād, Zafarābād, Karyāt Mittu, Karyāt Dostpur, Karyāt-Mendia, Karyāt Swetah, Gheswah, Ghosi, Kodiya, Gopālpur, Karākat, Mandiāho, Muhammad-ābād, Majhorā, Mau, Nizāmābād, Naigun, Nathupur.

4. The *Sarkār of Chanādah* [=Chunār], 14 mahals and one revenue code, *viz.*, the suburban district of *Chanadah, Aherwārah, Bholi, Badhol, Tāndah, Dhos, Rāghupur*[110]—the villages on the western bank of the river, *Majhwārah, Mahāech, Mahwāri, Mahoi, Silpur, Naran.*

5. The *Sarkār* of *Ghāzipur,* 18 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the suburban district of *Ghāzipur, Baliā, Pachotar, Balhābās, Bhariābād, Barāich, Chausā Dehma, Sayyidpur Namdi, Zahurābād, Karyāt Pali, Kopā Chhit, Gadhā, Karandah, Lakhnesar, Madan Benāras, Muhammadābād, Parhābāri.*

6. The *Sarkār* of *Karrah,* 12 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the township of *Karrah,* its suburban district, *Aichhi, Atharban, Ayāsā, Rāri, Karāri, Kotla, Kaunra* commonly called *Karson, Fatehpur Hanswah, Hatgāon, Hanswah.*

7. The *Sarkār* of *Korah,* 8 mahals, 3 codes, *viz.*, thus detailed. The suburban district of *Korah* has one code and 2 mahals, *viz.*, itself and *Ghātampur; Kotiā,* 3 mahals, *Kotiā, Goner, Keranpur Kinār.*[111] and one code ; *Jajmau,* 3 mahals, *viz.*, *Jājmau, Muhsinpur, Majhāon,* and one code.

8. The *Sarkār* of *Kālinjar,* 10 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Kālinjar* with its suburbs, *Ugāsi, Ajigarh, Sihonda, Simoni, Shādipur, Rasan, Khandeh, Mahobā, Maudhā.*

9. The *Sarkār* of *Mānikpur,* 14 mahals, 2 codes. The suburbs of *Mānikpur* have 10 mahals and one code, *viz.*, *Mānikpur* together with its suburban district, *Arwal Bhalol, Salon, Jalālpur Balkhar, Karyāt Karārah, Karyāt Paegāh, Khatot, Nāsirābād.*

Rāe Bareli, etc., 4 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Rāe Bareli, Talhandi, Jāes, Dalmau.*

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[110] A note to the text gives *Rāthupūr* as the present name of this mahal—the other names have nearly all variants in the MSS., no doubt due as much to dialectic variations in pronunciation as to errors of copyists. Tieffenthaler adds to the above, the fortress of *Tschinarghar* (Chanār) built of stone, on an eminence on the western bank of the Ganges.

[111] Thus in all MSS. but Elliot has *Kiralpur Kanauda.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad—Ten Years' rates.

	Suburban district of Allahabad. 3 Mahals.	Jalálábás, &c. 5 Mahals.	Bhadoi, &c. 7 Mahals.	Sarkár of Benáres 8 Mahals.	Suburban district of Jaunpur. 39 Mahals.	Parganah of Mongrah, &c. 2 Mahals.	Sarkár of Chanádah 14 Mahals.	Gházípur, &c. 18 Mahals.	Parganah of Karrah 12 Mahals.	Parganah of Korarah. 2 Mahals.	Parganah of Kotia. 3 Mahals.	Jájmau, &c. 3 Mahals.	Sarkár of Kálinjar. 10 Mahals.	Sarkár of Mánikpur. 10 Mahals.	Ráe Bareli. 4 Mahals.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J-	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	60-9	58-4	64-21	64-1	64-1	58-4	64-21	64-21	60-3	69-18	60-3	60-23	63-15	58-4	62-15
Cabul Vetches	...	......		71-14	71-14	...	71-14	71-14	...	55-23	...	...	55-23	...	71-14
Indian do.	38-0	39-3	...	41-9	41-9	39-3	41-9	41-9	38-0	34-17	38-0	37-0	34-17	39-3	39-3
Barley ... ... }				48.2			47-2	47-2							45-21
Green barley not in ear }	40-6	40-12	...	67-3	67-2	40-12	68-2	68-2	...	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	42-12	67-2
Adas	24-15	23-12	...	38-0	38-0	23-12	38-0	38-0	24-15	24-15	24-15	25-16	24-15	23-14	35-8
Safflower	83-15	83-21	...	70-3	70-3	83-21	70-3	83-3	83-21	70-17	83-21	69-22	72-17	83-21	82-8
Poppy	150-13	150-13	...	115-20	115-20	156-13	115-20	115-20	156-13	127-15	153-13	128-0	55-23	156-18	115-8
Potherbs	27-2	28-5	...	80-13	80-13	67-5	82-13	80-13	67-2	55-23	67-20	21½-0	30-15	68-5	76-1
Linseed	31-8	27-4	...	40-6	40-6	32-15	40-6	40-6	31-8	32-15	31-20	30-5	32-15	32-15	35-8
Mustard	35-8	28-4	...	40-6	40-6	27-24	40-6	40-6	35-8	32.15	35-8	31-21½	20-3	38-21	38-21
Arzan	20-3	15-18	...	6-21	26-21	16-19	26-21	26-21	20.3	20-3	20-3	20-3	20-2	16-19	24-15
Peas (*Mashang*)	24-15	29-2	...	40-6	40-6	29-2	40-6	40-6	24-15	22-6	24-0	20-2	26-21	29-2	38-0
Carrots	25-18	26-21	...	26-21	26-21	16-21	26-21	26-21	25-18	32-21	25-18	31-21	70-18	26-21	26-21
Onions	83-21	79-2	...	80-13	80-13	79-10	80-13	80-13	83.21	82-18	83-21	82-18	...	84-10	80-98
Fenugreek	74-23	87-4	...	54-29	54-24	54-24	54-24	54-24	74-23	...	74-23	82-18	109-14	58-4	54-20
Persian muskmelons	144-6	150-13	...	134-4	134-11	150-1	134-4	134-4	144-6	109-14	144-6	119-16	115-16	150-1	134-4
Indian ditto	19-0	7-22	...	14-14	14-14	17-20	14-14	14-14	19-0	15-16	19-0	14-13	...	17-7	14-13
Cumin seed	...	61-12	...	83-15	89-15	61-12	89-15	89-15	...	82-18	...	...	82-18	61-12	89-15
Coriander seed	...	...	...	105-2	105-2	...	105-2	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	105-2
Kur rice	52-14	56-24	...	56-24	46-24	46-24	46-24	46-24	52-14	50-20	52-14	46-24	50-20	46-24	46-24
Ajwain	83-21	79-10	...	89-15	89-15	89-15	89-15	89-15	83-4	86-15	83-21	83-21	86-2	83-10	97-7

* In these tables, *D* stands for *dám* and *J* for *jetal*, the 25th part of a *dám* which is the 40th part of a rupee.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Allahabad.

	Sub-District of Allahabad.	Jalálábád.	Bhadoi.	Sarkár of Benáres.	Sub-District of Jaunpur.	Parganah of Mongrah.	Sarkár of Chanádah.	Ghâzipur.	Parganah of Karrah	Parganah of Korarah.	Parganah of Kotia.	Jájmau.	Sarkár of Kálinjar.	Sarkár of Máník-pur.	Ráe Bareli.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	240-8	...	230-20	208-15	223-15	234-20	223-15	223-15	240-3	223-15	240-9	231-15	223-15	232-20	223-15
Common Sugarcane	...	...	126-9	123-0	123 0	126-9	123-9	123-0	109-17	143-3	108-17	143-3	143-17	126-6	123-0
Dark coloured rice	71-14	...	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	71-14	81-14	67-2	81-14	73-20	67-2	71-14	71-14
Common rice	44-18	...	42-12	49-5	49-5	43-12	49-5	49-5	44-18	46-24	44-28	43-24	46-24	42-12	46-24
Al (morinda citrifolia, from which a red dye is extracted) ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	205-18	.8	205-18	...	...	...
Cotton	89-15	...	91-18	96-4	96-4	91-17	96-4	96-4	89-15	91-18	89-0	93-3	91-18	91-18	93-23
Moth	25-18	...	26-21	33-14	33-14	26-21	33-14	33-14	25-18	24-15	25-18	22-23	14-11	26-21	31-6
Arzan	23-12	...	18-24	26-21	26-21	17-22	32-21	26-21	23-12	24-15	23-16	26-21	24-15	17-20	24-18
Indigo	163-6	...	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	162-3	163-5	163-6	163-6	163-6	163-6	162-6	162-6
Hinna	76-0	...	89-15	89-15	89.15	89-15	89-15	89-15	76-0	79-20	86-0	86-1	69-20	83-15	89-15
Hemp	84-24	...	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	84-24	89-24	84-24	84-24	89-15	84-4	84-24
Potherbs	80-0	...	87-5	83-15	83-15	87-5	89-15	89-15	82-17	84-23	82-18	87-7	84-20	87-5	87-0
Pân	210-0	...	244-21	268-20	268-20	244-21	268-14	268-14	210-3	267-20	210-4	268-20	267-20	267-20	267-20
Singhârah	120-18	...	115-2	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	120-18	120-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115.20	115-20
Jowâri, (Juwâr)	34-17	...	36-20	40-6	40-6	36-20	40-6	40-6	84-4	83-7	34-17	32-15	37-7	35-8	36-0
Kuri (a kind of wild grain) ...	...	...	...	13-15	13-15	...	13-15	15-15	...	13-15	...	...	13-15	...	13-15
Persian muskmelons	...	...	...	105-2	105-2	..	205-2	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	105-3
Sesame seed	40-0	...	43-15	44-18	44-15	44-18	44-18	42-12	42-12	42-12	41-9	101-9	43-15	43-15	43-15
Mung	42-12	...	48-2	49-5	49-5	48-5	49-5	49-5	42-12	42-6	42-12	41-9	40-6	48-2	48-2
Turmeric	...	...	...	115-20	115-20	...	115-20	115-20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The Subah of *Oudh* comprises five *sarkārs* and possesses twelve codes.

1. The *Sarkār* of *Oudh*, 21 mahals, 3 codes. The suburban district has 19 mahals and one code. Two parganahs are comprised in Khairābād. They are as follows:

Oudh with its suburban district; *Anbodha, Anhonah, Pachhamrāth, Bilehri, Basodhi, Thānah Bhadāon, Bakthā, Daryābād, Rudauli, Selak, Sultānpur, Sātanpur, Supahah, Sarwāpāli, Satrakah, Gawārchah, Manglasi Naipur.*

Ibrahimābad and Kishni are each a parganah with one code.

2. The *Sarkār* of *Bharāitch* has 11 mahals, one code. The suburban district of *Bharāitch*, &c. 8 mahals, one code. *Bharāitch* with its suburbs 6 mahals, *Bahrah, Husampur, Wankdun, Rajhāt, Sanjhauli, Fakhrpur*, Fort *Nawāgarh.*

Firuzābād, &c., two parganahs, one code, *viz.*, *Firuzābad, Sultānpur.*

Kharosna, one mahal, one code.

3. The *Sarkār* of *Khairābad*, 2 mahals, 3 codes. *Khairābād*, &c., 12 parganahs, one code, *viz.*, suburbs of *Khairābād, Basārā, Baswah, Basrah, Chhitāpur, Khairigarh, Sadrpur, Kheri, Kharkhela*, and *Laharpur*, two mahals; *Machharhattah*, and Hargarāon, two mahals. *Pāli*, &c. has 8 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Pāli, Barurānjnah, Bāwan, Sāndi, Sirah, Gopamau, Khankatmau, Nimkhā; Bharwārah*, &c. two mahals, included in *Oudh*, *viz. Bharwārah* and *Pilā*,—and one code.

4. The *Sarkār* of *Gorakhpur*, 24 parganahs, one code. The suburban district of Gorakhpur with the town, 2 mahals, *Atraulā, Anholā; Bināekpur* &c. 4 mahals, *Bāhmnipārah, Bhāwāpārā, Tilpur, Chilupara, Dharyapara, Dhewapārā* and *Kotlah* [*Kuhānā*] 2 mahals, *Rihli; Ramgarh* and *Gauri* 2 mahals, *Rasulpur* and *Ghaus* 2 mahals; *Kathlā, Khilāpārā* [=*Rihlāpara*] *Maholi, Mundwah, Mandlah; Maghar* and *Ratanpur*, 2 mahals; *Maharanthoi.*

5. The *Sarkār* of *Lucknow* has 55 mahals, 2 codes. The suburban district of Lucknow, &c., 47 parganahs, one code. *Abethi, Isauli, Asiyun, Asohā, Unchah Gāon, Balkar Bijlour?* [*Bijnor*], *Bāri, Bharimau Pangwan, Betholi, Panhan, Parsandhān, Pātan, Bārāshākor, Jhaloter, Dewi, Deorakh, Dadrah, Ranbirpur, Rāmkot, Sandilah, Saipur, Sarosi, Sahāli, Sidhor, Sidhupur, Sandi, Saron, Fatehpur,*

Fort of *Ambhati, Kursi, Kakori, Khanjrah, Ghātampur, Karanda, Konbhi Lucknow* with its suburbs, *Lashkar Malihābād, Mohān, Morāon, Madiāon, Mahonah, Manawi, Makrāed, Hadha, Inhār.*

Onām &c., 8 parganahs, one code, *viz., Onām, Bilgrāon, Bangarmau, Hardoi, Sātanpur, Fatehpur Chaurāsi, Kachhāndu, Malāwah.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Oudh.

	Parganah of the suburban district of Oudh, &c.	Ibrahimabād, &c.	Kishni, &c.	Bharāitch, &c.	Firuzabād, &c.	Kharānsah, &c.	
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D' J.	D. J.	D. J.	
Wheat	54-20	62-15	58-4	54-20	55-23	55-20	
Indian Vetches ...	34-17	39-3	39-3	33-14	32-11	33-14	*Note.*—The difference in the two classes of mustard seed is in the size and colour of the grain.
Mustard seed (*Khardal*)	...	40-6	...	...	...	...	
Barley ...	39-3	45-21	42-12	38-0	35-20	38-0	
Adas	23-12	35-20	23-12	22-9	21-6	22-10	
Safflower	71-14	72-0	83 21	71-14	69-8	71-14	
Poppy	127-15	115-20	156-13	127-12	127-11	127-11	
Potherbs	69-9	76-1	68-5	56-12	54-20	56-12	
Linseed	29-0	35-20	32-15	27-24	26-21	27-24	
Mustard seed (*Sarshaf*)	30-5	38-0	27-24	29-2	29-2	29-2	
Arzan	20-3	24-15	16-19	15-3	7-22	23-4	
Peas	29-2	38-0	29-2	25-8	24-15	25-15	
Carrots	30-5	36-21	36-21	28-7	29-2	29-2	
Onions ...	78-0	80-18	79-10	78-7	78-7	78-7	
Fenugreek	55-22	54-20	58-4	68-4	78-20	...	
Persian Muskmelons ...	115-20	230-4	150-1	110-20	115-20	115-30	
Indian do. ..	4-13	14-23	17-22	15-16	15-16	15-16	
Cumin seed	79-15	61-12	..	...	...	...	
Coriander seed ...	...	150-2	...	...	...	...	
Kur rice	...	46-24	46-24	45-21	44-18	45-21	
Ajwāin	...	97-5	79-10	83-21	83-21	82-21	

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Oudh.

	Parganah of the suburban district of Oudh, &c.	Ibrahimabad, &c.	Kishni, &c.	Bharaitch, &c.	Firuzabad, &c.	Kharonsa, &c.	Suburban district of Khairabad.	Pali, &c.	Bharwarah, &c.	Suburban district of Gorakhpur.	Lucknow, &c.	Onam, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	240-9	223-15	230-8	240-9	203-15	240-9	220-15	231-15	240-9.	240-9	231-15	231-25
Common sugarcane ...	190-15	123-0	126-0	123-0	134-4	123-0	134-4	131-23	190-15	123-0	127-15	131-8
Dark coloured rice ...	67-2	71-14	71-14	62-5	65-4	62-15	65-24	73-20	67-2	62-15	74-20	73-20
Common rice	43-15	46-24	42-12	40-6	41-9	40-6	41-9	46-24	43-17	40-6	44-18	46-24
Mash	33-15	34-17	40-6	31-8	32-15	31-8	32-15	34-17	33-15	31-8	34-24	34-17
Cotton	83-21	93-23	91-18	89-15	89-11	89-15	89-15	93-23	83-21	89-15	93-18	93-23
Moth	35-18	41-20	26-21	24-15	23-12	24-15	23-12	22-23	25-18	24-15	24-15	22-23
Gal	16-19	21-6	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Turiya	31-8	38-0	35-20	31-8	33-14	31-6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arzan	25-18	24-15	17-22	22-9	24-15	22-9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indigo	123-15	162-3	162-3	163-6	163-6	162-6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hinna	70-15	79-15	79-15	69-8	71-14	69-20	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hemp	89-15	84-24	84-24	85-21	89-15	89-15	...	...	...	...	...	...
Potherbs	99-2	84-5	87-5	82-18	82-16	83-21	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kachrah (*Cucumis melo*)	12-20	4-3	13-15	12-8	14-4	12-8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pan	230-14	280-3	244-21	223-15	223-15	223-15	...	...	...	...	...	...
Singharah	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	115-8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lobiya	...	38-0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jowari, (millet)	35-20	38-0	35-8	38-0	33-14	38	33-14	32-15	35-2	38-0	35	32-15
Carrots	...	81-15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kuri (a kind of wild grain)	...	13-15	...	15-5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persian* watermelon ...	105-2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arhar	...	...	...	22-9	...	22-9	23-12	25-4	...	...	...	...
Lahdarah	24-15	25-18	24-15	23-12	24-15	23-12	24-15	25-18	24-18	23-12	25-4	25-18
Kodaram	28-20	31-8	29-2	26-22	25-18	26-15	25-18	31-8	28-8	26-21	28-24	41-8
Mandwah	25-18	31-8	26-21	25-18	24-15	25-18	24-15	29-2	35-18	55-18	32-21	29-2
Sesame seed	41-9	31-8	43-15	44-18	45-1	44-18	45-21	41-9	41-1	44-18	40-20	41-9
Shamakh	18-15	19-0	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	13-10	13-11	12-8	12-8	13-10
Mung	43-15	48-2	48-3	41-2	43-15	41-9	43-15	41-9	43-15	41-10	43-15	41-9

* So the text, but it is probably a misprint of tarbuja for kharbuja.

1. The *Sarkār of Agra*—the royal residence. 44 parganahs, 4 codes. The suburban district of Agra, &c., 6 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Agra* and its suburbs, *Chanwār*, *Jalesar*, the city of *Agra*, *Dholpur*, *Mahāwan*, *Beānah* &c., 33 mahals, one code; the suburbs of *Beānah*, 2 mahals, *Oudehi*, *Od*, *Ol*, *Bhasāwar Todahbhim*, *Bināwar*, *Chausath*, *Khānwā*, *Rajhohar*, *Fatehpur* known as *Sikri*, *Seonkar Seonkri*, *Mathura*, *Maholi*, *Mangotlah*, *Bhaskar*, *Wazirpur*, *Helak*, *Hindon*, *Rāpari*, *Bāri*, *Bajwārah*. *Etāwah* &c. 3 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Etāwah*, *Rāpri*,[112] *Hatkānt*. *Mandāwar* &c. 2 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Mandāwar*, *Kakhonmar*.

2. *Sarkār* of *Alwar*. 43 paragraphs, 3 codes. The parganahs of *Alwar* &c. 33 mahals, one code, *viz.*, the suburbs of *Alwar*, *Dharā*, *Dadekar*, *Bahādurpur*, *Panāin*, *Khelohar*, *Jalālpur*, *Bihrozpur*, *Rāth*, *Bālhattah*, *Bahrkol*, *Hājipur*, *Budahthal*, *Anthulah Hābru*, *Parāt*, *Balhār*, *Barodah Fathkhan*, *Barodahmeo*, *Basānah*, *Hasanpur*, *Badohar*, *Hasanpur Gori*, *Deoli Sājāri*, *Sakhan*, *Kiyārah*, *Ghat Seon*, *Kohrana*, *Monkonā*, *Mandāwarah*, *Naugāon Nāhargarh*, *Harsori* and *Harpur*, 2 mahals, *Harsānā*. *Bachherah*, &c. 5 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Bachherah*, *Khohariranā*, *Bhiwān*, *Ismailpur*, *Amran*, *Mubārakpur*, &c., 5 mahals, one code, *viz.*, *Mubārakpur*, *Harsoni*, *Mandāwar*, *Khirtahali*, *Mojpur*.

3, 4. *Sarkārs* of *Tijārah* and *Erāj*, 4 codes. The *Sarkār* of *Eraj*, 16 mahals, *viz.*, *Eraj*, *Parhār*, *Bhānder*, *Bijpur*, *Pāndur*, *Chhatrah*. *Riyābānah*, *Shāhzādahpur*, *Khatolah* &c., *Kajhodah*, *Kedār*, *Kunj*, *Khekas*, *Kānti*, *Khāerah*, *Maholi*. The *Sarkār* of *Tijārah*, 18 mahals, 1 code, *viz.*, *Tijārah*, *Indor*, *Ujaina*, *Umarā Umari*, *Por*, *Begwān*, *Basohrā*, *Chamrāwat*, *Khānpur*, *Sākras*, *Santkadāri*, *Firuzpur*, *Fatehpur Mongarta*, *Kotlah*, *Karherā*, *Naginān*. *Thānah* of *Kahwār*, one code. *Basru*, one code.

5. *Sarkār* of *Kanauj*, 5 codes. The suburban district of *Kanauj*, &c. 11 mahals, one code. The suburbs of *Kanauj Bārā*, *Bithur*, *Bilhur*, *Bilgrāon*, *Deohā*, *Sikandarpur*, *Seoli*, *Seonrakh*, *Malkusah*, *Nānamau*. *Saketh* &c. 6 mahals, one code. *Sāketh*, *Karāoli*, *Barnah*, *Sahār*, *Patiāli*, *Sahāur*. *Bhageon*, &c. 10 mahals, one code. *Bhogāon*, *Sonj*, *Sakrāon*, *Sakatpur*. *Saror*, *Chhabarmau*,

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[112] A note to the text suggests this name to be an error, as not in Elliot nor in the account of the province of Agra. Neither is it in Tieffenthaler.

Shamshābād, Pati 'Alipur, Kanpal, Bhojpur. Sinkandarpur, one code. *Phapund*, one code.

6. *Sarkār* of *Sahār. Sahār*, &c. 6 madals, one code, *viz., Sahār, Pahāri, Bhadoli, Kāmah, Koh Majahid, Hodal. Nonhera*, one code.

7, 8, 9. *Sarkār* of *Gwalior*, &c., one code. *Sarkār* of *Gwalior*, 13 mahals, one code. *Sarkār* of *Narorpanj*, 5 mahals, one code. *Sarkār* of *Beanwan*, 28 mahals, one code.

10. *Sarkār* of *Kalpi*, 16 parganahs, one code. *Ulai, Bilāspur, Badhneth Derāpur, Deokali, Rāth, Rāipur, Suganpur, Shāhpur, suburbs of Kālpi, Kenār, Khandot, Khandela, city of Kālpi, Muhammadābād, Hamirpur.*

11. *Sarkār of Kol*, 4 codes. *Thānah Farida*, &c. 10 mahals, one code, *viz., Thānah Farida, Pahāsu, Danbhāi, Malikpur, Shikārpur, Nuh, Chandos, Khurjah, Ahār, Tapal.* Suburban district of *Kol*, &c., 4 mahals, one code, *viz., Kol, Jalāli, Sikandar rāo, Gangeri. Mārharah*, &c., 5 mahals, one code, viz., *Mārharah, Balrām, Soron, Pachlānah* and *Sidhpur*, 2 mahals. *Akbarābād*, 2 mahals, one code, *viz., Akbarābād, Atrauli.*

12. *Sarkār* of *Nārnol*, 4 codes. Suburban district of *Nārnol*, &c., 8 mahals, *viz.*, suburbs of *Nārnol* and city, *Bārh, Kot Potli, Bābāi, Khandela, Sankhāna, Kānori*, villages at the foot of the hill. *Barodah rana*, &c. 2 mahals, *viz., Barodah ranā Lāpoti. Chāl Kalānah*, &c. 2 mahals, *Chālkalānah, Khodānā. Kanodah*, &c. 3 mahals, *Kanodah, Narharah, Jhojeon.*

See Table next page.

Spring Harvest of the royal residence of Agra.

	Suburban district of Agra	Etāwah.	Suburban district of Bayānah.	Mandāwar.	Alwar.	Bachherah.	Mubārakpur.	Eraj.	Tijārah.	Thānah of Kahwār.	Besru.	Sahār.	Pahāri.	Nonhera.	Kanauj.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	67-2	0-9	67.2	67-2	67-2	64-21	63-10	63-17	64-21	67-2	67-2	67-2	64-21	68-2	60-21
Cabul Vetches	67-9	..	...	..	...	...	...	55-23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian do	44-18	35-20	42-12	40-6	40-6	36-23	35-20	34-17	36-23	40-6	36-23	36-23	36-23	40-6	37-15
Barley	49-5	40-6	44-17	44-18	44-18	42-12	41-9	46-0	42-12	44-17	42-12	42-12	42-12	44-17	40-0
Adas	29-2	25-17	29-17	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	26-21	25-17
Safflower	127-11	120-1	127-11	123-0	123-0	127-0	127-0	127-0	127-0	120-0	127-11	127-11	127-11	123-0	69-22
Poppy	127-11	120-20	127-11	123-0	127-0	127-11	127-11	127-11	127-11	123-0	127 11	127-11	123-0	123-0	128-0
Potherbs	67-2	58-4	61-12	60 9	60-9	59-7	60-9	55-23	59-8	60-9	59-8	59-8	59-8	60-9	61,12
Mustard seed .. .	31-14	31-8	31-14	33-14	33-14	31-8	31-8	32-11	31-8	33-14	31-8	31-8	31-8	33-14	31-21
Arzan	24-15	23-3	20-3	21-6	21-6	22-9	23-3	23-9	21-6	22-9	22-9	22-9	22-9	21-6	20-6
Peas	31-8	29-2	33-14	32-11	32-11	31-20	29-2	29-2	31-8	32-11	31-8	31-8	31-8	32-15	39-2
Carrots	29-2	29-2	33-14	29-2	29-2	25.18	26-21	26-21	25-18	29-2	25-18	25-18	25-8	29-2	31-21
Onions	84-24	80-12	80-11	80-18	82-17	81-16	81-16	82-17	81-16	80-2	31-16	81-16	81-16	82-17	82-17
Fenugreek	44-18	50-8	84-24	55-8	55-29	84-24	81-16	...	83-24	55-23	...	...	84-24	55-23	82-18
Persian muskmelons ...	111-20	87-17	111-20	111-20	111-20	100-16	100-16	100-16	100-14	100-16	...	100-16	100-16	111-20	119-16
Indian ditto ...	15-11	14-13	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	14-13
Cumin seed	84-24	83-21	82-24	84-24	84-24	81-18	84-24	82-17	...	84-24	...	...	81-16	84-24	...
Kur rice	55-23	80-8	87-8	51-11	51-11	53-17	51-11	50-8	50-18	51-11	53-17	53-17	56-17	51-11	46-24
Ajwāin	84-24	83-21	84-24	84-24	84-24	81-17	84-24	86-2	81-16	84-24	81-16	81-16	81-16	84-24	83-21

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Suburban district of Agra.	Etāwah.	Suburban district of Bayānah.	Mandāwar.	Alwar.	Bachherah.	Mubārakpur.	Eraj.	Tijārah.	Thānah of Kahwār.	Besra.	Sāhar.	Pahāri.	Nonhera.	Kanauj.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J-	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D' J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	239-6	239-6	223-15	200-18	205-0	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	217-0	218-18	217-0	220-15	217-0	...
Common sugarcane ...	147-11	134-4	148-17	134-4	134-4	125-6	120-11	173-3	185-6	134-4	138-16	138-6	125-6	134-4	131-23
Dark coloured rice	84-20	60-9	82-17	81-14	81-14	78-7	76-0	67-2	78-1	71-14	76-0	76-1	78-7	71-14	73-20
Common rice	6-9	44-17	58-4	63-18	63-17	63-18	63-17	48-4	63-18	63-17	58-4	58-0	63-18	63-17	26-24
Āl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	250-17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Māsh	40-6	34-17	38-0	35-20	35-9	35-20	35-20	35-19	35-20	35-20	36-23	36-23	35-20	35-20	34-17
Cotton	7-5	89-15	89-11	89-11	89-11	89-11	89-15	91-17	89-11	89-11	95-1	95-0	89-11	89-11	98-23
Moth	29-2	24-15	...	22-9	22-9	22-9	22-9	24-15	22-9	22-9	24-15	24-15	22-9	22-9	22-23
Gāl	20-3	14-13	17-22	16-19	16-10	16 19	16-19	15-15	16-19	16-19	15-16	15-16	16-19	16-19	15-19
Turiya	40-12	34 17	40-6	39-3	39-3	38-0	35-20	38-0	38-0	39-3	42-12	42-13	38-0	39-3	34-17
Arzan	29-2	22-9	...	22-9	22-9	23-12	24-15	24-15	23-12	22-9	23-12	23-12	23-13	22-9	26-21
Indigo	156-13	159-22	158-19	161-0	161-0	161-0	156-18	163-0	161-0	161-0	163-6	163-0	161-0	161-0	163-1
Hinna	70-7	78-7	67-2	77-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	69-8	78-0	78-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	78-7	76-1
Hemp	93-23	89-11	89-11	89-11	13(?)11	88-20	89-11	89-11	88-8	89-11	88-8	88-8	88-8	89-11	84-24
Potherbs	84-24	80-12½	81-14	81-14	81-14	82-17	81-14	84-23	82-17	81-14	78 7	88-7	72-17	71-14	78-7
Kachrah	13-15	12-8	15-5	13-11	11-15	13-15	13-11	12-7	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	11-5
Pān	223-20	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-0	267-0	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	268-20
Singhārah	115-20	...	115-20	115-20	113-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-15	115-20
Lobiya	31-8	30-15	38-0	37-24	27-24	32-5	31-8	33-14	30-5	27-24	33-14	33-14	30-5	27-24	...
Jowāri	44-18	35-6	40-6	35-20	35-20	35-20	38-7	35-20	35-20	36-23	36-23	35-20	35-20	32-15	32-15
Kuri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahdarah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kodaram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mandwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sesame seed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shamākh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Supplement to the Spring Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Saketh.	Bhagaon.	Sikandarpur.	Phapund	Gwalior, &c.	Kālpi.	Kol.	Thānah Farida.	Akbarābād.	Mārharah.	Nārnol.	Barodahrana.	Chal Kalānah.
	D. J.	D. J	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat ...	64-21	58-4	60-9	63-18	60-8	63-18	63-9	58-4	63-18	60-9	62-15	63-18	61-12
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	55-23	...	55-23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian do. ...	39-3	33-14	38-0	34-18	42-12	34-17	35-20	34-17	35-20	38-0	36-22½	35-20	35-20
Barley ...	40-12	38-	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	38-0	40-12	40-6	41-9½	41-9	41-9
Adas ..	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	20-2	24-15	26-21	22-9	24-15	24-15	24-15	23-15	24-15
Safflower ...	73-20	73-20	74-23	72-17	69-8	72-17	71-14	83-21	81-14	74-23	72-17	71-14	71-14
Poppy ...	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	127-15	123-0	124-9	123-0	128-12	119-17	127-15	123-0
Potherbs ...	60-9	57-4	57-4	55-23	60-9	50-23	58-4	64-21	63-2	58-4	65-4	60-9	60-9
Mustard seed ...	32-15	30-5	30-15	30-15	33-14	32-15	29-2	30-5	29-2	30-15	27-½	31-8	31-8
Arzan ...	21-6	28-3	21-6	20-3	16-12	20.3	20-9	19-0	22-9	21-6	20-9	22-9	20-3
Peas ...	31-20	24-15	29-2	20-9	31-8	22-9	26-21	29-2	29-2	29-2	27-23	29-21	26-21
Carrots ...	31-20	39-20	31-20	26-21	26-24	26-21	24-15	24-15	26-21	31-8	26-1	24-20	24-15
Onions ...	87-5	80-18	87-5	82-18	84-24	82-18	89-15	81-15	81-16	47-16	84-12	81-16	77-7
Fenugreek ...	89-15	...	89-11	...	...	...	...	49-5	...	89-15	...	81-16	...
Persian Musk Melons ...	...	101-19	...	109-14	115-20	109-14	100-16	145-9	111-8	...	102-21	100-16	...
Indian ditto ...	19-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	17-22	15-16	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-16	1 (?) 16
Cumin seed ...	84-24	82-18	87-5	82-18	84-14	80-18	...	86-2	84-24	87-5	84-2	84-24	..
Kur rice ...	51-15	...	51-15	50-8	59-8	50-20	49-5	59-23	63-17	51-15	46-2	51-11	60-9
Ajwain ...	84-24	80-18	87-5	82-2	86-2	86-2	84-24	86-2	84-24	87-23	84-12	84-24	84-24

Supplement to the Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Agra.

	Saketh.	Bhugāon.	Sikandarpur.	Phapund.	Gwalior, &c.	Kālpi.	Kol.	Thānah Faridā.	Akbarābād.	Mārharah.	Nārnol.	Barodahrana.	Chāl Kalānah.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D- J.	D. J.	D. J.	D- J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paunda*) ...	...	223-5	...	223-15	239-6	...	223-18	219-2	223-15	...	216-22	223-15	205-18
Common Sugar-cane ...	138-16	146-3	147-16	148-3	147-15	143-0	134-4	134-4	134-4	138-16	134-4	127-11	125-6
Dark coloured rice	70-14	59-7	71-14	67-2	70-12	67-2	64-21	67-2	64-21	74-2	77-6½	76-1	73-20
Common rice ...	0-5	44-18	49-5	46-24	55-20	46-24	46-24	46-20	46-24	49-5	60-90	63-18	53-17
Āl ...	4...	...	...	205-18	...	205-18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Māsh ...	35-20	34-18	34-18	35-19	40-6	35-19	33-14	23-14	33-14	34-17	38-0	35-20	33-14
Cotton ...	93-23	84-24	93-23	91-17	87-5	91-18	89-15	93-23	89-15	93-23	89-11	89-11	89-11
Moth ...	25-18	22-18	24-15	24-5	26-21	24-15	22-9	23-12	22-9	24-15	29-3	22-3	23-12
Gāl ...	16-19	15-16	16-19	15-16	20-9	15-16	15-16	14-14	15-16	16-19	16-19	15-19	15-16
Turiya ...	38-0	34-17	35-20	38-0	40-8	38-0	38-0	33-14	38-0	35-20	42-12	35-9	46-½
Arzan ...	24-15	21-6	23-12	40-6	27-24	24-15	24-15	21-6	24-11	23-12	23-12	24-11	22-9½
Indigo ...	160-3	158-19	160-0	160-6	160-3	162-1	163-1	160-24	161-0	165-15	156-0	161-0	161-0
Hinna ...	...	77.4	...	69-8	69-8	69-8	77-4	76-17	77-4	...	76-½	78-7	77-4
Hemp ...	82-11	86-2	87-5	89-11	84-20	89-11	84-24	77-5	84-24	87-5	89-15	89-11	84-24
Potherbs ...	78-7	78-7	78-7	74-23	76-1	74-21	76-0	88-8	76-0	77-7	71-13	71-14	11-14
Kachrah ...	13-11	12-8	13-11	12-7	12-7	12-7	12.7	12-8	12-8	13-11	13-1½	13-11	12-8
Pān ...	...	267-20	...	268-8	223-15	268-8	223-13	223 15	223-15	...	223-15	223-15	223-15
Singhārah ...	...	102-22	...	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	108-11	...	115-20	111-20	111-20
Lobiya ...	30-5	27-24	131-8	33-17	31-8	33-14	36-21	36-21	33-14	31-8	35-19	31-8	26-21
Jowāri ...	39-8	35-20	39-3	38-7	34-18	38-7	35-19	35-14	35-19	39-3	35-19	35-20	38-14
Kuri ...	...	...	...	...	15-16	...	...	11-14½	(?) 11	...	...	12-8	...
Lahdarah ...	26-21	24-5	26-21	26-21	31-8	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	26-21	27-23	26-23	26-23
Kodaram ...	30-5	27-24	30-5	27-24	31-8	27-24	29-2	32-5	29-2	30-5	29-1	33-14	29-2
Mandwah ...	30-5	26-21	29-2	26-2	31-8	25-21	27-24	27-14	27-24	29-2	29-8	25-18	27-24
Shamākh ...	25-18	12-8	24-11	11-5	14-0	11-5	12-8	11-8	12-8	24-15	12-7	13-15	15-19
Peas ...	49-6	42-24	49-5	40-6	49-5	40-6	40-6	33-0	40-6	49-5	35-19	35-20	35-20
Turmeric ...	89-11	...	111-20	...	...	...	...	...	...	111-20	...	...	...

Subah of *Ājmere*, 7 Sarkārs, 9 codes.

1. *Sarkār* of *Ājmere*, 2 codes. Suburban district of *Ājmere*, &c. 24 Parganahs, 1 code. City and suburbs of *Ājmere*, 2 mahals, *Arāine*, *Parbat*, *Bahnāi*,[113] *Bharānah*, *Bawāl*, *Bāhal*, *Bāndhan Sandheri*, *Bharonda*, *Tusina*,[114] *Jobnair*,[115] *Deogāon*, *Roshanpur*, *Sānbhar*, *Sarwār*, *Sathelā*, *Sulaimānābād*, *Kekri*, *Kherwah*, *Māhrot*, *Masaudābad*, *Narāina*, *Harsor*, *Anber*, &c., 4 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz*., *Anber*, *Bhakoi*, *Jhāg*, *Muzābād*.

2. *Sarkār* of *Jodhpur*, 21 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Jodhpur*, *Asop*, *Endrāoti*, *Bhodhi*, *Palpārah*, *Belārā*, *Pāli*, &c., 3 mahals, *Bāhilah*, *Podhh*, *Bhadrājaun*, *Jetāran*, *Dotārā*, *Sujhat*, *Sātalmer*, *Sewāna*, *Kherwa*, *Kheonsar*, *Kundoj*, *Mahewah*.

3. *Sarkār* of *Chitor*, 28 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Chitor*, 2 mahals, *Islāmpur* commonly *Rāmpur*, *Udaipur*, &c., 3 mahals, *Aparmāl*,[116] *Artod*, *Islāmpur commonly Mohan*, *Bodhnur*, *Phuliā*, *Banhera*, *Pur*, *Bihin Surur*, *Bāgor*, *Begun*, *Pati Hājipur*, *Jeran*, *Sānwarkhāti*, *Sāndri*, *Samel* with the cultivated land, *Kosiānah*, *Māndalgarh*, *Māndal*, *Madāriya Nimach* &c., 3 mahals.

4. *Sarkār* of *Ranthambor*, 4 codes, *Ranthambor* &c., 36 Parganahs, 1 code. Subarban district of *Ranthambor*, *Alhanpur*, *Etāda*, *Aton*, *Islāmpur*, *Iwān Bosamer*, *Barodah*, *Bhadlāon*, *Baklānt*, *Palātiāh*, *Bhosor*, *Belonah*, *Bālakhatri*, *Bhoripahāri*, *Bārān*, *Talād*, *Jetpur*, *Jhāin*, *Khaljipur*, *Dhari*, *Sanhusāri*, *Kotā*, *Khandār*, *Khatoli*, *Kadaud*, *Lakhri*, *Londah*, *Lahaud*, *Māngror*, *Momedānah* &c., 16 mahals. *Chātsu* &c., 16 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz*., *Chātsu*, *Barwārah*, *Uniyārā*, *Pātan*, *Banhatā*, *Sarsup*, *Boli*, *Bejri*, *Kharni*, *Nawāhi*, *Jhalāwah*, *Khankharah*, *Sui Supar*, *Malārnah*, *Karor*, *Bondi*, *Delhwārah*, &c., 7 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz*., *Delhwārah*, *Rewāndhnah*, *Nagar*, *Antrorah*, *Delānah*, *Amkhorah*, *Loharwārah*, *Todā*, &c., 3 Parganahs, 1 code, viz., *Todā*, *Tonk*, *Tori*.

5. *Sarkār* of *Nāgor*, 30 Parganahs, 1 code. Suburban district of *Nāgor*, *Amar Sarnain*, *Indānah*, *Bhadānah*,

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[113] *Bahacol*, Tieff.
[114] *Bossina*, *Ibid*.
[115] *Zounbora*, *Ibid*.
[116] *Aparpāl*, *Ibid*.

Baldubalām,[117] *Batodhā, Baroda, Bārah gāin, Chāel, Charodah, Jākhrah, Khārijkhatu, Dendwānah, Donpur, Rewāsā, Ron, Rasulpur, Rahot, Sādelah, Fathpur Jhanjmun, Kāsli, Khāelah Kojurah, Kolewah, Kumhāri, Keran, Lādon, Merath, Manohar nagar, Nokhā.*

6 & 7. *Sarkārs* of *Sarohi* and *Bikāner.* The codes of these two *Sarkārs are* not laid down.

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Ājmere.

	Suburban district of Ājmere, &c.	Parganah of Amber, &c.	Parganah of Jodhpur, &c.	Parganah of Chitor, &c.	Parganah of Rantambhor &c.	Parganah of Chātsu, &c.	Parganah of Delhwārah, &c.	Parganah of Todah, &c.	Parganah of Nāgor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	49-5	31-8	100-16	55-23	55-23	53-18	67-2	46-24	100-16
Indian Vetches ...	33-14	20-3	55-23	31-8	31-8	38-0	42-12	27-24	55-23
Barley	33-14	20-3	67-2	33-14	33-14	38-0	49-5	32-11	67-2
Adas	22-3	13-11	...	22-9	22-9	24-15	20-3	...	...
Safflower	62-15	38-9	67-2	55-23	55-22	58-9	59-4	38-29	67-2
Poppy	95-15	60-9	115-20	89-24	84-24	115-20	116-8	77-4	115-20
Potherbs	55-23	35-20	62-15	55-23	55-23	46-8	55-22	38-24	62-15
Linseed	31-8	20-3	31-8	26-21	26-21	26-21	29-2	...	31-8
Mustard seed ...	44-18	26-21	55-23	26-21	24-15	...	27-24	18-11	55-23
Aram	20-9	13-11	55-23	13-11	13-11	17-22	17-22	14-15	55-23
Peas	26-9	20-3	...	22-2	20-9	...	...	...	...
Carrots	26-21	15-16	...	22-9	22-21	...	27-24	18-11	...
Onions	67-2	44-18	67-2	59-21	59-21	80-13	80-13	53-17	68-2
Fenugreek ...	...	...	56-0	...	67.	...	...	56-23	...
Persian Musk-Melons	100-16	67-2	...	83-11	89-11	...	89-11	38-8	...
Indian ditto	11-5	6-18	...	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	8-24
Cumin	70-7	58-17	77-8	67-2	67-2	80-13	80-13	53-17	...
Kur rice	51-11	38-0	...	52-14	52-24	40.6	33-14	...	...
Afwāin	70-7	58-17	78-7	67-2	67.	80-13	80-13	56-17	86-7

[117] In the text *Bakdu*, but the above is the name in the account of this Subah which occurs later on.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Ājmere.

	Suburban district of Ājmere, &c.	Parganah of Amber, &c.	Parganah of Jodhpur, &c.	Parganah of Chitor, &c.	Parganah of Rantambhor &c.	Parganah of Chātsu, &c.	Parganah of Delhwārah, &c.	Parganah of Todah, &c.	Parganah of Nāgor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	...	...	...	239-6	239-6	...	...	...	...
Common sugarcane	115½-20	86-1	115-8	115-8	115-8	134-4	115-20	81-16	115-20
Dark coloured rice	55-23	35-20	55-23	67-2	68-2	72-20	67-22	44-18	...
Common rice ...	44-20	23-2	44-2	53-17	50-17	67-2	46-24	31-8	44-18
Māsh ...	33-14	29-2	31-7	33-14	33-14	39 3	27-24	18-15	31-8
Cotton ...	60-15	40-6	67-2	76-1	76-1	78-8	72-17	54-0	67-0
Moth ...	24-15	15-16	36-3	26-1	26-1	22-9	40-6	26-21	20-3
Gāl ...	13-15	8-24	38-21	13-15	13-15	15-16	16-16	10-16	30-8
Turiya ...	36-1	24-16	...	33-14	33-14	15-5	...	...	...
Arzan ...	17-22	12-7	55-21	17-22	17-22	17-22	22 9	17-24	55-6
Indigo ...	134-4	85-11	134-4	111-20	134-4	134-4	134-4	89-11	134-4
Hinna ..	67-2	44-18	67-2	55-23	55-23	67-2	62-15	40-21	67-2
Hemp ...	82-19	53-8	87-7	78-8	78-7	80-15	76-13	76-13	53-17
Potherbs ...	55-22	35-20	62-15	55-23	55-23	62-15	76-13	26-9	62-15
Kachran ...	13-2	8-24	13-11	11-5	15-5	13-11	18-11	8-24	13-11
Singhārah ...	115-20	116-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	118-20	115-20
Lobiya ...	31-20	20-9	22-9	31-8	31-8	32-11	22-9	13-14	22-9
Jowāri ...	24-15	11-16	31-8	29-2	29-12	33-22	42-2	30-0	31-8
Lahdarah ...	20-3	12-8	17-20	22-9	22-9	25-18	31-8	19-0	17-22
Kodarama ...	22-3	11-5	...	22-9	22-9	33-14	33-14	27-24	...
Mandwah ...	22-2	14-4	...	22-3	22-0	26-21	26-21	17-22	...
Sesame seed ...	33-14	20-3	33-4	33-14	33-14	24-16	34-17	22-24	33-14
Shamākh ...	15-5	6-18	...	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-5	6-0	...
Mung ...	24-11	15-16	26-21	40-6	40-6	36-22	42-12	27-10	26-21
Kuri ...	21-5	6-18	...	8-24	8-24	...	11-5	6-3	...
Kalt ...	...	...	...	...	33-14	...	...	22-9	...

The rates of the *Sarkārs* of Bikāner and Sarohi are not given.

The *Subah* of Delhi, 8 *Sarkārs*, 28 codes.

1. The *Sarkār* of Delhi, 48 Parganahs, 7 codes. The old suburban district, the new ditto *Pālam, Jhārsah, Masaudābād, Tilpat, Luni, Shakarpur, Bāghpat, Kāsnah, Dāsnah, Sulaimānābād, Kharkhudah, Sonipat, Talbegampur, Talālpur.*

Pānipat, &c., 2 Parganahs, 1 code, *viz., Pānipat, Karnāl, Safedun, Kutānah; Chhaproli, Tāndah Bhagwān, Gonor, Jhanjhānah, Kāndhlah, Gangerkhera.*

Baran, &c., 8 Parganahs, 1 code. *Baran, Siyānah, Jewar, Dankor, Ādh, Pothh, Senthhah, Sikandarābād,*

Merath, &c., 7 Parganahs· 1 code. *Merath, Hāpur, Barnāwah, Jalālābād, Sarwārah, Garh Muktesar, Hatnāwar.*[118]

Jhajhar, &c., 4 Parganahs, 1 code. *Jhajhar, Dādri-Tāha· Māndothi, Beri Dobaldhan.*

Rohtak, 1 Parganah, 1 code.

Palol· 1 Parganah, 1 code.

2. *Sarkār* of *Badāon*, 16 Parganahs, 1 code. *Ajāon, Aonla, Badāon* and suburbs, *Bareli· Barsar, Pond, Telhi, Sahsāwn, Sonāsi Mandehah· Saniyā, Kānt, Kot Sālbahan, Golah.*

3. *Sarkār* of *Hisār Firozah·* 18 mahals, 4 codes. Suburbs of *Hisār Firozah*, &c., 7 parganahs, 1 code. Suburbs and city of *Hānsi, Barwalah, Barwā· Toshām* and *Agrohah*, 2 mahals, *Fatehābād. Gohānah*, &c., 4 parganahs, 1 code. *Gohānah, Ahroni, Bhattu* and 16 villages. *Sirsā*, 1 parganah· 1 code. *Muhim*, &c., 6 parganahs, 1 code. *Muhim· Rohtak, Jind, Khāndah, Tahānah, Athkerah.*

4. *Sarkār* of *Rewāri*, 11 mahals, 4 codes. *Rewāri*, &c., 8 parganahs· 1 code. *Rewāri, Bāwal, Kot Kāsim Ali, Pātaudi, Bhoharah, Ghelot, Ratāi Jatāi, Nimrānah. Tāoru*, 1 parganah, 1 code. *Suhnah*, 1 parganah, 1 code. *Kohānah*, 1 parganah, 1 code.

5. *Sarkār* of *Sahāranpur*, 36 mahals, 4 codes. *Deoband*, &c.· 26 mahals, 1 code. *Deoband, Sahāranpur, Bhatkhanjāwar, Manglor· Nānoth Rāmpur, Sarot, Purchhapār, Jorāsi, Sikri Bhukarhari, Sarsāwah, Charthāwal· Rurki, Baghra, Thānah Bhewan, Muzuffarābād, Raepurtātār, Ambeth· Nakor* and *Toghlaqpur*, 2 mahals, *Bhogpur· Bhattah, Thānah Bhim, Sanbalhera, Khodi* and *Gangwah*, 2 mahals· *Lakhnauti Kerunah*, &c., 2 parganahs· 1 code. *Kerānah· Bedoli.*

Sardhanah, &c., 7 parganahs, 1 code. *Surdhanah, Bhonah, Suranpalri, Badhānah, Joli, Khatoli* and *Baghra*, 2 mahals. *Indri*. 1 mahal, 1 code.

6. *Sarkār* of *Sirhind·* 2 mahals, 4 codes. Suburbs of *Sirhind*, &c.· 13 parganahs. Suburbs of *Sirhind· Rupar,*

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[118] *Hastinapur*, Elliot & Tieff.

Pāel, Benor, Jahat, Dhotah, Dorālah, Deorānah, Kuhrām, Masenkan, villages of *Rāe Samu, Ambālah* and *Kaithal. Thānesar,* &c.· 8 parganahs. *Thānesar, Sadhurah· Shāhābād· Khizrābād, Mustafa-ābād, Bhodar, Sultanpur, Pundri. Thārah,* &c., 2 parganahs. *Thārah, Ludhiānah, Samānah,* &c., 9 parganahs. *Samānah, Sunnām· Mansurpur· Mālner, Hāpuri, Pundri, Fatehpur* and *Bhatindah, Machhipur.*

8. *Sarkār* of *Sambal,* (*Sambhal*) 47 mahals, 3 codes. City of *Sambal,* &c., 23 parganahs. City of *Sambal,* suburbs of *Sambal, Sarsi, Naroli, Manjholah, Jadwār, Gonor, Neodhanah, Deorah, Dabhārsi, Dhakah, Rajabpur, Amrohah, Ujhāri, Kachh, Āazampur, Islimpur Dargu, Islāmpur Bharu, Afghānpur, Chopālah, Kundarki, Bachharaon, Gundor. Chāndpur,* &c.· 16 parganahs. *Chāndpur, Sherkot, Bijnaur, Mandāwar, Keratpur, Jalālābād, Sahanspur, Nihtor, Naginah, Akbarābād, Islimābad, Seohāra* and *Jhala,* 2 mahals. *Lakhnor,* &c., 11 parganahs. *Lakhnor, Shāhi, Kābar* and *Kānkhari* 2 mahals. *Hatamnah, Rājpur, Dodelah, Leswah, Sarsāwah, Basārā· Parohi* [=*Barohi*].

Sarkār of *Kumāon.* (The names of its parganahs are not entered in the MSS.)

Spring Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Old suburban district.	Pánipat, &c.	Merath, &c.	Baran, &c.	Jhajhar, &c.	Palol.	Rohtak.	Sarkár of Badáon.	Suburban district of of Hisár.	Gohánah, &c.	Sirsá.	Muhim.	Rewári.	Táoru.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J	D. J.
Wheat ...	63-0	58-4	58-4	58-4	61-12	64-21	58-4	50-8	62-15	57-4	58-4	58-4	63-10	64-16
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	67-2	...	...	...	...	...
Indian ditto ...	36-3	36-23	40-6	32-11	33-14	33-14	29-16	30-5	29-2	29-16	30-5	7-19	35-20	31-20
Barley ...	42-12	40-6	38-0	38-0	41-9	42-12	34-17	45-20	40-6	42-12	42-12½	42-12½	24-11	22-12
Adas ...	24-15	24-15	25-11	22-9	24-15	28-1	24-11	15-23	24-15	22-9	24-16	24-11	24-11	26-21
Safflower ...	71-14	71-14	84-24	83-21	71-14	72-14	68-20	70-11	67-2	67-0	67-2	60-20	71-14	71-14
Poppy ...	123-0	125-3	145-9	120-45	123-11	127-11	119-16	128 0	119-16	119-16	119-16	127-16	127-11	127-11
Potherbs ...	67-2	55-23	64-21	64-21	60-9	59-7	48-0	57-1	60-2	55-23	51-12	57-0	60-9	50-7
Linseed ...	31-20	31-7	29-20	33-14	33-14	32-11	38 21	24-0	25-13	25-17	24-15	23-21	29-2	34-17
Mustard seed ...	29-2	29-2	31-20	35-5	31-20	31 20	30-20	26-7	31-20	29-2	29-2	30-5	81-20	31-20
Arzan ...	22-9	20-3	19-0	19-0	20-3	22-2	20-3	17-9	20-3	17-20	20-3	20-3	22-9	22-9
Peas ...	29-2	26-21	24-16	29-2	26-21	31-20	26-21	...	29-9	29-9	29-9	26-21	29-2	29-2
Carrots ...	21-23	24-15	23-12	24-11	24-11	53-17	29-2	26-21	23-5	39-2	29-2	29-2	26-21	25-18
Onions ...	81-16	78-7	81-16	81-16	77-7	81-16	80-0	80-8	85-0	85-0	85-0	81-16	81-16	81-16
Fenugreek ...	...	62-15	49-5	49-5	...	...	...	...	35-0	38-0	...	...	81-16	81-16
Persian Musk Melons ...	111-20	100-16	45-9	145-9	100-16	100-16	96-4	13-12	98-10	96-4	98-2	96-4	100-16	100-16
Indian ditto ...	11-16	15-16	117-16	17-22	15-16	15-16	13-11	11-16	15-16	13-11	13-11	13-14	11-16	14-14
Kur rice ...	53-17	53-17	53-17	55-23	60-9	50-17	46-24	38-0	46-24	45-21	46-24	46-24	21-11	53-17
Ajwáin ...	84-24	89-12	84-24	98-2	84-24	81-16	85-0	85-0	85-0	85-0	84-24	85-0	...	81-16

Autumn Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Old suburban district.	Panipat, &c.	Merath, &c.	Baran, &c.	Jhajhar, &c.	Palol.	Rohtak.	Sarkár of Badáon.	Suburban district of Hisar.	Gohánah, &c.	Sirsá.	Muhim.	Rewári.	Táoru.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	210-5	204-17	216-22	219-3	250-18	218-5	217-0	216-9	214-20	214-20	214-20	217-0	220-11	223-11
Common sugarcane ...	127-11	123 0	123-0	134-4	125-6	138-11	127-19	125-6	125-6	128 2	127-24	127-4	137-11	125-6
Dark coloured rice ...	78-7	67-0	43-18	67 2	73-8	76-1	62-11	64 21	62-15	63-18	64-21	76-1	76-1	77-7
	56-7	44-18	48-2	46-20	53-17	58-14	49-5	38-15	51-14	...	45 21	48 20	63-18	63-18
Másh ...	35-20	33-14	34-17	33-14	33-14	31-23	38-0	31-20	38-0	35-20	38-0	38-0	35 20	35-20
Cotton ...	89-11	91-17	89-11	93 23	89-11	95-1	89 21	96-4	89-11	89-11	89-11	89-12	89-11	89 11
Moth ...	23 12	26 21	22-9	28-12	23-13	24-11	23-12	23-3	24-11	23-12	23-12	23-12	22-0	22-9
Gál ...	16-15	15 9	16 19	14-14	15-16	11-16	16-12	15-3	16-19	15-16	15-16	16-12	16-12	16-12
Arzán ...	20 3	20-3	29-9	21-6	22-9	23 12	23-12	19-4	23 12	23-12	23-12	23-12	24-15	23-12
Indigo ...	121-0	121-0	121-0	121-0	121-0	121-0	120-12½	121-14	125-12	125-12½	125-12½	156-0	156-3	161-0
Hinna ...	77-4	76-1	71-14	72-17	78 3	78-7	76-0	42 14	76-0	76-0	76 0	76-0	76-0	77-7
Hemp ...	84 24	89-18	83-21	87-5	84-24	81-0	80-18	89-11	80-18	80-18	87-5	86-18	89-11	88-8
Potherbs ...	70-17	71-14	78-7	78-7	71-14	71-7	73-20	73-20	71-14	71-14	71-14	73-20	71-14	72-17
Kachrah ...	11-0	11-0	12-7	12 20	13 11	13-11	12-20	13-11	13-11	13-11	12-11	13 11	13-11	13-11
Pán ...	223 15	200 15	220 11	220-11	220-11	220-11	220-11	220-11	220 11	220-11	220-11	220-11	220-11	220-11
Singhárah ...	111-15	111-20	111 20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20
Lobiya ...	31-0	...	26-21	26-21	26-21	33 14	31-20	27-10	35-20	34-17	38-0	38 0	35-20	30-5
Jowári ...	33-14	33 14	33-14	33-14	33-14	26 20	35-20	34-17	38 0	38-0	38 0	35-0	35-20	35-20
Kuri ...	11 5	11-5	12 20	11-5	18-11	11-5	...	11-5	11-5	...	11-20	...	12-8	12-8
European radish ...	500?0	500?0	12-20	12-20	18-11	13 11	12-20	13 20	13-11	13-11	13-11	13-11	...	13-11
Lahdarah ...	26 21	26-21	22 9	24-11	26-21	26-21	29-2	22 9	28 0	27-24	26-21	29-2	...	21-21
Kodaram ...	32 11	33-4	29 2	32-5	29-2	33-14	29-2	27 24	29-2	29-2	33-14	23-8	...	34-17
Mandwah ...	29-2	31-20	23 2	27-14	27-24	27-10	28-0	25-17	26-21	26-21	25-17	28-0	25-17	29-9
Sesame seed ...	42-12	40-0	44 18	44-18	52-12	49 5	46 24	39-3	44-18	45-21	41-24	46-24	...	44-18
Shamákh ...	11-5	11-5	12-8	11-5	11-19	12-20	11-19	11-19	11-5	11-4	11-5	11-5	13-11	13-11
Mung ...	38-0	42-0	43-11	39-6	[illegible]	40-6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Supplement to the Spring Harvest of the Súbah of Delhi.

	Suhnah.	Kohānah.	Deoband, &c.	Sardhanah, &c.	Kerānah, &c.	Indri.	Suburban district of Sirhind.	Thānesar, &c.	Thārah, &c.	Samānah, &c.	Suburban district of Sambhal.	Chāndpur, &c.	Lakhnor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat ...	34-21	67-2	55-23	58-4	58-0	51-11	51-11	59-5	51-11	51-11	55-21	54-20	50-8
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59-22½	...	...
Indian do. ...	35-0	33-14	33-14	34-17	35-8	32-23	35-0	31-22	33-3	33-14	33-14	35-20	35-20
Barley ...	42-12	44-18	35-8	38-0	40-6	36-23	35-0	31-22	39-3	33-14	33-14	35-20	35-20
Adas ...	24-15	24-15	25-11	29-9	23-15	26-1	24-11	11-23	22-9	15-23	24-15	24-15	24-18
Safflower ...	76-17	71-14	84-24	84-24	71-14	76-0	176-0	76-0	76-0	76-0	71-14	69-20	70-11
Poppy ...	...	123-0	150-7	145-9	125-3	126-9	126-9	126-9	126-9	126-9	127-11	127-1	120-0
Potherbs ...	...	60-9	64-21	64-21	55-21	58-7	59-7	59-7	58-5	57-5	57-¼	57-1	58-1
Linseed ...	32-11	30-14	27-24	29-9	31-8	25-18	26-21	25-18	25-18	26-21	24-11	24-15	24-16
Mustard seed ...	...	33-14	29-2	31-20	29-2	21-21	26-21	25-17	26-0	26-21	29-2	27-24	26-7
Arzān ...	...	21-6	20-9	19-0	20-9	17-22	17-22	17-22	17-22	17-22	17-22	17-9	17-9
Peas ...	31-20	31-20	32-11	30-5	26-21	20-9	22-9	22-3	22-20	25-0	30-5¼	30-0	...
Carrots ...	...	29-2	26-21	23-12	24-16	26-21	26-21	22-7	26-1	26-1	26-1	26-1	26-1
Onions ...	...	...	82-19	84-24	81-16	87-7	82-18	82-18	82-18	83-21	...	82-18	82-18
Fenugreek ...	...	55-23	...	49-0	60-17	51-11	...	40-6	51-11	41-2	67-10	62-11	...
Persian Musk Melons ...	...	111-20	145-0	145-9	100-16	115-20	112-23	113-12	111-20	111-20	114-1	111-20	113-12
Indian ditto ...	11-16	11-16	19-0	17-22	11-16	14-9	14-14	14-14	14-14	15-16	15-16	11-20	11-16
Kur rice ...	...	51-11	60-9	53-17	53-17	41-9	41-9	49-17	41-9	42-12	42-12	...	36-0
Afwāin ...	...	84-24	84-24	84-24	89-15	84-24	85-0	84-24	84-24	85-0	84-24	42-12 (?)	24-24 (?)

Supplement to the Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Delhi.

	Suhnah.	Kohānah.	Deoband, &c	Sardhanah, &c.	Kerānah, &c.	Indri.	Suburban district of Sirhind.	Thānesar, &c.	Thārah, &c.	Sāmanah, &c.	Suburban district of Sambal.	Chāndpur, &c.	Lakhnor, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	218-0	...	216-20	216-20	214-1	240-12	240-12	240-12	240-12	230-12	220-6	220-0	216-0
Common Sugarcane	134-16	134-16	123-0	123-0	123-0	118-13	121-22	120-19	118-13	118-12	129-17	130-20	120-29
Common rice ...	58-4	33-17	42-12	48-9	44-48	42-12	42-12	42-18	44-14	49-15	42-12	41-9	42-12
Māsh	36-23	35-20	32-11	34-17	33-14	32-15	33-14	33-0	32-12	31-8	34-12	35.19	31-20
Cotton	95-1	89-11	89-11	89-11	91-17	107-8	107-8	150-2	58-20	105-2	102-21½	97-10	46-14
Moth	24-15	26-9	20-9	22-0	26-21	21-6⅓	22-9	22-9	21-1	21-6	22-9	22-9	22-3
Gāl ...	15-16	16-19	15-16	16-19	16-9	13-11	14-14	14-14	13-11	14-14	15-16	15-16	15-3
Arzan	23-12	22-9	20-9	22-9	23-3	23-3	23-3	23-3	23-3	21-3	21-6	22-9	19-14
Indigo	163-0	161-0	157-13	161-0	161-0	161-0	161-0	161-0	161-0	161-0	163-6	156-13	161-14
Hinna	78-20	88-7	77-4	71-14	86-1	70-11	69-20	70-11	70-11	70-11	73-20½	72-17	72-17
Hemp		89-11	82-18	83-21	82-18	82-12	82-12	82-12	82-12	82-12	89-11	89-11	89-11
Potherbs	77-7	71-14	71-14	78-7	70-14	71-14	71-14	70-11	71-14	71-14	78-6	78-7	73-20
Kachrah	13-11	13-11	12-8	12-8	12-8	11-5	11-19	11-5	11-19	11-19	11-5	11-14½	12-20
Pān	223-11	223-15	245-24	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	223-15	...
Singhārah	...	...	...	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	111-20	...
Lobiya	33-14	27-24	30-5	25-21	...	...	...	...	...	...	26-23	26-21	27-10
Jowār	36-23	35-20	26-21	35-14	33-14	33-14	33-14	34-17	33-14	33-14	36-22	38-18	36-23
Kuri	13-11	13-11	11-5	12-8	10-3	12-23	13-20	12-22	12-22	12-8	...	...	...
European radish ...	13-11	13-11	12-8	12-8	12-20	11-5	11-19	11-5	11-19	11-19	11-5	11-14½	12-20
Lahdarah	26-21	26-21	22-9	22-9	26-21	24-15	25-4	24-15	24-25	24-15	24-15	24-15	22-9
Kodaram	33-14	35-20	38-24	29-9	33-14	26-7	25-18	26-21	26-7	24-15	27-23	26-20	26-7
Mandwah	27-10	27-24	24-15	29-9	30-20	24-15	25-18	24-15	24-15′	24-15	26-6½	27-24	25-18
Sesame seed ...	49-5	44-18	34-17	44-18	40-6	40-6	41-3	41-9	40-6	40-6	44-18	48-2	39-3
Shamdkh	12-8	13-11	11-5	12-20	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-5	11-18	11-5	11-19
Mung	40-6	36-0	38-0	34-15	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-6	40-8	38-0	40-6	40-6	36-22
Turmeric	...	...	27-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	111-20	..	...	...

The *Subah* of *Lāhore* contains 8 populated areas[119] (*Tieff. pagi et oppida*).

1. The area of *Lāhore* &c. has 20 mahals, 1 code. Area of *Lāhore*, &c. 4 mahals; metropolitan area, *Bāri Doāb; Barhiāsat;*[120] lands of *Panj Bari Shāhpur*: lands of *Kālapand, Rachnāu Doāb.*

Panjāb, 16 mahals: Tappah[121] *Bheluwāl* of the *Bari Doāb, Tappah Bharli, Tappah Phulwāri, Punjgarāmi, Sandhwāl, Sāhu Mali, Sidhpur, Mankatwālah, Ghāzipur, Chandanwarak, Amrāki Bhatah, Parsaror, Rachnau, Sidhpur Panchnagar, Garbandwāl.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Jālandhar*, 30 hahals. 1 code. *Jālandhar, Sultānpur, Shaikhpur, Melsi, Lohi Dheri, Nakodar, Talon, Muhammadpur, Miani Nuriya, Kharkharaon, Rahimabad, Jalalabad, Hādiābād, Bajwārah, Harhānah,* and *Akbarabad,* 2 mahals, *Balot, Bhonkā, Hājipur, Pati Dhināt, Dardak Sāhimalot, Andwarah, Dadiāl, Kard Jālar? Sarkar* (?). *Deswahah, Chaurāsi, Naunankal, Nobi.*

3. *Sarkār* of *Batālah*, &c. 14 mahals, 1 code. *Battālah, Kanuwāhan, Kalānor, Jamāri, Hanwād* and *Baba,* 2 mahals, *Thandot, Dābhāwālah, Khokhowāl, Paniyal, Bhalot, Katwahā* and *Bethān,* 2 mahals, Salimābād separate from Battālah.

4. *Pati Haibatpur*, &c., 6 mahals, 1 code. *Haibatpur, Hoshiār Karnālah, Firozpur, Qasur, Muhammadot, Deosah.* ?

5. *Sarkār* of *Parsaror*, &c., 7 mahals, 1 code. *Parsaror, Maukri, Mahror, Pati Zafarwāl, Pati Bārmak, Haminagar.*

6. *Sarkār* of *Rohtās*, &c., 9 mahals. 1 code. *Rohtās, Kari, Kariāli, Bahni, Andarhal, Losdah, Sardahi, Malotrai Kedāri, Nandanpur.*

7. *Sarkār* of *Siālkot*, &c., 11 mahals, 1 code. *Siālkot, Mānkot, Wan. Sodrah, Narot, Renhā, Jimah Chatah, Marāt, Mankoknor Sialkot* ?

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[119] The term *sawād* is usually applied to the towns and villages of Arabian Irāq [*i.e.*, the *sown* or cultivated area, as distinct from the desert], as those in Khurasān are called *rustāk*, and in Arabia Felix *makhālif*.

[120] This name does not occur in the account of Lahore later on. The variants are *Barhiāt, Barhāt, Barsāhāt, Barsahasāt*. It is scarcely necessary to note that the words *Bāri* and *Rachna* in connection with Doāb are formed by the crasis of *Beās* and *Rāvi*, in the former case, and *Rāvi* and *Chenāb* in the latter.

[121] *Tappah* denotes a small tract or division of country smaller than a parganah, but comprising one or more villages. In some parts of the North-West, it denotes a tract in which there is one principal town or a large village with lands and villages acknowledging the supremacy of one amongst them and forming a sort of corporate body, although not otherwise identical. Wilson's *Gloss.*

8. *Sarkār* of *Hazārah*, &c., 16 mahals, 1 code. *Hazārah, Chandanwat* of the *Chenāu Doāb· Bherah, Khokharwāl· Khushāb, Kal Bhelak,*[122] *Khār Darwāzah, Tāral, Shor, Shamshābād*, separate from *Bherah· Shorpur* separate from *Chandanwat, Shakarpur* separate from *Shor.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsaror, &c.	Pati Haibatpur, &c.	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	50-18	49-5	53-17	58-17	53-17	44-18	38-17	55-23
Cabul Vetches ...	64-21	...	...	...	...	60-10	70-15	...
Indian do. ...	85-20	33-14	85-20	83-14	...	31-8	85-20	34-17
Barley	46-0	35-20	88-0	38-0	...	31-8	38-0	38-0
Adas	26-21	24-15	24-15	24-15	...	22-9	23-21	26-2
Safflower	79-10	79-10	78-10	79-2	...	67-2	78-7	79-10
Poppy	129-17	129-17	129-17	129-17		115-20	129-18	129-17
Potherbs	71 14	67-2	67-2	67-2	...	55-20	67-0	67-2
Linseed	31 8	27-24	27-24	31-8	...	22-9	29-22	31-8
Mustard seed ..	31-8	29-2	31-8	31-8	...	26-21	31-8	35-21
Arzan	21-6	19-0	19-0	21-6	...	15-16	20-3	20-8
Peas	24-15	26-21	27-4	26-21	...	26-21	31-8	27-24
Carrots	24-15	25-18	24-15	24-15	...	19-0	24-15	24-15
Onions	89-21	83-21	86-18	83-21	...	71-13	88-21	84-24
Fenugreek	50-8	46-24	61-12	40-6	...	60-10	67-2	36-23
Persian Water Melons	115-20	115-20	115-20	115-20	...	89-15	111-20	111-20
Indian ditto ...	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16	...	11-18	15-16	15-16
Cummin	57-5	84-24	84-5	87-5	...	81-4	84-24	87-5
Afwāin	87-5	84-24	84-0	87-0	...	71-4	84-84	87-5

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsaror, &c.	Pati Haibatpur, &c.	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*)	240-12	240-12	240-12	240-12	240-12	183-12½	...	240-12
Common Sugarcane ...	145-9	186-10	145-0	184-4	123-0	123-0		170-15
Dark coloured rice ...	64-21	60-9	60-15	60-15	58-4	50-8	67-0	66-0
Common rice ...	49-5	40-6	40-6	46-24	46-12½	38-14	41-9	49-6
Kalt	32-11	31-8	31-8	30-5	32-15	26-21	31-8	29-2
Māsh	36-20	33-4	35-20	38-14	38-14	31-8	35-20	38-22
Cotton	80-15	85-0	87-5	88-5	89-15	76-5	77-5	91-18

[122] In the account of Lahor, *Bhalak.*

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Lahore.—continued.

	Lahore, &c.	Battālah, &c.	Parsaror, &c.	Pati Haibat-pur, &c.	Jālandhar, &c.	Rohtās, &c.	Siālkot, &c.	Hazārah, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.
Moth	20·9	22-9	23-23	22-9	22-9	20-3	23-12½	23-12½
Gāl	17-22	15-16	17-20	17-20	15-16	13-12	16-15	19-0
Turiya	...	33-14	35-20	26-21	...	31-8	38-0	...
Arzan	20·9	17·0	17-22	22-9	15-22	14-14	17-22	29-2
Indigo	156 23	156-13	156-13	156-13	156-13	134-4	134-18	158-19
Hinna	70 0	70-0	74-23	76-0	74-23	67-6	74-23	77-24
Hemp	93-23	93-23	93·23	93-23	89-15	80-12	93-23	93-23
Potherbs	80-12½	80-17	80-17	80-12½	80-17	60-9	70-17	80-12½
Kachrah	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	12-8	10-6	12-8	13-11
Pān	123-15	123-15	...	123-15	...	...	...	123-15
Singhārah	115 20	115-20	...	115-20	...	...	...	115-20
Jowāri	40-6	35-20	38-0	38-0	35-20	31-8	38-0	38-0
Lahdarah	31-8	29·2	30-5	29-2	26-21	24-15	23-2	31-8
Kodaram	33-14	35-20	34-17	31-8	33-14	31-8	35-20	35-20
Mandwah	33-14	31-8	31-8	32-15	26-21	26-21	21-20	32-15
Sesame	46 24	42-12	42-12½	44-18	40-6	33-14	48-12½	46-24
Shamākh	13-15	12-20	12-8	12-8	12-9	10-2	12-8	13-16
Mung	40-12½	...	...	...	40-6	26-21	44-18	44-18
Kori	13-15	12-8	12-8	12-8	15-5	10-2	12-8	12-8
Turmeric	133-0	133-0	133-0	134-4	133-0	115-20	134-4	133-20

Subah of Mālwah.

1. *Sarkār* of *Ujjain*, 10 mahals. City of *Ujjain* with suburban district, *Dipālpur, Ratlām, Nawlāi, Badhnāwar, Kanel, Anhal, Khāchrod, Sānwer, Pānbihār.*

2. *Sarkār* of *Hindiah,* 22 mahals.
3. ,, ,, *Kotri,* 9 do.
4. ,, ,, *Sārangpur,* 23 do.
5. ,, ,, *Bijagarh,* 32 do.
6. ,, ,, *Gāgron,* 11 do.

7. *Sarkārs* of *Raisin* and *Chanderi*, 1 code. *Sarkār* of *Raisin, Asāpori,* &c., 6 mahals. *Bhilsah, Bhori, Bhojpur, Bālābhat, Thānah Mir Khān, Jājoi, Jhatānawi, Jalodah, Khiljipur, Dhāmoni, Dekhwārah, Deorod, Dhāniah, Raisin* with suburban district, *Sewāni, Sarsiah, Shāhpur, Khimlāsah, Khera, Kesorah, Khāmgarh, Kargarh, Korai, Laharpur, Māhsamand. Sarkār* of *Mando,* 12 mahals. City of *Mando, Amjharah, Mahesar, Dikthān, Dharmagāon, Sānkor, Panmān, Dhār, Barodah, Hāsilpur, Sanasi, Kotrah, Manāwarah Nalchah* and *Nawali,* 2 mahals.

Subah of Multān.

Sarkār of *Dipālpur.* Dipālpur, &c., 14 mahals; one *Dastur; Dipālpur, Lakhi bālā Bhoj, Lakhi Kalnārki, Lakhi Yusfāni,*[123] *Lakhi. Khokharāin, Kabulah, Lakhi Rahimābād, Lakhi Chahni, Lakhi Qiyāmpur, Lakhi Jangli, Lakhi Aālampur. Jalālābād, Tappah Sadkarah,* 2 mahals. *Tappah Sadkarah, Shahzādah Baloj, Karal, Khānpur, Rasulpur, Shahzādah Hajrau, Mundi.*

Spring Harvest of the Subah of Multān.[124] *Spring Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah.*

	Multān, &c. 28 mahals.	Dipālpur, &c. 14 mahals.	Sadkarah, &c. 11 mahals.	Ujjain, &c.			Raisen, &c.	Māndo, &c.
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	M.123	D.	J.	D. J.	D. J.
Wheat	58-17	44-18	51-11	...			29-20	...
Cabul Vetches ...	...	...	...	...			40-12	...
Barley	49-5	30-5	30-20	...			46-24	...
Adas	44-5	24-15	47-14	...			80-5	...
Safflower	73-20	78-20	70-8	3½	2	13	69-20	...
Poppy	115-20	128-15	129-0	4½	5	20	127-15	...
Pot-herbs	67-2	70-15	67-2	8½	2	13	60-9	...
Linseed	...	29.2	31-8	...			31-8	...
Mustard seed ...	44-18	29-2	31-2	3½	2	13	...	...
Arzan	29-2	20-17	20-8	...			16-12	...
Peas	...	23-12	25-17	...			31-8	...
Carrots	...	22-9	36-1	...			27-24	...
Onions	71-14	74-7	72-18	...			...	...
Fenugreek ...	69-20	89-8	44-18	...			...	...
Persian musk melons	...	116-0	115-20	8½	1	3	115-20	...
Indian do. ...	22-9	15-16	15-16	...			15-0	...
Cumin	73-20	74-8	77-11	...			46-2	...
Kur rice	...	...	...	...			85-0	...
Ajwāin	...	...	...	...			86-2	...

[123] *M.* stands for *Muzaffari,* see Vol. I, p. 23.

[124] In this and the table of the Spring harvest of Lahore I consider *mung* a misprint for *mashang* which occurs in this order in all the previous tables. *Mung,* the *Phaseolus mungo,* is recorded only in the Autumn harvest.

Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Multān. / *Autumn Harvest of the Subah of Mālwah.*

	Multān & c. 22 mahals.	Dipālpur &c. 14 mahals.	Sadkarah &c. 11 mahals.	Ujjain, &c.			Raisen, &c.	Mando, &c.		
	D. J.	D. J.	D. J.	M.	D.	J.	D. J.	M.	D.	J.
Sugarcane (*paundah*) ...	...	240-12	240-11	7¾	1	21	239-6		...	
Common Sugarcane	134-4	126-9	143-3	4½	5	8	48-15	6	1	[illegible]
Dark coloured rice	...	60-3	64-21		...		70-18		...	
Common rice ...	49-5	49-15	49-5		...		55-3		...	
Kalt	...	27-24	31-3		...		46-6		...	
Māsh	40-0	32-11	35-20		...		...		...	
Cotton	93-23	87-5	89-11	2¾	1	2	87-5	2¾	5	1
Moth	38-0	22-9	28-12		...		26-21		...	
Gāl	26-21	17-22	19-0		...		8-8		...	
Arzan	31-20	23-12	22-9		...		...		...	
Indigo	145-9	150-19	159-22	2⅔	1	2	4-24		...	
Hinna	76-0	76-0	76-0		...		...	2½	1	1
Hemp	85-0	91-17	93-23		...		...		...	
Pot-herbs	73-20	77-4	82-18		...		...		...	
Pān	...	123-0	...		...		...		...	
Singhārah ...	...	111-0	...	4½	5	20	115-20	6¼	4	7
Lobiya	38-0	38-0	33-14		...		...		...	
Jowārī	42-12	35-20	38-0		...		44-18		...	
Kurī	...	13-11	12-8		...		15-16		...	
Lahdarah ...	44-18	29-2	31-2		...		...		...	
Kodaram ...	...	33-14	33-14		...		...		...	
Mandwah ...	...	30-19	31-8		...		31-8		...	
Sesame	41-9	43-15	44-18		...		40-12		...	
Shamākh ...	12-8	12-8	13-11		...		...		...	
Mung	...	...	...		...		40-5		...	

Note.—I cannot understand nor explain the notation in Muzafferis and am not sure if I have interpreted it correctly.

EDITOR'S NOTE

On the correction of place-names and dynastic lists in Jarrett's translation, vol. II.

In tracing the Hindu personal names and the numerous less important place-names, the variant readings given in the printed Persian text of the *'Ain-i-Akbari* are of no help to us, unless we know the correct names from other sources, such as (in the case of topography) large-scale maps and the records in the modern revenue and judge's courts of those areas. Similarly, Tieffenthaler's *Geography of Hindustan* (Fr. trans. by Bernoulli, 1786) is of no real use to us; he merely translated from Persian mss of the *'Ain,* and where his names differ from those in our printed text of the *'Ain,* he can be correct only in the rare instances of his having had a more correct and legible ms. of the book before him and his having transcribed these names in Roman letters without a mistake. Most of the mistakes in the proper names are due to the ignorance or carelessness of the Muslim clerks of Abul Fazl and the later copyists of his book. Students of Persian mss know that the usual sources of mistake in mss are the confusion, in writing, of the letters *R, D,* and *W,* (and sometimes also *HU* for *DU*) and the wrong placing (or omission) of dots (*nuqta*) by which *B, T, N, Y, P* and *H* are confounded together.

The only dependable means of correcting the place-names in the *'Ain-i-Akbari* is to use the Survey of India maps (quarter-inch or even one inch to the mile sheets), and this I have done. But absolute certainly on this point can be gained only by carefully verifying these names from the old revenue and civil court records of each particular sub-division included in the *'Ain.* I wish that local inquirers would do this work and send the result to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) for incorporation in a future edition of this translation.

Unlike his brother Faizi who was a Sanskrit scholar, Abul Fazl did not know that difficult language. So, the author of Akbar's *Imperial Gazetteer* had to engage a number of Brahman pandits and Kayasth scribes, and they read out and summarised in Urdu the legendary Hindu history from the Sanskrit epics and Purānas and quasi-historical works like the *Rajatarangini* and the guide-books

to famous Hindu shrines (*i.e., māhātmyas* and *khandas.*) These summaries were put down in Persian by Abul Fazl's clerks. Pickings from these Persian notes went to the making of ancient Hindu history as given by Abul Fazl in the final shape of the '*Ain-i-Akbari.*

When Col. Jarrett made his translation of the second volume of the '*Ain-i-Akbari* in the Eighteen-eighties, his only sources for ancient Hindu history were Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna* and Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, and for early Muslim history, Firishtah, *Riyāz-us-Salātin* and similar uncritical early works. During the sixty years and more that have passed since then, the study of Indian history has made such a great advance that it would be an injustice to the modern reader—and also to Jarrett's memory,—to reprint his notes from obsolete authors. I have therefore felt it necessary to sweep away his heaps of dead leaves (as I have called them in my introduction to the revised edition of the third volume of the '*Ain*), and to give extracts only from modern authorities, such as the Dacca University *History of Bengal* (vol. I. Hindu period, vol. II. Muslim Rule), R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* in 2 volumes (1930-1931, replacing the ante-diluvian Hunter's *Orissa* of 1872, which Jarrett cited,), the *Cambridge History of India*, Elliot and Dowson, &c.

In fact, Abul Fazl's Hindu history is of no real value, as it was entirely drawn from traditions and myths, long before the age of critical historiography based upon inscriptions, coins and records. Hence, I have not wasted paper by trying to refute every error in this portion of the '*Ain*, but I have given exact references to modern sources, where the reader will find the necessary correct information on the subject.

The pandits employed by Abul Fazl have made a hotch-potch of the old history of Hindustan by mixing together legendary and historical kings, inserting real royal names of one dynasty or province into the dynastic list of another, and thus inextricably mingling truth and fancy together, *e.g.*, Anangahbima was a real king of Orissa (three of the dynasty bearing that name) shortly before the Muslim invasion, but Abul Fazl makes him the son of the pre-historic Bhagadatta, the comrade of Duryodhan of the *Mahābhārat* and a king of Bengal! So also, Bhoja, who reigned elsewhere than in Bengal and was a Kshatriya, is

made in the *'Ain* a Kāyastha and the founder of the second line of Bengal kings.

As for Raja *Naujah,* Abul Fazl is confused, making him the last king of the Sena dynasty in one place, and the father of Lakshman Sena in another. I cannot conceive how *Nārāyan* can be misspelt in Persian writing as *Naujah.* I suggest the emendation *Budh-sen* (a real king at the end of the Senas) for *Naujah* in the list, and *Raja of Nudia* for *Raja-i-Naujah* at the first mention.

Correct list of the Pala kings of Bengal—

Gopāla I., accession ...	... *c.* 750 A.D.
Dharma-pāla ...	... 770
Deva-pāla	... 810
Vigraha-pāla I or Sura-pāla I	... 850
Nārāyana-pāla ...	... 854
Rājya-pāla	... 908
Gopāla II.	... 940
Vigraha-pāla II ...	... 960
Mahi-pāla I	... 988
Naya-pāla	... 1038
Vigraha-pāla III ...	... 1055
Mahi-pāla II ...	... 1070
Sura-pāla II	... 1075
Rāma-pāla	... 1077
Kumāra-pāla ...	... 1120
Gopāla III	... 1125
Madana-pāla ...	... 1140
Govinda-pāla ...	... 1155

(D.U. *Bengal,* i. 176-177.)

Correct list of the Sena kings of Bengal—

Vira-sena (progenitor, not Raja)

Sāmanta-sena

Hemanta-sena, 1st Raja, in Rārh acc. *c.* 1080.

Vijaya-sena, conquered all Bengal except Gaur, (r. 1125-58)

Vallāla-sena, *r.c.* 1158-1179

Lakshman-sena, *r.c.* 1179-1206. His sons Vishwa-rupa-sena and Keshav-sena ruled in East Bengal till *c.* 1230. Surya-sena and Purushottama-sena were probably the sons of Vishwa-rupa, and were in power till *c.* 1245. Among the

chiefs with names ending in Sena, in Eastern India in the 13th century, are Buddha-sena (of Pithi) and his son Jaya-sena, and Madhu-sena (date prob. 1289); but they were mere local barons or zamindārs and not ruling sovereigns. (D.U. *Bengal*, i. 205-228.)

Correct list of the Pre-Mughal Muslim rulers of Bengal (leaving out the viceroys and rebel sultans from Qutbuddin Aibak to Md. Tughluq Shah, 1202-1339.)—

Ala-ud-din Ali (Mubārak) accession 1339 A.D.

Early Ilyās Shāhi dynasty

Shams-ud-din Ilyās (Bhangāra), ...	r.	1348-'57
Sikandar Shah	r.	1357-c. '91
Ghiyās-ud-din Ā'zam Shāh ...	*c.*	1391-1409
Ghiyās-ud-din Ā'zam Shāh ...	*c.*	1391-1409
Saifuddin Hamza Sh. ...		1409-10
Shihābuddin Bāyezid Sh. (title Shams-ud-din)		1411-13
'Alauddin Firuz Sh.		1414

Hindu dynasty

Ganesh (*var.* Kans)	1414-1418
Jalāluddin, s. of Ganesh ...	1418-31
Shams-ud-din Ahmad ...	1431-42

Later Ilyās Shāhi dynasty.

Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud I ...	1442-59
Rukn-ud-din Bārbak Sh. ...	1459-74
Shams-ud-din Yusuf Sh. ...	1471-81
Jalāl-ud-din Fath Sh.	1481-87

Abyssinian dynasty,

Bārbak Shah ... 6 months,	1487
Saif-ud-din Firuz Sh. ...	1487-90
Nāsir-ud-din Mahmud II ...	1490-91
Shams-ud-din Muzaffar ...	1491-93

(*Arab*) *Husain Shāhi dynasty.*

A'la-ud-din Husain Shāh, ...	1493-1510
Nāsir-ud-din A. M. Nasrat Sh. ...	1519-32
A'la-ud-din Firuz	1532-33
Ghiyās-ud-din Mahmud, ...	1533-38

Sur dynasty.

Sher Shāh	... ...	1539-45
Islām Shāh	... ...	1545-53
Shams-ud-din Md. Sh.	..	1553-55
Ghiyās-ud-din Bahādur (Khizr Kh.)		1556-60
Ghiyās-ud-din II	... ...	1561-63
His son ...	... 7 months,	1563
Ghiyās-ud-din III	... one year	1564

Karrāni dynasty (Afghan).

Tāj Kh. Karrāni	... ... r.	1564-65
Sulaiman Karrāni	... ...	1565-72
Bāyezid Karrāni	... ...	1572
Dāud Karrāni	... ...	1573-76

(See D.U. *Bengal*, vol. II)

Note on the sarkars of Bengal in Akbar's time.

In view of the frequent changes in the administrative geography of Bengal under British rule and the radical change resulting from the partition of Bengal in August 1947, it is impossible to indicate briefly the extent of any of the *sarkārs* of the *'Ain* in terms of the districts of the two parts of Bengal as they are today. Among the striking points of difference are that under Mughal rule (*a*) southern and western Midnapur belonged to Orissa and not to Bengal, (*b*) the district of Purnia and the eastern portion of Bhagalpur were attached to Bengal and not to Bihar, and (*c*) Sikhar-bhum (old name of Pachet), Dhaval-bhum, and Singbhum formed parts of the *Sarkār* of Mandaran belonging to Bengal.

The following table of approximate equivalents between Akbar's *sarkārs* and the Bengal districts in the last stage of British rule may be of some help to the modern reader.

Sarkars		*Districts*
Udambar	...	Rajmahal subdivision, N.W. Murshidabad, and N. Birbhum.
Jannatābād	...	Malda (mainly)
Fathābād	...	Faridpur, South Bakarganj and the islands at the mouth of the Ganges.
Mahmudābād	...	North Nadia, North Jessore, and West Faridpur.
Khilāfatābād	...	South Jessore and West Bakarganj.

Sarkars		*Districts*
Baklā ...	...	North and East Bakarganj and S.-W. Dacca.
Tājpur	...	East Purnia and West Dinajpur.
Ghorāghāt	...	S. Rangpur, S.-E. Dinajpur, and N. Bogra.
Pinjāra	...	Dinajpur and parts of Rangpur and Rajshahi.
Bārbakābād	...	mainly Rajshahi, S.W. Bogra and S.E. Malda.
Bāzuhā	...	partly Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna and Dacca.
Sonārgāon	...	West Tippera and Noakhali.
Sharifatābād	...	mostly Burdwan.
Sulaimanābād	...	North Hugli, and adjacent parts of Nadia and E. Burdwan.
Sātgāon	...	24 Parganas, W. Nadia (?) and Howrah.
Mandāran	...	Bankura, Vishnupur, S.E. Burdwan and W. Hugli.

Bāzuhā—This word is the Persian plural of *bāzu* meaning 'an arm', *i.e.*, the direction of a locality with reference to a central point such as the capital town. In early times the provinces of a kingdom were indicated as its different directions (*e.g.*, *Tarf*, *subah* from *sub*, whence the titles of provincial governors *Tarf-dār*, *subah-dār*, &c.) As will be noticed in the lists of the *'Ain*, in Orissa locality-names are compounded with the word *dik* meaning direction of the compass, and in Bengal and elsewhere with the word *dast*, meaning the right arm or the left arm, of the speaker. In Akbar's time the portion of Bengal known as *Bāzuhā* had not yet been consolidated into a compact area, but lay sprawling over many neighbouring districts and having no clear-marked boundaries. *Rāst* and *chap* mean the right and left hands respectively.

J. SARKAR.

ACCOUNT OF THE TWELVE SUBAHS.

In the fortieth year of the Divine Era [1594] His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkārs* (divisions of a Subah) subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven townships (*qāsba*). When the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made (which amounted to an annual rental of three *Arbs*, sixty-two *krors*, ninety-seven *lakhs*, fifty-five thousand two hundred and forty-six *dāms* [Rs. 9,07,43,881] and twelve *lakhs* of betel leaves), His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subah* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Behār, Bengal, Delhi, Kābul, Lāhor, Multān, Mālwah: and when Berār, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen. A brief description of each is here set down, and an account of their rulers together with the periods in which they flourished, duly recorded.

BENGAL SUBAH.

Since the conceptions of sovereign rule embrace the universe, I propose to begin with Bengal which is at one extremity of Hindustān and to proceed to Zabulistān[1] and I hope that Turān and Irān and other countries may be added to the count. The country lying to the east will be first described, followed by the north, the south, and the west.

This *Subah* is situated in the second clime.[2] Its length

[1] Kābul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond come under this appellation which is derived by Yākut, *Majmu'a-ul-Buldān*) from Zābul, grandfather of Rustam.

[2] *Iqlīm*, literally a slope or inclination, was used in the mathematical geography of the Greeks with reference to the inclination of various parts of the earth's surface to the plane of the equator. Before the globular figure of the earth was known, it was supposed that there was a general slope of its surface from S. to N. and this was called *klima*. But as the science of mathematical geography advanced, the word was applied to belts of the earth's surface, divided by lines parallel to the equator, those lines being determined by the different lengths, at different places, of the shadow cast by a gnomon of the same altitude, at noon of the same day. This division into climates was applied only to the N. hemisphere as the geographers had no practical knowledge of the earth S. of the equator. There were 19 climates as given by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* i, 23). The term was afterwards applied to the average temperature of each of these regions and hence our modern use of the word, (Smith's *Dict. of Antiq*, 2nd ed., art. Climates; also *Ency. of Islam*, ii. 460).

from Chittagong to *Garhi*[3] is four hundred *kos*. Its breadth from the northern range of mountains to the southern frontier of the *Sarkār* of *Mandāran*, is two hundred *kos*, and when the country of Orissa was added to this *Subah*, the additional length was forty-three *kos* and the breadth twenty-three. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains and on the west by the *Subah* of Behār. The tract of country on the east called *Bhāti*,[4] is reckoned a part of this province. It is ruled by Isa Afghān and the *Khutbah* is read and the coin struck in the name of his present Majesty. In this country the mango trees grow to the height of a man or not so high and produce abundant fruit. Adjoining it, is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is *Bijay Mānik*. Whosoever obtains the chieftainship, bears the title of *Mānik* after his name, and the nobles that of *Nārāin*. He has a force of two hundred thousand footmen and a thousand elephants. Horses are scarce. To the north is a country called *Kuch*. Its chief commands a thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. *Kāmrup*, commonly called also *Kāonrup* and *Kāmtā*, is subject to him. The inhabitants are as a race good looking and addicted to the practice of magic. Strange stories are told regarding them. It is said that they build houses, of which the pillars, walls and roofs are made of men. Some of these they compel by the power of sorcery, and criminals deserving of death are also thus made use of. Whoever voluntarily surrenders

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The Arabs adopted this system but restricted the number to seven. They considered three-fourths of the globe to be submerged and one-fourth above water. Of this latter $\frac{1}{20}$ was habitable and the remainder waste or desert. The habitable portion was 33 150,000 square miles in extent, each mile being 4000 cubits, each cubit 24 digits. It was situated between the Equator and the N. pole and was divided into 7 climates.

[3] This is Teliagarhi, a pass in the Santhāl Parganahs, Bihar, lying between the Rājmahāl hills on the S. and the Ganges on the N. Formerly of strategic importance as commanding the military approaches to Bengal proper. The ruins of a large fort still exist, through which the E. I. Railway passes. It seems never to have been completed and was constructed in the last century by the Teli *zamīndār* who was forcibly converted by the Muhammadans. Hence the name of the fort and the *parganah* in which it is situated. *Imp. Gazetteer*.

The *kos* is for convenience generally taken at two English miles. The basis of all linear systems is the same, *viz.*, the cubit or human forearm. Proceeding upwards four *hāths* or cubits=a *danda* or staff: and 2000 *dandas* a *kos*, which by this calculation should be 4000 yards English or nearly 2¼ miles. *Useful Tables*, p. 87. Also Elliot's *Memoir of Races*, *N. W. P.* II, 194.

[4] The name given by the Muhammadan historians to the coast-strip of the Sunderbens from Hijili to the Meghna Lat. 20° 30′ to 22° 30′ N., long. 88° to 91° 14′ E. The name means "low lands overflowed by the tide" and is still applied to the Sundarban tracts of Khulna and Bākarganj Districts. *I. G.* For Isa Kh., D.U. *Bengal*, ii. 194-212.

himself for this purpose, escapes retribution for a year. Various conveniences are reserved for him. In due time, men armed with swords cut them down, and from their movements or immobility or other aspects, they have cognizance of scarcity or plenty or duration of years [of the reign] or the longevity of the ruler or defeat of enemies. They also cut open a pregnant woman who has gone her full term of months and taking out the child, divine somewhat as to the future. There grows a wonderful tree whose branches when cut, exude a sweet liquid which quenches the drought of those athirst. They have also a mango tree[5] that has no trunk; it trails like a climbing vine, over a tree and produces fruit. There is likewise a flower[6] which after it has been gathered for two months, does not wither nor lose its colour or smell. Of this they make necklaces.

Bordering on this country are the dominions of the Rājah of Ashām (Assam) whose great pomp and state are subjects of general report. When he dies, his principal attendants of both sexes voluntarily bury themselves alive in his grave. Neighbouring this is Lower Tibet and to its left is *Khata.*[7] This is also called *Mahāchin* which the vulgar pronounce *Māchin.* From *Khān Bāligh*[8] its capital, to the ocean, a forty days' journey, they have cut a canal both sides of which are embanked with stone and mortar. Alexander of Greece advanced to that country by this route.[9] Another road is also mentioned which can be traversed in four days and four nights.

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[5] The *Willoughbeia edulis.* It is known to natives of Bengal, Assam and the Chittagong Hill tracts, as the Loti Ām (*Loti*, for Sanskrit *latā*, a creeper) but botanically is far removed from the true mango. The fruit is said to be pleasant to taste. The leaf of the dried specimen is very similar to the ordinary mango leaf: the fruit is about 2½ inches long and 2¼ broad (Dr. King.)

[6] The *Tulsi,* (Ocymum Sanctum).

[7] China for nearly 1000 years, writes Yule (*Marco Polo,* 2nd ed. Introd., p. 11) has been known to Asia under the name of Khitai, Khata or *Cathay* and is still called Khitai by the Russians. [*Ency. Islam,* ii. 737 under *Kara Khitai.*]

[8] De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns.* gives this name to Pekin, called also Tatou the *grand court* or Khān Bāligh, *the court of the Khān.* Several towns have received this name which as it signifies the royal residence is transferable to any that the monarch may honour with his presence. It is the *Cambalu* of Western geographers and historians and placed by them in Northern China or Grand Tartary, while the Orientals locate it in China Proper. (*Ency. Islam,* ii. 898).

[9] In B.C. 329 Alexander crossed the Oxus in pursuit of Bessus and after putting him to death, he passed the Jaxartes (Sir Daria) and defeated several Scythian tribes north of that river This was the northernmost point that he reached. A. Fazl is merely relating the Muslim legend of Alexander, for which see *Ency. Islam,* ii. 533 under *al-Iskandar.* [J. S.]

To the south-east of Bengal is a considerable tract called *Arakan* which possesses the port of *Chittagong*. Elephants abound, but horses are scarce and of small size.[10] Camels are high priced : cows and buffaloes there are none, but there is an animal which has somewhat of the characteristics of both, piebald and particoloured, whose milk the people drink. Their religion is said to be different to that of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Sisters may marry their own twin brothers, and they refrain only from marriages between a son and his mother. The ascetics, who are their repositories of learning, they style *Wali* whose teaching they implicitly follow. It is the custom when the chief holds a court, for the wives of the military to be present, the men themselves not attending to make their obeisance. The complexion of the people is dark and the men have little or no beard.

Near to this tribe is *Pegu* which is also called *Chin*. In some ancient accounts it is set down as the capital city of *Chin*. There is a large military force of elephants and infantry, and white elephants are to be found. On one side of it is *Arakan*. There are mines of rubies, diamonds, gold, silver, copper, naphtha and sulphur, and over these mines there is continual contention between this country and the *Maghs* as well as the tribes of Tipperah.

The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *Āl*.[1] From this suffix, the name Bengal took its rise and currency. The summer heats are temperate and the cold season very short. The rains begin when the sun is midway in Taurus, (May) and continue for somewhat more than six months, the plains being under water and the mounds alone visible. For a long time past, at the end of the rains, the air had been felt to be pestilential and seriously affected

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[10] The domestic animals of the Arakan Hill Tracts according to the *Imp. Gaz.* are the *gayal*, buffalo, ox, goat, pig, dog. "The Gayal (*Bos Frontalis*) has interbred with the common Indian cattle; these hybrids are brought down by the Bhutiahs to the annual fair in the Darrung District : though they thrive in Shillong they soon die if kept in the plains. The Gayal is plentiful along the spurs of the Bhutān hills, amongst the Dufflas, Lushais, and along the hilly tract well into Chittagong." *Sport in British Burmah* by Lieut-Col. Pollock. An alternative reading gives, "horses are scarce, and asses and camels are high-priced," which Gladwin has adopted.

[1] Sansk. *āli* a mound of earth or ridge for crossing ditches, dividing fields and the like.

animal life, but under the auspices of his present Majesty, this calamity has ceased.

Its rivers are countless and the first of them in this province is the *Ganges*: its source cannot be traced. The Hindu sages say that it flows down from the hair of *Mahadeva's* head. Rising in the mountains towards the north, it passes through the province of Delhi, and imperial Agra, and Allahabad and Behār into the province of Bengal, and near *Qūzıhattah* in the *Sarkar* of *Bārbakābād,* it divides into two streams. One of these, flowing east-wards, falls into the sea at the port of Chittagong. At the parting of the waters, it takes the name of *Padmāwati* and pursues a southern course. It is divided into three streams; one, the *Sarsuti* [Saraswati]; the second the *Jamna* (Jamuna) and the third the Ganges, called *collectively* in the Hindi language *Tribeni,*[2] and held in high veneration. The third stream after spreading into a thousand channels, joins the sea at *Sātgāon* [Hugli]. The *Sarsuti* and the Jamna unite with it. In praise of this stream the Hindu sages have written volumes. From its source to its mouth it is considered sacred, but some spots have a peculiar sanctity. Its water is carried as an offering of price to far distant places. Believing it to be a wave of the primeval river, they hold its worship to be an adoration of the supreme being, but this is no part of the ancient tradition. Its sweetness, lightness and wholesomeness attest its essential virtues. Added to this, it may be kept in a vessel for years without undergoing change.

Another river is the Brahmaputra. It flows from *Khatā*[3] (China) to *Kuch* and thence through the *Sarkār* of Bāzuhā and fertilising the country, falls into the sea.

And again there is the sea which is here a gulf of the great ocean, extending on one side as far as Basrah and on the other to the Egyptian Qulzum[4] and thence it washes

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[2] Sansk. *tribeni* three braids of hair. Wilford says (*Asiatic Research,* Vol. XIV, p. 396) that the waters of these three rivers do not mix. The waters of the Jumna are blue, those of the Sarasvati white and the Ganges is of a muddy yellowish colour.

[3] Its rise is supposed to be from the S. E. base of the sacred Kailás hill, on the opposite side of the water-parting in which the Sutlej and the Indus also take their rise. Its course, con-fluents and history may be read in the *I. G*

[4] This is the ancient Klysma, the site of the modern Suez, in the neighbourhood of which the Tel Qulzum still retains the name which has been given to the Red Sea. *Ency. Islam,* ii, 1114.

both Persia and Ethiopia where are Dahlak and Suākin, and is called (the Gulf of) Omān and the Persian Sea.

The principal cultivation is rice of which there are numerous kinds. If a single grain of each kind were collected, they would fill a large vase. It is sown and reaped three times a year on the same piece of land with little injury to the crop. As fast as the water rises, the stalks grow, so that the ear is never immersed, inasmuch as those experienced in such matters have taken the measure of a single night's growth at sixty cubits.[5] The people are submissive and pay their rents duly. The demands of each year are paid by instalments in eight months, they themselves bringing mohars and rupees to the appointed place for the receipt of revenue, as the division of grain between the government and the husbandman is not here customary. The harvests are always abundant, measurement is not insisted upon, and the revenue demands are determined by estimate of the crop. His Majesty in his goodness has confirmed this custom. Their staple food is rice and fish; wheat, barley and the like not being esteemed wholesome. Men and women for the most part go naked wearing only a cloth (*lungi*) about the loins. The chief public transactions fall to the lot of the women. Their houses are made of bamboos, some of which are so constructed that the cost of a single one will be five thousand rupees or more and they last a long time. Travelling is by boat, especially in the rains, and they make them of different kinds for purposes of war, carriage or swift sailing. For attacking a fort they are so constructed that when run ashore, their prow overtops the fort and facilitates its capture. For land travel they employ the *Sukhāsan*. This is a crescent-shaped litter covered with camlet or scarlet cloth and the like, the two sides of which have fastenings of various metals, and a pole supporting it is attached by means of iron hooks. It is conveniently adapted for sitting in, lying at full length or sleeping during travel. As a protection against sun and rain they provide a commodious covering which is removable at pleasure. Some enjoy the luxury of riding on elephants but they rarely take to horseback. The mats made here often resemble woven silk.

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[5] Gladwin has *six* for *sixty*. The long stemmed rice, according to the *I.G.* is extensively cultivated in the swamps. The seed is sown when the marshes are dry or nearly so, and when the rains set in the plant shoots up with the rise of the water and can be grown in water to a depth of from 18 to 20 feet, but even this is not in one night.

Tria[*] inde genera eunuchorum veniunt, quo Sandalos, Bādāmos et Kāfuros nuncupant. Priores, partibus genitalibus radicaliter exsectis, Atlises etiam nominant. Bādāmis pars solum penis relinquitur. Kāfuros adhuc teneræ ætatis, testes vel compressi conficiuntur vel exsecantur: tamen notatum est, castrationem, quæ pervicaciam cæteris omnibus animalibus tollit, hominibus solis excitare.

Salt is in great demand and is brought from long distances. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, cornelians and agates are imported. Flowers and fruit are in plenty. The betel-nut is of a kind that stains of a red colour the lips of those who chew it.

Jannatābād is an ancient city: for a time, it was the capital of Bengal and was widely known as Lakhnauti and for a while as Gaur. His Majesty the late Emperor Humāyun distinguished it by this title of Jannatābād. It has a fine fort and to the eastward of it is a lake called *Chhatiāpatiā* in which are many islands. Were the dam that confines it to break, the city would be under water. About a *kos* to the north of the fort, is a large building and a reservoir, monuments of great antiquity. From time immemorial, its water has been considered to be of a poisonous character. The place was called *Piyāsbāri* (abode of thirst), and criminals condemned to death, were there confined who in a short time perished from the effects of this brackish water. At present in the blessed reign of His Majesty, this practice has been discontinued.

Mahmudābād.—The marshes around the fort have added to its impregnability. The ruler of this district, at the time of its conquest by Sher Khān, let some of his elephants loose in its forests from which time they have abounded. Long pepper grows in this tract.

The *Sarkār* of *Khalifatābād* is well wooded and holds wild elephants. The *Sarkār* of *Baklā* extends along the sea shore. The fort is surrounded by woods. On the first day of the new moon the sea steadily rises until the fourteenth, and from the fifteenth till the end of the month as gradually falls. In the 29th year of the Divine Era, a terrible inundation occurred at three o'clock in the afternoon, which swept

[*] I have imitated the example of Gladwin in veiling the following passage under the mask of a learned language and with a slight alteration have borrowed his words. (Jarrett.)

over the whole *Sarkār*. The Rājah held an entertainment at the time. He at once embarked on board a boat, while his son Parmānand Rāe with some others climbed to the top of a temple and a merchant took refuge in a high loft. For four hours and a half the sea raged amid thunder and a hurricane of wind. Houses and boats were engulfed but no damage occurred to the temple or the loft. Nearly two hundred thousand living creatures perished in this flood.

In the *Sarkār* of *Ghoraghāt,* silk is produced and a kind of sackcloth [jute]. Numbers of eunuchs are here and hill ponies in plenty are procurable. There are many kinds of indigenous fruits, especially one called *Latkan.*[7] It is the size of a walnut with the taste of a pomegranate and contains three seeds.

The *Sarkār* of *Bārbakābād* produces a fine cloth called *Gangājal* (*Ganges water*), and a great abundance of oranges.

In the *Sarkār* of *Bāzuhā* are extensive forests which furnish long and thick timbers of which masts are made. There are also iron mines.

The *Sarkār* of *Sonārgāon*[8] produces a species of muslin very fine and in great quantity. In the township of *Egāra Sindur* is a large reservoir which gives a peculiar whiteness to the cloths that are washed in it.

In the *Sarkār* of Sylhet there are nine[9] ranges of hills. It furnishes many eunuchs.

There is a fruit called *Suntarah*[10] in colour like an orange

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[7] Dr. King of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, considers this to be a species of *Elœcarpus*. The fruits of all the species are a good deal alike, varying in size from an olive to a walnut, having an external flushy pulp more or less palatable (in some species of fair flavour) and containing a stone. The later is usually found to be divided into 3 cells, one of which contains a mature seed, the seeds in the other two being abortive. The taste of the pulp of the *E. serratus* and *E. lancœofolius* (both natives of Rangpúr) is a good deal like that of the pomegranate.

[8] This was the ancient Maḥammadan capital of Eastern Bengal but is now an insignificant village called Painám in the Dacca District. *I.G.*

[9] In the south of the district, says the *Gazetteer,* eight low ranges of hills run out into the plain, being spurs of the Tipperah mountains. The highest is about 1000 feet above sea level. There is also a small detached group, the Ita hills, in the centre of the district.

[10] Commonly *Sangtarah*. The name is supposed to be a corruption of Cintra, but its mention by Baber in his Memoirs seems subversive of this derivation, for though the fruit is said to have been an eastern importation into Portugal, it is improbable that the foreign name could have been current in India at so early a date. Humayun praises it highly saying that no one cares for any other fruit who has this. He states that it is found only at Sonárgaon in Bengal and in the greatest perfection only at one place. A note to the *Memoirs* (p. 329) says that the description of the fruit by Baber suits more the *Citrus decumana* than any other, and its Bengali name *Batavi nimbu*, the Batavia lime, denotes its being an exotic.

but large and very sweet. The China root[2] is produced in plenty. In ancient times it had not been discovered until some scientific travellers from European Turkey introduced it to universal notice. Aloes-wood is abundant in these mountains. At the end of the rains they fell the trees to the ground, and after a certain time they give them various names according to their greenness or maturity.

The *Bhangrāj*[3] is a bird of a black colour, with red eyes and a long tail. Two of the feathers extend to a length of a *gaz*. They are snared and tamed. It catches the note of any animal that it hears, and eats flesh. The *Sherganj* is of the same kind but its beak and legs are red; in imitating sounds, it matches the other and pursues sparrows and the like and eats them.

Chātgāon (Chittagong) is a large city situated by the sea and belted by woods. It is considered an excellent port and is the resort of Christian and other merchants.

In the *Sarkār* of *Sharifābād* is a beautiful species of cattle, white in colour, and of a fine build : like camels they are laden kneeling down and carry fifteen *man* weight. It is noted for the Barbary goat and for fighting cocks.

In the *Sarkār* of *Sātgāon*,[4] there are two ports at a distance of half a *kos* from each other; the one is Sātgāon, the other Hugli : the latter the chief; both are in the possession of the Europeans. Fine pomegranates grow here.

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[2] The root of a species of smilax of a pale reddish colour with no smell and very little taste. The *smilax glabra* or *lanceæfolia*, not distinguishable, according to Roxburg, by the eye from the drug known as *China root*. It is a native of Sylhet and the adjacent Garrow country.

[3] Bhringa-rāj, *Edolius paradiseus* or large racket-tailed Drongo. Plumage uniformly black with a steel-blue gloss. Length to end of ordinary tail 14 inches; wing 6¾; tail to middle 6½; outer tail feather 12 to 13 inches more; the shaft having the terminal end for about 3½ inches barbed externally, but towards the tip only on the inner side, and turning inwards so that the under-side becomes uppermost. It will eat raw meat, lizards, and almost any kind of food offered to it. It imitates all sorts of sounds, as of dogs, cats, poultry. The Bhring-ráj, (king of the bees) is found in the dense forests of India from the Himalays to the Eastern Ghats as far S. as N.L.15°. Jerdon. *Sherganj* Cissa Sinensis, Brisson. Cissa Venatoria, Blyth—the green jay. It is found in the South Eastern Himalays and in the hill ranges of Assam, Sylhet, Arakan and Tenasserim. These birds wander about from tree to tree and pick grasshoppers, mantides and other insects, are frequently tamed and caged and are amusing and imitative. They sing lustily a loud screeching strain and are highly carnivorous. The shrike-like habit, in confinement, of placing a bit of food between the bars of their cage is in no species more exemplified than in this—Jerdon. II, 312.

[4] The traditional mercantile capital of Bengal from the Puranic age to the time of the foundation of the town of Hugli by the Portuguese. Its decay commenced in the latter part of the 16th century owing to the silting up ofthe channel of the Saraswati. In 1632, Hugli being made a royal port, all the public offices were withdrawn from Sátgáon which soon sunk into ruin. *Stat. Acct. of Bengal* ,III, 307—310.

In the *Sarkār* of *Mandāran* is a place called Harpah in which there is a diamond mine producing chiefly very small stones.

Orissa.

This was formerly a separate State. The climate is extremely healthy. His Majesty apportioned it into five *Sarkārs, viz., Jalesar, Bhadrak, Katak* (Cuttack), *Kaling Dandpāt* and *Raja Mahandrah.* These five are now included in the province of Bengal. It contains one hundred and twenty-nine masonry forts. Its ruler is entitled Gajpati.[1] The rainy season extends over eight months; there are three cold months and one month only that is hot. The staple cultivation is rice and the food of the inhabitants consists of rice, fish, the egg-plant and vegetables. When the rice is cooked, they steep it in cold water and eat it on the second day. The men are effeminate, anointing their bodies with sandal oil and wearing golden ornaments. The women cover only the lower part of the body and many make themselves coverings of the leaves of trees.[2]. The walls of their huts are of reeds and their temples are of stone and of great height. Elephants abound. The inhabitants of Bengal do not understand the language of this country. A woman may have more. than one husband. They write on palm leaves[3] with an iron pen, holding it with the clenched fist, and pen and ink are rarely employed. The litters called *Sukhāsan* are much in use: cloths are manufactured and the province furnishes eunuchs: fruits and flowers are in great plenty, especially the *gul-i-nasrin*[4] which is very delicate and sweet-scented: its outer petals are white, the inner yellow. The *keorah*[5] grows in great abundance and there are various kinds of betel-leaf. Money transactions are in *kauris* which is a small white shell generally divided down the middle; it is found on the sea shore. Four *kauris* make a *ganda*, five *gandas*, a *budi*, four *budis*, a *pan*, sixteen or according to

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[1] Lord or rider of the elephant. The suit of cards used by Akbar (Vol. I. p. 316) under the name of Gajpati, symbolised the power and reputation of Orissa in the possession of these animals.

[2] For the leaf-wearing tribes of Orissa, the *Juangs* or *Patwas*, see Hunter's *Orissa*, ii. 116. Banerji, *Orissa*, i. 19 et.

[3] The Brahmanical archives of the temple of Jagannāth consist of bundles of palm leaves, neatly cut and written over with a sharp iron pen without ink. *I. G.*

[4] In Hindi, *Seoti* the *Rosa glandulifera.* Roxb.

[5] *Pandanus odoratissimus*, Roxb.

some twenty *pan*, a *khāwan* [*kāhan*] and ten *khāwan*, a rupee.

Katak (CUTTACK.) The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of the two rivers, the *Mahānadi*, held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the *Katjuri*.[6] It is the residence of the governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six *kos* round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Rajah Mukund Deo[7] built a palace here nine stories in height; the first story was taken up for the elephants and the stables: the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants: the third by the patrol and gatekeepers: the fourth by the workshops: the fifth, by the kitchen: the sixth contained the public reception rooms: the seventh, the private apartments; the eighth, the women's apartments, and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the governor. To the south is a very ancient temple. Overlooking this, in the city of Purushottama (Puri) on the sea shore stands the shrine of Jagannāth. Near to it are the images of Krishna and of his brother and sister,[8] made of sandal-wood. It is said that over four thousand years ago Rajah Indradaman (Indradyumna) ruler of the Nilgiri hill sent a learned Brāhman to select a suitable spot for the building of a city. He wandered much in search of his object and found a fitting site which he preferred to all other places. On a sudden he beheld a crow plunge into the water and after bathing itself, pay its devotions to the sea. He was astonished at this action and as he understood the language of animals, he inquired of the crow the reason of its proceeding. He received this answer. "I was once of the number of the *deotas* and through the curse of an ascetic was transformed into this shape. A spiritual guide of high illumination affirms that the Supreme Creator has a special regard for this spot and whosoever dwells here and applies his soul to the worship of God, quickly attains his desire. For some years past I have supplicated for my deliverance in this

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[6] One of the deltaic tributaries of the Mahānadi dividing into two branches, one of which retains its own name while the other takes that of Koyākhai and supplies the Puri district.

[7] Telinga Mukund Deo (Harichandan); in this reign the sovereignty of Orissa was overthrown by the King of Bengal. Banerji, *Orissa*, i. 342—348, palace-building not supported by history.

[8] *Purush-ottama* means "the best of men" *i.e.*, Vishnu or Krishna. His brother and sister are Balabhadra and Subhadrā. The images are rude logs coarsely fashioned in the shape of a human bust, and are actually in the sanctuary itself. For a description of the temple and other local shrines, Banerji, *Orissa*, ii. 369—418.

manner and the time is now at hand when my prayer will be answered. Since thou art essentially meritorious, watch in expectation and comprehend the wonders of this land." The Brāhman in a short time witnessed with his own eyes the things he had heard. He apprised the Rājah of these occurrences, who built a large city and appointed a special place of worship. The Rājah, one night, after having administered justice, was reposing on the couch of divine praise when it was thus revealed to him, "On a certain day, watch in expectation upon the sea shore. A piece of wood of fifty-two fingers in length and a cubit and a half in breadth will approach : this is the special image of the deity : take it and placing it in thy house, guard it for seven days and whatever shape it then assumes, place it in the temple and enshrine it." After waking, the thing happened in the same wise, and by a divine inspiration, he named it Jagannāth and decked it with gold and jewels. It became a place of devotion to high and low and many miracles are reported* regarding it. Kālā Pahār the General of Sulaymān Karrāni, on his conquest of the country, flung the image into the fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea. But it is now restored and these popular fables are related of it.

The three images are washed six times every day and freshly clothed. Fifty or sixty priests wearing the Brahmanical thread, stand to do them service and each time large dishes of food are brought out and offered to the images, so that twenty thousand people partake of the leavings [*prasād.*] They construct a car of sixteen wheels which in Hindi, they call *Rath,* upon which the images are mounted, and they believe that whosoever draws it, is absolved from sin and is visited by no temporal distress. Near Jagannāth is a temple dedicated to the Sun. [at Konārak]* Its cost was defrayed by twelve years revenue of the province. Even those whose judgment is critical and who are difficult to please stand astonished at its sight. The height of the wall is 150 cubits high and 19 thick. It has three portals. The eastern has carved upon it the figures of two finely designed elephants, each of them carrying a man upon his trunk. The western bears sculptures of two horsemen with trappings

* The legend will be found related at length in Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 89.

Kālāpāhār's desecration of the Jagannath temple and images, Banerji's *Orissa*, i. 345.

* Konārak temple, description in Banerji's *Orissa*, ii. 380—392; its art, ii. 410—415.

and ornaments and an attendant. The northern has two tigers, each of which is rampant upon an elephant that it has overpowered. In front[10] is an octagonal column of black stone, 50 yards high. When nine flights of steps are passed, a spacious court appears with a large arch of stone upon which are carved the sun and other planets. Around them are a variety of worshippers of every class, each after its manner with bowed heads, standing, sitting, prostrate, laughing, weeping, lost in amaze or in wrapt attention and following these are divers musicians and strange animals which never existed but in imagination. It is said that somewhat over 730 years ago, Rāja Narsing Deo completed this stupendous fabric and left this mighty memorial to posterity. Twenty-eight temples stand in its vicinity; six before the entrance and twenty-two without the enclosure, each of which has its separate legend. Some affirm that Kabir Mua'hhid (monotheist) reposes here and many authentic traditions are related regarding his sayings and doings to this day. He was revered by both Hindu and Muhammadan for his catholicity of doctrine and the illumination of his mind, and when he died, the Brāhmans wished to burn his body and the Muhammadans to bury it.

The Subah of Bengal consists of 24 *Sarkārs* and 787 *Mahals*. The revenue is 59 crores, 84 lakhs, 59,319 *dāms* (Rs. 14,961,482-15-7) in money. [Of this Orissa has 5 sarkārs, 99 mahals and 1,25,732,638 dāms.] The zamindars are mostly *Kayaths*. The troops number 23,330 cavalry, 801,150 infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,260 guns, and 4,400 boats.

N.B.—The *Parganahs* will now be entered in alphabetical order in long double columns to each page accompanied by a few descriptive notices.

In the list of mahals, the editor has given the correct name first, with the letter R* or A* added, to mean that the place has been found in Rennell's Maps or in the Atlas of the Survey of India (quarter-inch scale). The name of the place as misspelt in the Persian text or wrongly transcribed by Jarrett has been given within brackets after the word *mistake*.—J. Sarkar.

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[10] This now stands in front of the Lion-gate of Jagannāth. *Orissa*, I. 290. The Konārak temple was built by Narasimha I. of the Eastern Ganga dynasty (r. 1238—1264.) Banerji, *Orissa*, I. 267—269. For Kabir, *Ency. Islam*, ii. 592 (T. W. Arnold) and Hastings, *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, vii. 632—634. (R. Burn).

Sarkār of Udambar commonly known as Tāndā.[1]

Containing 52 *Mahals*. Rev. 24,079,399⅓ *Dāms*.

	Dāms.
Āg mahal ...	133,017
Achlā, Darsanpārah, Ashrafnihāl ...	404,287½
Ibrahimpur ...	360,357
Ajiyāl-ghāti ...	231,957
Amgāchhi ...	369,357½
Barhgangal ...	666,200
Bhatāl ...	415,470
Bahādurpur ...	314,870
Bāhrāri ...	24,655
Phulbāri ...	193,025
Bahādur Shāhi ...	138,102
Tāndā with Suburban district ...	4,326,102
Tājpur ...	291,997
Taalluq Barbhākar	11,725
Tanauli ...	196,380
Chunaghāti ...	589,967
Chāndpur ...	190,027
Nasibi ...	160,205
Chungnadiyā ...	145,305
Hājipur ...	106,255
Husainābād ...	266,545
Khānpur ...	31,410
Dhāwah ...	250,597
Deviyāpur ...	559,557
Dāud Shāhi ...	242,802
Dugāchhi ...	225,745
Rāmpur ...	115,532
Rubaspur ...	138,122
Sarup Singh ...	1,368,877
Sultānpur Ajiyāl	456,394
Sulaimān Shāhi	198,742
Sulaimānābād ...	197,760
Salimpur ...	187,097
Sambalā ...	174,550
Shershāhi ...	178,230
Shams Khāni ...	361,952
Sherpur ...	163,097
Firozpur ...	347,787½
Kunwar-partāb	1,607,200
Kānakjok [Kānkjol] ...	1,589,332
Kāthgarh ...	1,265,632
Gankarah ...	894,027
Kāshipur ...	36,240
Kachlā ...	36,240
Kāfurdiya ...	1,440
Mudesar ...	1,503,352
Mangalpur ...	226,770
Receipts from scattered estates*	45,837
Nawanagar ...	825,985
Nasibpur ...	377,750

[1] For *Udambar* the reading *Udner* was accepted in the 1st ed. *Tanda* became the capital of Bengal after the decadence of Gaur . now a petty village in Maldah District; it was to the S. W. of Gaur beyond the Bāgirathi. Old Tānda has been utterly swept away by the changes in the course of the Pāglā. Sulaimān Shāh Karrāni, the last but one of the Afghan kings of Bengal, moved the seat of government to Tāndā in 1564, A.D. eleven years before the final depopulation of Gaur. It was a favourite residence of the Mughal governors of Bengal until the middle of the following century. In 1660 the rebel Shāh Shujāa' was defeated in its vicinity.

* The term *Mazkurain* was applied in old revenue accounts to small and scattered estates not included in the accounts of the district in which they are situated, and of which the assessments were paid direct to the Government officers : subsequently it denoted a revenue payer, paying through the intervention of another, except in Cuttack where it implied the reverse, or the heads of villages paying the revenue immediately to the Collector. Wilson's *Gloss.*

Sarkār of Jannatābād or Lakhnauti.

66 *Mahals.* Rev. 18,846,967 *Dāms.*

Castes *Kāyaths* and *Brahmans.* Cavalry 500. Infantry. 17,000.

	Dāms.
Jannatābād, commonly known as Gaur. It has been a brick fort	7,869,202
Adjacent villages of Ākrā forming 14 *Parganahs* as follows: ...	1,573,296
Ajor ...	138,925
Bāzkhokrā ...	192,508
Baler ...	127,060
Ākra suburban district ...	211,260
Dhanpur ...	140,340
Deviya ...	112,208
Serhwar[1] ..	71,000
Shāhbālā ...	98,400
Shāhlalsari ...	8,000
Khektar ...	50,200
Madnāwāti ...	151,890
Modihāt ...	6,980
Nāhat .	242,710
Hashtganjpur ...	28,515
Adjacent villages of Darsarak 16 *mahals* as follows: ...	2,009,344
Achārikhānah where they sell undried ginger	7,800
Bhatiya ...	826,432
Belbāri ...	91,560
Bāzāri Kadim (Old Bāzār) ...	3,720
Darsarak ...	62,835
Rāngāmāti ..	3,200
Sāir duties from Gangapat and neighbourhood of Hinduit† ...	170,800
Sherpur and Gangalpur 2 *mahals*	2,000
Shāhbāzpur within the city ...	400
Ghivāspur ...	41,920
Kamalā ...	16,377
Kāthachhāpā ...	12,000
Modi Mahal ...	13,000
Mewa Mahal ...	360
Duties from the New Market ...	11,760
Adjacent villages of Dihikot 7 *mahals* ...	869,000
Barāripinjar ...	698,900
Pākor ...	37,720
Dihikot ...	31,624
Dahlgāon ...	130,320
Shāhzādahpur ...	84,360
Māligāon ...	141,460
Modipur ...	61,880
Adjacent villages of Ramrauti 7 *mahals* ...	749,795
Badhtahli ...	207,500
Rāmauti ...	194,767
Selghariya ...	103,000
Sangkalkarā ...	93,320

[1] T. Sirapour, G. Seerpoor.

† Probably a mistake for [illegible] or grain-mart, emporium.

		Dāms.			Dāms.
Sultānpur	...	29,210	Makrāin	...	106,480
Sangdwār	...	14,447	Manikpur and Hatanda, 2 *mahals*		630,770
Māhinagar	...	107,550			
Adjacent villages of Sarsābād rev. of 10 *mahals*		13,192,377	Adjacent villages of Māldah, 11 *mahls*.		
Akbarpur	...	9,736	Bārbakpur, Bāzār i Yusuf, Suburban district of Māldah, Dherpur, Sujāpur, Sarbādahlpur, Sankodiya, Shālesari, Shāhmandawi, Fathpur, Mui'zzu'ddinpur.		
Pārdiyār	...	85,280			
Khizrpur	...	396,100			
Sarsābād	...	553,080			
Kotwāli	...	788,427			
Garhand	...	334,880			
Garhi	...	200,000			

Sarkār of Fathābād.

31 *mahals*. Rev. 7,969,568 *dāms*.

Zamindārs of three classes (i.e. castes).

Cavalry, 990. Infantry, 50,700.

		Dāms.			Dāms.
Isrāchāraj	...	34,024	Sarisāni	..	173,227
Bholiyābil	...	384,452	Sardiyā	...	53,882
Belor	...	124,872	Sadhwā	...	37,127
Bhāgalpur	...	2,115	Sawāil, commonly called Jalālpur		1,857,230
Bādhādiyā	...	1,442	Shahbāzpur	...	732,172
Telhati	...	377,290	Kharagpur	...	118,135
Charnlakhi	...	35,645	Kasodiyā	...	102,405
Charhāi	...	30,200	Kosā	...	68,350
Suburban district and town of Fathābād	...	902,662	Makorgāon	...	3,157
			Masnadpur	...	55,312
			Mirānpur	...	22,172
Salt duties	...	277,758	Receipts from scattered estates		133,365
Hazratpur	...	11,640	Naklesar	...	49,422
Market dues	...	11,467	Nia'matpur	...	20,960
Rasulpur	...	103,767	Hazārahati	...	21,597
Sondip	...	1,182,450	Yusufpur	...	258,025
Sarhārkal	...	787,430			

Sarkār of Mahmudābād.

88 *mahals*. Rev. 11,602,256.

Caste *Kāyath*. Cavalry, 200. Infantry, 10,100.

	Dāms.
Adniyā ...	76,113
Anupampur ...	43,365
Ajiyālpur ...	37,307
Indarkalli ...	11,250
Āmdah ...	192
Bāzu-rāst ...	652,507
Bāzu-chap ...	271,240
Barādi ...	604,122
Bisi ...	25,247
Barin Jumlah ...	102,210
Betbariya ...	96,117
Bāthnān ...	85,447
Bātkān ...	41,317
Belwāri ...	80,195
Bandwāl ...	26,155
Pātika māra ...	22,710
Bābhankarlā ...	14,895
Parānpur ...	12,572
Barmahpur ...	6,717
Patkābāri ...	3,567
Pipalbariyā ...	2,045
Bāghotiyā ...	217
Belkasi ...	123,387
Tāragonā ...	675,790
Tiyāghāti ...	96
Tārāajiyal ...	391,365
Chhāduiyā or Chhāddiya ...	9,125
Jiyārukhi ...	11,505
Jagannāthpur ...	762
Chadibāriyā[1] ...	44,007
Jediya ...	44,700
Chitanbāzu[2] ...	952,950

	Dāms.
Husain Ajiyāl ...	345,135
Haweli [suburb]	91,575
Khālispur ...	56,805
Khizrākhāni ...	1,092
Khurrampur ...	265
Dakāsi[3] ...	51,740
Durlabhpur ...	13,775
Dhuli ...	13,665
Deora ...	107
Dahlat Jalālpur	1,200
Dostihnā ...	1,052
Dhomarhāt ...	42,505
Sadkichāl Kotiyā or Kota ...	8,205
Sārotiyā ...	6,530
Sarsariyā ...	72,147
Sankardiyā ...	10,212
Salimpur ...	23,637
Soltāra Ajiyāl, commonly Koma	789,220
Suruppur ...	7,482
Sālibariyā ...	6,760
Sātor ...	290,727
Shāhajiyāl ...	644,787
Sherpurbari ...	9,403
Sherpur Utasholi	2,797
Azmatpur ...	14,422
Ghaznipur ...	12,367
Farhatpur ...	301,790
Fathpur Nosika	102,525
Qutabpūr ...	23,352
Qazipur ...	2,652
Kandaliyā ...	20,417

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[1] T. and *var.* Jedibariya

[2] G. Chytun, *var.* Jastan and Chain.

[3] T and *var.* Dakāri

Sarkār of Mahmudābād—Contd.

	Dāms.		Dāms.
Khelphāti ...	19,940	Madhodiya ...	695
Kandi Nawi ...	8,477	Maruf-diya ...	2,302
Kolbariyā ...	6,517	Naldi ...	804,440
Kaudasā[4] ...	6,435	Nasrat Shāhi ...	272,450
Kāliyānpur ...	26,235	Nagarchāl Kotiyā	61,235
Kali Mahal ...	26,717	Nagar Bānkā ...	3,382
Lāniyāṇ ...	313,286	Nāshipur called also Ujain ...	91,080
Launkohāl ...	15,425	Hemtapur ...	477,360
Mihmān Shāhi ...	575,727	Haldā ...	122,566
Makhiyā ...	14,505	Hawāl Ghāti ...	66,217
Mahmud Shāhi	226,552	Hatapān (?Hatiān)	3,665
Mirpur ...	2,370	Hosipur ...	17,425
Maheswarpur ...	42,852		

Sarkār of Khalifatābād.

35 *mahals*. Rev. 5,402,140 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 15,150.

	Dāms.		Dāms.
Bhāl, with township	475,102	Chhalerā[1] ...	60,920
Bhālkā ...	230,515	Suburban dist. of Khalifatābād ...	31,442
Polah ...	135,932	Khālispur ...	32,770
Potkā ...	104,205	Dāniyā ...	522,885
Bāgh Mārā ...	81,807	Rāngdiya ...	129,910
Bhāngā ...	25,300	Sahaspur ...	260,340
Bhades ...	11,225	Sulaimānābād ...	168,504
Bhaliyānah ...	9,527	Sāhas ...	91,500
Phulnagar ...	66,660	Sobhnāth ...	51,662
Taālluq of Kāsināth	297,720	Sālesarbāhi[2] ...	11,484
Tālā ...	174,676	Imādpur ...	97,102
Taālluq of Srirang	26,427	Khokrāl ...	105,520
,, Mahes Māndal	23,727	Kanges, Taalluq Parmanand ...	166,360
,, Dāmodar Bhattachāraj	13,860	Mundāgācha ...	126,360
,, Sripat Kavirāj	8,675	Malikpur ...	61,327
Jesar, commonly, Rasulpur ...	1,723,850	Madhariyā ...	45,007
Charaulā ...	99,550	Mangorghāt ...	16,842
		Mahresā ...	11,170

[4] G. T. and *var.* Gāuda.
[1] G. and *var.* Chabrah.
[2] T. and G. and *var.* Sālesari.

Sarkār of Baklā.

Containing 4 *mahals.* Rev. 7,150,605.

Castes, various. Elephants, 320. Infantry, 15,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Ismailpur, commonly Bakla ...	4,348,960	Shāhzādahpur ...	977,245
Srirāmpur ...	252,000	Adilpur [Idilpur] ...	1,553,440

Sarkār of Purniyah.

9 *mahals.* Rev. 6,408,775 *dāms.*

Infantry, 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Asonja ...	734,225	Sripur ...	390,200
Jairāmpur ...	467,785	Sāir duties from elephants ...	85,000
Suburban dist. of Purniyah ...	2,686,995	Kathiyāri ...	590,100
Dalmālpur ...	671,530	Kadwān ...	280,592
Sultānpur ...	502,206		

Sarkār of Tājpur.

29 *mahals.* Rev 6,483,857 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 50,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Pangat (*mist.* Bankat) ...	3,307,885	Mālduār (*mist.* Tāldwār) ...	208,540
Badokhar ...	238,855	Chhāpartāl ..	243,255
Phāli ...	60,860	Suburban dist. and town of Tājpur	886,254
Bandol ...	190,830	Dilāwarpur ...	944,055
Bobarā ...	23,192	Daihat ...	124,196
Bhonharā ...	118,295	Sesahrā ...	376,760
Badgāon ...	9,330	Shujāpur ...	244,507
Bāsigāon ...	104,492	Shāhpur ...	126,235
Bangāon ...	115,990	Kawārpur ..	406,000
Bahādurpur ...	96,012	Kasārgāon ..	258,742
Bahānagar ..	91,630	Gopālnagar ...	233,160
Badalkā ...	71,564		

Sarkār of Tājpur—Contd.

	Dāms.		Dāms.
Goghra ...	147,392	Nilun ...	147,510
Mahur (*mist.* Mahon) ...	194,475	Yusuf ...	146,240
Nilnagar (Nilpur)	267,612	Zakāt (tax) ...	78,487

Sarkār of Chorāghāt.

84 *mahals.* Rev. 8,083,072½ *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 900. Elephants, 50.

Infantry, 32,800.

	Dāms.		Dāms.
Adnwā ...	91,292	Banwārkājar ...	4,452
Andhar ...	75,010	Belghāti ...	3,245
Andalgāon ...	154,337	Bāzār Chhatāghāt	387
Anwarbān ...	31,022	Palāsbāri[1] ...	
Ālgāon ...	171,695	Panch Mālka ...	5,340
Ambathurā, Abthurā	25,326	Tulsighāt ...	164,340
Āhmadābād ...	18,517	Taalluq Husain	35,410
Anbalāgāchhi ...	9,200	,, Bālnāth	27,962
Anwar Malik ...	8,020	,, Siwān	15,490
Āl Hāt ...	7,508	,, Kasāi	15,267
Ilāhdādpur ...	2,190	Tāchahal ...	8,290
Bāzu Zafar Shāhi, 2 mahals ...	735,835	Taalluq Ahmad Khān ...	238,475
Bāzu Faulād Shāhi	711,412	Hāmilā ...	6,580
Bāgdwār ...	102;440	Khairābādi ...	5,602
Phulbāri ...	6,580	Khāsbāri ...	2,735
Bārbakpur ...	84,952	Rungpur [Ruknpur]	10,950
Bāmanpur ...	349,070	Sultānpur ...	108,377
Town of Nasratābād ...	336,445	Sikhshahar[2] ..	93,071
Barsalā ...	233,680	Sāthipur ...	49,570
Bari Sābakbālā	146,767	Sirhata ...	344,097
,, Ghorāghāt	165,827	Sabdi ...	206,224
Bāyazidpur ...	144,227	Sitpur ...	128,775
Pātāldeh ...	41,365	Siriyā Kāndi ...	24,622
Bālkā ...	30,335	Sāghāt ...	16,412
Bholi ...	12,040	Sherpur Koibāri (S. Kafurā) ...	15,675
Bājpatāri ...	7,900	Fathpur ...	353,355

[1] In text figures wanting, G. has 7,000. *Var.* 5,340
[2] *Var.* Sabtakah, Beshekh, Silah. T. Sankha.

Sarkār of Ghorāghāt—Contd.

	Dāms.
Khetāri ...	1,344,280
Gayapur ...	107,205
Kābulpur ...	98,465
Ganj Sākhmālā	98,465
Khadkhadi ...	81,565
Gokul ...	56,865
Kothi Bāri 2 *mahals*	48,807
Khalsi ...	264,322
Kandibāri ...	125,797
Kuli Bāzār, commonly Jorpuri	115,680
Gobindpur Akhand	40,675
Kanhtāl[3] ...	40,367
Kanak Sakhar ...	28,065
Ghātnagar ...	27,922
Kawā Gāchhi ...	24,600
Kālibāri ...	24,847
Korā, receipts from Zakāt ...	18,000
Kokaran	13,120
Kābul ...	11,690
Garhiya ...	10,980
Gokanpārā ...	9,850
Magatpur ...	124,005
Muhabbatpur ...	46,512
Musjid Husain Shāhi	28,945
,, Andarkhāni	3,447
Malāir ...	24,800
Nandahra ...	61,050
Naupāra ...	19,202
Nahajaun Bātor	49,010
Wakar Hazir ...	30,646
Wachhi ...	16,832
Wahrib ...	4,230

*Sarkār of Pinjarah.**

21 *mahals*. Rev. 5,803,275 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.
Ambel ...	1,058,725
Ambāri A* ...	36,525
Amgochah ...	101,882
Bārbakpur (Bārangpur) ..	635,390
Bijānagar A* ...	719,107
Bāyazidpur A*	255,445
Baharnagar ...	119,720
Bāri Gher ...	84,277
Bādughar (? Balurhat) ...	55,205
Tegasi (Takāsi) A*	374,490
Chaloon (Hālon) A*	82,142
Suburban district of Pinjarah ...	93,967
Digha ...	146,837
Deopārā (Deorā) A*	107,727
Sadharbāri (?Jharbari) ...	273,045
Sankatā (Suktigacha) ...	251,410
Sultānpur A* ...	203,292
Sāsber A* ...	165,180
Sulaimānābād ...	42,532
Khattā (?Khetlāl)	777,255
Kedābāri† ...	213,382

[3] *Var.* Gātrāl, G. Gautnāll.

* *Pinjarah*, evidently a copyist's error. No such name in any map. Tieffenthaler reads *Bijara*.

† Cannot be *Godāgāri*. May be *Kāmdevpur*.

Sarkār of Bārbakābād.

38 *mahals*. Rev. 17,451,532 *dāms*.
Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Amrul ...	560,382	Shikārpur A* ...	327,342
City of abovementioned (Bārbakābād) ...	315,340	Sherpur and Bahāmpur, 2 *mahals* A*	391,625
Basuoul (Bāsdol) A*	190,885	Tāhirpur A* ...	505,825
Polārhār ...	136,712	Qāzihatti A* ...	620,477
Pustu (Bastol) A*	652,367	Kardoho A* ...	1,390,572
Barbariyā ...	64,335	Guzrhāt ...	1,296,240
Bangāon ...	319,000	Khās ...	881,080
Pāltāpur A* ...	179,840	Ganj known as Jagdal A* ...	694,655
Chhandiya Bāzu	755,522	Gobindpur ...	410,535
Chaurā A* ...	159,832	Kāligāe Kotha ...	341,057
Jeasindh (Jahāsand) and Chaugāon, 2 *mahals* ...	407,007	Khurael (Kharāl) A* ...	210,132
Chāndlāi (Jandlāi) A* ...	289,340	Kodānagar ...	129,550
Janāsu (? Jhankur) A* ...	85,787	Kāligaon (Kaligāe) A* ...	196,932
Suburb. district of Sukh Shahar	1,629,175	Laskarpur ...	255,090
Dhāmin (Dhārman) A* ...	350,895	Mājilpur (Māljipur) ...	925,680
Dāudpur A* ...	8,902	Mosida (Masdhā) A* ...	689,712
Sankārdal, commonly Nizāmpur	389,975	Man Samāli ...	594,792
		Mahmudpur ...	124,532
		Wazirpur ...	169,190

Sarkār of Bāzuhā.

32 *mahals*. Rev. 39,516,871 *dāms*.
Castes, various. Cavalry. 1,700. Elephants, 10.
Infantry, 5,300.

Ālap Shāhi ...	760,667	Bhoriya Bāzu ...	2,820,740
Badmār, Nasrat Shāhi, Mehraunah, Kāhāiwana, Sirali, 5 *mahals*	,178,140	Bhawāl Bāzu ...	1,935,160
		Partāb-Bāzu ...	1,881,265
		Bakhariyā Bāzu	1,715,170
		Husain Shāhi ...	182,750

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Dashkāhaniyā Bāzu ...	1,945,602	Shāh Ajiyāl Bāzu	405,120
Dhakā Bāzu ...	1,901,202	Zafar Ajiyal Bāzu	250,047
Salim Partāb Bāzu, Chānd Partāb Bāzu, Sultān Bāzu	4,625,475	Katārmal Bāzu	2,804,390
Sonāghāti Bāzu	1,910,440	Khatā Bāzu ...	137,720
Sonā Bāzu ...	1,705,290	Mihmān Shāhi, known as Sherp-pur Murcha ...	2,207,715
Silbaras ...	1,484,320	Mumin Singh, Nasrat Shāhi, Husain Singh,	1,867,640
Dues on produce and piscary of rivers, tanks, &c. ...	261,280	Nasrat Ajiyāl 4 *mahals*	
		Mubārak Ajiyāl	468,780
		Hariyāl Bāzu ...	344,440
		Yusuf Shāhi ...	1,670,900

Sarkār of Sonārgāon.

52 *mahals*. Rev. 10,331,333 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,500. Elephants, 200.

Infantry, 46,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Uttar Shāhpur	388,442	Chhokhandi, from shop dues ...	17,827
Āl Jihāt ...	53,090	Chand Bāzār .	30,322
Uttar Usmānpur	24,880	Chāndpur ...	120,000
Bikrampur ...	3,335,052	Suburban district of Sonārgāon with city ..	459,532
Bhulwā-jowār ...	1,331,480	Khizrpur ...	40,308
Baldākhāl ...	694,090	Dohār ...	458,524
Bawāliyā ...	237,320	Dānderā ...	421,380
Barchandi ...	120,100	Dakhin Shāhpur	239,910
Bāth Karā ...	4,080	Dilāwarpur: receipts from *zakāt*	127,207
Palās-ghāti, &c.	43,265	Dakhin Usmānpur	8,840
Baradivā .	19,000	Raepur ...	4,535
Phulari ...	19,000	Sekhargāon ...	340,365
Pānhatta ...	7,367	Sakri ..	184,780
Torā ...	104,910	Salimpur ...	91,090
Tājpur ...	60,000		
Tarki ...	18,270		
Jogidiyā ...	512,080		
Environs of Fort	82,632		

Sarkār of Sonārgāon—Contd.

	Dāms.
Sālisari with produce and piscary of rivers, tanks, &c., *raiyati** and the like ...	40,724
Sakhwā from *raiyati*	280,000
,, ,, *sāir* dues	28,000
Sakhādia ...	28,000
Sejoāl† ...	13,000
Shamspur ...	22,000
Kerāpur ...	293,402
Gardi ...	89,590
Kārtikpur ...	80,000
Khāndi ...	40,140
Kothri (Kothari)	35,160
Gāthi Nadhi (G. Danai) ...	20,000
Mehrkol ...	1,039,470
Muazzampur ...	236,830
Mehār ...	60,800
Manoharpur ...	53,301
Mahijāl ...	25,000
Narāenpur, from *sāir* dues, *zakāt* and *raiyati* ...	940,760
Nāwākot ...	16,080
Hamtā Bāzu ...	281,280
Hāt Ghāti ...	10,285

Sarkār of Sylhet.

8 *mahals*. Rev. 6,681,308 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,100. Elephants, 190. Infantry, 42,920.

	Dāms.
Partābgarh, called also Panjkhand	370,000
Baniā Chang ...	1,672,080
Bajwa Biyāju ...	804,080
Jesa (Jaintiya ?)	272,200
Suburban district of Sylhet ...	2,290,717
Sarkhandal ..	390,472
Laur ...	246,202
Harnagār, *raiyati* and *sāir* ...	1,010,857

Sarkār of Chittagong.

7 *mahals*. Rev. 11,424,310 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 1,500.

	Dāms.
Tālāgāon [?Mālgaon] ...	506,000
Chātgāon (Chittagong) ...	6,649,410
Deogaon ...	775,540
Sulaimānpur, commonly Shaikhpur	1,572,400
Sāir dues from salt-pits ...	737,520
Sahwā ...	5,079,340
Nawāpārā ...	703,300

* Applied in Bengal to lands of which the revenue is paid in money in opposition to *khamār* lands of which revenue was paid in kind : also to a settlement direct with the cultivators. Wilson's *Gloss.*

† G. and *var.* Sabarchāl.

Sarkār of Sharifābād.

26 *mahals*. Rev. 2,488,750 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 200. Infantry, 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Burdwān ...	1,876,142	Suburban district of Sherpur Atāi	816,068
Bahror ...	1,736,795	Azmatpur ...	1,660,045
Barbaksail ...	540,395	Fath Singh ...	2,096,460
Bharkondah, and Akbharshāhi, commonly Sāndal, 2 *mahals*	1,276,195	Husain Ajiyāl ...	393,345
Bāghā ...	509,340	Kargāon ...	348,260
Bhātsilā ...	307,340	Kiratpur ...	225,775
Bāzār Ibrāhimpur	15,740	Khand [Ghosh]	196,380
Janki ...	937,705	Khanga ...	174,360
Khot Makand ...	2,315	Kodrā ...	63,125
Dhaniyān ...	1,508,850	Mahland ...	1,831,890
Sulaimān Shāhi	721,335	Manohar Shāhi	1,709,920
Soniyā ...	90,370	Muzaffar Shāhi	1,552,175
		Nasak ...	782,517
		Natrān ...	203,560

Sarkār of Sulaimānābād.

31 *mahals*. Rev. 17,629,964 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 5,000.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Indarāin ...	592,120	Husainpur ...	355,090
Ismāilpur ..	184,540	Dhārsah ...	95,250
Anliyā ...	124,577	Rāenah ...	68,257
Ulā ...	89,277	Suburban district of Sulaimānābād ...	2,051,090
Basandhari ...	2,266,280	Sātsikā† ...	757,111
Bhursat ...	1,968,990	Sahspur ...	314,842
Panduah ...	1,823,292	Sanghauli ...	72,747
Pāchnor ...	601,495	Sultānpur ...	44,575
Bāli Bhangā 2 *mahals** ...	417,185	Umarpur ...	223,320
Chhotipur ...	554,956	Aālampur ...	38,280
Chumhā ...	455,901	Qabāzpur ...	747,200
Jaipur ...	44,250		

* There is a Bāli Danga in Nadiya.
† G. and *var*. Satsanga. Note—Now in the district of Bardwān.

Sarkār of Sulaimānābād—*contd.*

	Dāms.
Gobinda (Kosada ?)	357,942
Receipts from independent *taluqdārs* ...	213,067
Muhammadpur	48,515
Molghar ...	792,107
Nagin ...	910,990
Nāirā ...	872,945
Nasang ...	500,765
Nabiya [? Nipā]	77,017

Sarkār of Sātgāon.

53 *mahals.* Rev. 16,724,724 *dāms.*

Castes, various. Cavalry, 50. Infantry, 6,000.

	Dāms.
Banwa, Kotwāli, Farāsatghar, (?) 3 *mahals* ...	1,540,770
Ukrā ...	726,360
Anwarpur ...	236,950
Arsa Tāwāli† Sātgāon 2 *mahals*	234,890
Akbārpur ...	115,590
Bodhan ...	956,457
Panwān and Salimpur ...	952,505
Purah ...	652,470
Barmhattar and Mānikhatti ...	383,803
Belgāon ...	233,602
Bālindā ...	125,250
Bāgwān and Bangābāri ...	100,000
Baliyā ...	94,725
Phalkā ...	38,245
Baridhati ...	25,027
Tortariyā ...	36,604
Haveli Shahr ...	502,330
Husainpur ...	324,322
Hājipur, Bārbakpur, 2 *mahals*	142,592
Dhuliyāpur ...	78,815
Ranihāt ...	1,358,510
Sādghāti ...	468,058
Sakotā ...	204,072
Srirājpur ...	125,792
Sāir dues from Bandarbān and Mandawi, 2 *mahals* ...	1,200,000
Sākhāt, Kātsāl, 2 *mahals* ...	45,757
Fāthpur ...	80,702
Calcutta, Bakoya†† Bārbakpur, 3 *mahals* ...	936,215
Khārar ...	365,275
Kandāliyā ...	242,160
Kalaruā ...	197,522
Magrā ...	801,302
Matiyāri ...	307,845
Medni Mal ...	186,242
Muzaffarpur ...	108,332
Mundāgāchhā ...	98,565
Nāhihatti ...	49,935
Nadiya and Sāntipur, 2 *mahals*	1,508,820
Helki ...	90,042
Hāthi Kandhā ...	55,702
Hatiyāgarh ...	781,360

† Can it be *A'rsa havell-e-Sātgān*? [J. Sarkar].

†† G. and *var.* Makuma *Calcutta* is unlikely. I prefer the variant in text *Kalna* [J. S.]

Sarkār of Mandāran.

16 *mahals*. Rev. 9,403,400 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 150. Infantry, 7,000.

	Dāms.
Panihatti ...	122,655
Bagri (Bālgarhi) R* ...	937,077
Birbhum ...	541,245
Dhawalbhum (*mis.* Bawal) ...	495,220
Chitwā A* ...	806,542
Champānagari ...	412,250
Suburban district of Mandāran ...	1,727,077
Sin[g]bhum ...	615,805
Samar Sānhas (Sarhat) ...	274,461
Shergarh, commonly Sikharbhum ...	915,237
Shāhpur ...	634,160
Ket ...	46,447
Mandalghāt ...	906,775
Nāgor¶ ...	4,025,620
Minakbāg (T. Mansapāt) ...	279,322
Hesla (*mist.* Hesoli) A* ...	263,207

Orissa.

Sarkār of Jalesar.

28 *mahals*. Rev. 5,052,738 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Elephants, 2. Cavalry, 3,470.

Infantry 43,810.

	Dāms.
Bānsanda, commonly Haftchor has five strong forts. Castes, *Khandait Brāhman*, and *Bhoj*. Cavalry, 100. Infantry, 5,800	4,217,430
Bibli (Pipli) Cavalry, 10. Infantry, 40	2,001,430
Bāli Shāhi Cav. 200. Inf. 2,000 .	963,430
Bālkoshi, has three forts: 1, Sokrah. 2, Bānhas Tali. 3, Daddhpur Cav. 20, Inf. 300	156,220
Parbadā. Cav. 400, Inf. 2,600; has a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly fenced by forest.	640,000
Bhogrāi, has a fortress of great strength; Caste *Khandait*. Cav. 300, Inf. 2,200. archers and matchlockmen.	497,140
Bagri, *Rajput*, Cav. 100, Inf. 200 . ..	39,428
Bazār . ..	125,720
Bābbanbhum, *Brāhman*, Cav. 20, Inf. 400 ..	114,208

¶ For *Nāgor* T. reads *Magor*. We know of a Nagar of Birbhum. For *Mandalghāt*, Rennell gives *Mangalghāta*, a little south of the Ajay river, and Atlas *Mangalkot*. *Hesla* is eight miles west by south of Purulia town, but one ms. reads *Mahisdal*.

Sarkār of Jalesar—*contd.*

	Dāms.
Taliya with town of Jalesar, has a brick fort. Caste, *Khandait*, Cav. 300, Inf. 6,250.	12,007,110
Tamluk Cav. 50, Inf. 1,000, has a strong fort, *Khandait*	2,571,430
Tarkua: a fort in the jungle, Cav. 30, Inf. 170	720,570
Dāwar Shorbhum, comly Bārah, Cav. 100, Inf. 100.	1,342,360
Ramuna, has five forts, 1 adjacent to city; 2, Ramchandpur; 3 Rabgā; 4, Dut; 5, Saldah, Cav. 700, Inf. 3,500, hold the five.	5,062,306
Rayn, on the border of Orissa, has three forts, Cav. 150, Inf. 1,500.	218,806
Rāepur, a large city, with a strong fortress, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000.	986,970
Sabang, strong fort in the jungle, Cav. 100, Inf. 2,000.	1,257,140
Kesiari	108,570
Kāsijorā, Cav. 200, Inf. 2,500, matchlock and bowmen.	893,160
Kharagpur, a strong fort in the wooded hills, 500 footmen and machlockmen.	528,570
Kedārkhand, three strong forts, Cav. 50, Inf. 500	468,570
Karāi, Infantry 100 ...	285,720
Gagnāpur, *Rajput*, Cav. 50, Inf. 400 ..	85,720
Karohi*	68,570
Māljhata, Cav. 500, Inf. 5,000	9,312,610
Mednipur, a large city with two forts, one ancient and the other modern. Caste *Khandait*, Cav. 60, Inf. 500.	1,019,930
Mahākānghāt commonly Qutbpur, a fortress of great strength, Cav. 30, Inf. 1,000.	240,000
Narāinpur, commonly Kandhār, with a strong fort on a hill, Cav. 100, Inf. 4,000.	2,280,860

Sarkār of Bhadrak.

7 *mahals*. Rev. 18,687,170 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 750. Infantry, 3,730.

	Dāms.
Barwa, two strong fortresses, Bānak and Raskoi, castes, *Khandait*, and *Kāyath*, Cav. 50, Inf. 400.	3,240,000
Jaukajri	57,140
Suburban district of Bhadrak, has a fort called Dhāmnagar, with a resident governor, *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 3,500.	9,542,760
Sahansu, 2 strong forts, *Khandait*, Cav. 300, Inf. 1,700.	3,514,280
Kāaimān, a strong fort of the greatest strength, *Khandait*, Cav. 100, Inf. 400.	1,515,840
Kadsu	730,430
Independent Talukdārs; three forts, Pachchhini Dik, Khandait, and Majori, Cav. 100, Inf. 300; the three forts, held by *Khandaits*.	85,720

* G. and *var*. Kerauli.

Sarkār of Katak (Cuttack.)

21 *mahals*. Rev. 91,432,730 *dāms*.

Castes, various. Cavalry, 900. Infantry, 108,160.

	Dāms.		*Dāms.*
Āl, Inf. 2,100 ...	6,429,130	Jash commonly Jājpur, a strong fort, *Brāhman*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,800.	2,073,780
Āsakah, Inf. 15,000 ...	3,160,380	Dakhin Dik, 4 forts, Cav. 180, Inf. 13,060.	22,065,770
Athgarh, with a strong fort, *Brāhman*, Cav. 200, Inf. 7,000.	1,184,980	Sirān	207,830
Purab Dik, four forts, Cav. 200, Inf. 6,000 ...	22,881,580	Shergarh, *Brāhman*, Cav. 20, Inf. 200.	1,408,580
Pachchhim Dik, Cav. 100, Inf. 50,000 ...	662,490	Kotdesh with three forts, the original fort, Kasibagh, Caste, *Khandait*, Cav. 5,006, Inf. 300.	4,720,980
Bahār	5,129,820	Katak Banāres, suburban district with city, has a stone fort of great strength, and a masonry palace within, *Brāhman* and *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000.	605,600
Bashi Diwarmār, Inf. 1,000	2,746,650	Khatrah, with strong fortress, *Khandaits*, Cav. 100, Inf. 400.	1.120,230
Barang, 9 forts, among the hills and jungles, Caste, *ahir*, Cav. 20, Inf. 300.	2,132,940	Mānakpatan, a large port, where salt dues are collected.	600,000
Bhijnagar with strong fort, *Telingha*, Cav. 50, Inf. 22,000.	860,390		
Banju, *Rajput*, Cav. 100, Inf. 20,000 ...	866,206		
Parsotam	691,530		
Chaubiskot, 4 forts of great strength, Cav. 500, Inf. 20,000.	2,398,970		

Sarkār of Kaling Dandpāt.

27 *mahals*. Rev. 5,560,000 *dāms*.

Cavalry, 500. Infantry, 30,000.

Sarkār of Rāj Mahendrih.

16 *mahals*. *Rev.* 5,00,000 *dāms*.

Cavalry, 1,000. Infantry, 5,000.

A general view of the country having now been cursorily given, I proceed to record the succession of its rulers and the duration of their reigns. Twenty-four princes of the *Khatri* caste, kept aflame the torch of

sovereignty from father to son in succession during 2418 years.

		Years.			Years.
Rājā Bhagdat, *Khatri*	reigned ...	218	Sadhrak	reigned ...	91
Anangbhim	,, ...	175	Jaydhrak	,, ...	102
Ranghim	,, ...	108	Udai Singh	,, ...	85
Gajbhim	,, ...	82	Bisu Singh	,, ...	88
Deodat	,, ...	95	Birmāth	,, ...	88
Jag Singh	,, ...	106	Rukhdeva	,, ...	81
Barmah Singh	,, ...	97	Rākhbind (Rukhnand)	,, ...	79
Mohandat	,, ...	102	Jagjiwan	,, ...	107
Benod Singh	,, ...	97	Kāludand	,, ...	85
Silar Sen	,, ...	96	Kāmdeva	,, ...	90
Sattarjit	,, ...	101	Bijai Karn	,, ...	71
Bhupat	,, ...	90	Sat Singh	,, ...	89

Nine princes of the *Kāyeth* caste ruled in succesion 520 years after which the sovereignty passed to another *Kāyeth* house.

		Years.			Years.
Rājā Bhoj Gauriya	reigned ...	75	Rājā Jaint	reigned ...	60
Lālsen	,, ...	70	Pirthu Rajā	,, ...	52
Rājā Madhu	,, ...	67	Rājā Grrar	,, ...	45
Samantbhoj	,, ...	48	,, Lachhman	,, ...	50
			,, Nandbhoj	,, ...	53

Eleven princes reigned in succession 714 years, after which another *Kāyeth* family bore rule.

		Years.			Years.
Rājā Udsur, (Adisur)	reigned ...	75	Rājā Rukdeva	,, ...	62
,, Jāmanibhān	,, ...	73	,, Giridhar	reigned ...	80
,, Unrud	,, ...	78	,, Pirthidhar	,, ...	68
,, Partāb Rudr	,, ...	65	,, Shishtdhar	,, ...	58
,, Bhawdāt	,, ...	69	,, Prabhākar	,, ...	63
			,, Jaidhar	,, ...	23

Ten princes reigned 698 years, after which the sway of another *Kāyeth* family was established.

	Years.		*Years.*
Rājā Bhopāl reigned ...	55	Rājā Bigan (Bijan) pāl, reigned ...	75
,, Dhripāl ,, ...	95	,, Jaipāl ,, ...	98
,, Devapāl ,, ...	83	Rājpāl ,, ...	98
,, Bhupati-pāl ,, ...	70	Bhogpāl, his brother ,, ...	5
,, Ḍhanpati-pāl ,, ...	45	Jagpāl, his son ,, ...	74

Seven princes governed in succession during 160 years.

	Years.		*Years.*
Sukh Sen reigned ...	3	Madhu Sen reigned ...	10
Balāl Sen, who built the fort of Gaur ,, ...	50	Kesu Sen ,, ...	15
Lakhan (Lachhman) Sen ,, ...	7	Sada (Sura) Sen ,, ...	18
		Rājā Nāujah (?Buddha-sen) ,, ...	3

Sixty-one princes thus reigned for the space of 4,544 years when Bengal became subject to the Kings of Delhi.

From the time of Sultān Qutb u' ddin Aibak to Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh 17 governors ruled during a period of 156 years.

These were followed by—

A.H.	A.D.		*Years.*	*Months*
741	1340	Malik Fakhr'uddin Silāhdār, reigned	2	some
743	1342	Sultān Alāu'ddin	1	,,
744	1343	Shamsu'ddin Bhangarah Ilyās ...	16	,,
760	1358	Sikandar (Shāh) his son ...	9	,,
769	1367	Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin his son ...	7	,,
775	1373	Sultān 'us Salātin, his son ...	10	0
785	1383	Shamsu'ddin, his son ...	3	some
787	1385	Kānsi native of Bengal ...	7	0
794	1392	Sultān Jalālu'ddin ...	17	0
812	1409	Sultān Ahmad, his son ...	16	0
		Nāsir his slave, a week or according to others, half a day.		

A.H.	A.D.		Years.	Months.
830	1426-7	Nāsir Shah, descendant of Shamsu'ddin Bhangarah ...	32	0
862	1457	Bārbak Shāh	17	0
879	1474	Yusuf Shāh	7	0
887	1482	Sikandar Shāh	half a day	
887	1482	Fath Shāh	7	5
896	1490	Bārbak Shāh ...	two and a half days.	
897	1491	Firoz Shāh	3	0
899	1494	Mahmud Shah, his son ...	1	0
900	1495	Muzaffar Habshi	3	5
903	1498	Alāu'ddin	27 (?)	some
927	1521	Nasrat Shāh, his son ...	11 (?)	
940	1534	*Mahmud Shāh, son of Alāu'd defeated by*		
944	1537	Sher Khān.		
945	1538	Humayun (held his court at Gaur).		
946	1539	Sher Khan, a second time.		
952	1545	Muhammad Khān.		
962	1555	Bahādur Shāh, his son.		
968	1560	Jalālu'ddin, his brother.		
Not in U. T.		Ghiyāsu'ddin.		
Not in U. T.		Tāj Khān.		
971	1563-4	Sulaimān (Karāni), his brother.		
981	1573	Bāyazid, his son.		
981	1573	Dāud, his brother (*defeated by Akbar's forces*).		

Fifty princes ruled during about 357 years and one hundred and eleven kept alive the torch of sovereignty throughout the period, approximately, of 4,813 years and passed into the sleep of dissolution.

The first Rājā, (Bhagadatta) came to Delhi by reason of his friendship for Rājā Durjodhan, and fell manfully fighting in the war of the Mahābhārat, 4,096 years previous to the present time. When the cup of life of Rājā Naujah [*correct into* Rājāh of Nodia] overflowed, the sovereignty fell to Lakhmaniya, son of Rāe Lakhman. Nadiyā was at that time the capital of Bengal and the seat of various learning. Nowadays its prosperity has somewhat abated but the traces of its erudition are still evident. The astrologers predicted the overthrow of his kingdom and the establishment of another faith and they discovered in Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji the individual by whom these two events would be accomplished. Although the Rājā regarding these as idle tales refused to credit them, many

of his subjects sought refuge in distant provinces. At the time when Qutbu'ddin Aibak held India for Shahābu'ddin, the Khilji took possession of Bihār by force of arms, and when he marched upon Bengal, the Rājā, escaped in a boat. Muhammad Bakhtiyar, entered Bengal and having amassed enormous plunder, he destroyed the city of Nadiyā and transferred the capital to Lakhnauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Delhi.

During the reign of Sultān Tughlaq, Qadar Khān was viceroy in Bengal. Malik Fakhru'ddin his sword-bearer through greed of power, disloyally determined upon the death of his master and plotting in secret, slew him and with pretentious allegations fraudfully possessed himself of the government and refused allegiance to the sovereigns of Delhi. Malik Ali Mubārak, who had been one of the principal adherents of Qadar Khān, assumed the title of Alāu'ddin and rose against Fakhru'ddin, and taking him alive in action, put him to death. Hāji Iliyās 'Alāi, one of the nobles of Bengal, entering into a confederacy with some others, slew him and took the title of Shamsu'ddin. He is also called *Bhangrah*. Sultān Firoz set out from Delhi to chastise him and a severe struggle ensued, but as the rainy season was approaching, he concluded a hasty treaty and returned. When Shamsu'ddin died, the chiefs of the army raised his eldest son to the throne under the title of Sikandar Shāh. Sultān Firoz again marched into Bengal but retreated after arranging terms of peace. On Sikandar's death his son was elected to succeed him and was proclaimed under the title of Ghiyāsu'ddin. Khwājah Hāfiz of Shirāz sent him an ode in which occurs the following verse :

And now shall India's parroquets on sugar revel all,
In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal.

A native of Bengal named Kānsi fraudfully dispossessed Shamsu'ddin who was his [Ghiyās-ud-din's] grandson. When he died, his son embraced Islām and took the name of Sultān Jalālu'ddin. It was the custom in that country for seven thousand footmen called *Pāyiks* to patrol round the palace. One evening a eunuch conspiring with these guards slew Fath Shah and assumed the title of Bārbak Shāh.

Firoz Shāh was also slain by these guards and his son Mahmud was raised to the sovereignty. An Abyssinian slave Muzaffar with the assistance of the same guards put him to death and mounted the throne. Alāu'ddin, an

attendant of Muzaffar, in turn, in conspiracy with these guards despatched his master and established himself in power. Thus through the caprice of fortune, these low footsoldiers for a considerable time played an important part in the state. Alāu'ddin placed the administration of justice on a better footing and disbanded the *Pāyiks*. Nasrat Shah is said to have followed the example of his father in his justice and liberality and treated his brothers with consideration. When Sultān Ibrahim (Lodi) met his death in the engagement with Sultan Bābar, [1526] his brother and the chiefs of the army took refuge with this monarch and lived in security. Humayun appointed Jahāngir Quli Beg to the governorship of the province. When Sher Khān a second time rose to power, he beguiled Jahāngir under pretext of an amicable settlement and put him to death. During the reign of Salim Khān (at Delhi) Muhammad Khān his kinsman, united loyalty to his lord with justice to his subjects. When he fell in action against Mamrez Khān, his son Khizr Khān succeeded him and assumed the title of Bahādur Shāh. Mamrez Khān entered the field against him but perished in battle. Tāj Khān [Karrāni] one of the nobles of Salim Khān, slew Jalālu'ddin and assumed the government. His younger brother Sulaimān, although of a tyrannous disposition, reigned for some time, after which his sons Bāyazid and Dāud through misconduct dishonoured the royal privileges of the mint and the pulpit. Thus concludes my abstract.

Praise be to God, that this prosperous country receives an additional splendour through the justice of imperial majesty.

THE SUBAH OF BIHAR.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Gadhi* to *Rhotās* is 120 *kos;* its breadth from *Tirhut* to the northern mountains, 110 *kos*. On its eastern boundary is Bengal; to the west lie *Allahabad* and *Oudh*. On the north and south it is bounded by hills of considerable elevation. Its chief rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Son*. Whatever of wood or leather and the like falls into the Son, becomes petrified. The head springs of these three rivers, the *Son*, the *Narbada* and the *Johila*, bubble up from a single reed-bed* in the neighbourhood of *Gadha* [Mandla]. The Son

* The three great rivers, Narmadā, Son and Mahānadi, rise in a sacred pond at the Amar-Kantak, a village in the Rewā State, only three miles from

is pleasant to the taste, wholesome and cool; flowing in a northerly direction, it joins the Ganges near *Maner*. The *Gandak* flows from the north and unites with the Ganges near *Hājipur*. Such as drink of it suffer from a swelling in the throat, (goitre) which gradually increases, especially in young children, to the size of a cocoanut.

The *Sāligrām*† is a small black stone which the Hindus account among divine objects and pay it great veneration. If round and small and unctuous, they hold it in the highest regard and according to the variety of its form, different names and properties are ascribed to it. The generality have a single perforation, others more and some are without any. They contain gold ore. Some say that a worm is bred within which eats its way through; others maintain that it works its way in from the outside. The Hindus have written a considerable work on the qualities of this stone. According to the Brahmanical creed, every idol that is broken loses its claim to veneration, but with these, it is not so. They are found in the Son for a distance of 40 *kos* between its northernmost extremity and the south of the hills.

The *Karamnāsa* flowing from the south unites with the Ganges near *Chausā*. Its waters are regarded with aversion.[1] The *Punpun* flows also from the south and joins

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the eastern border of the Garh Mandlā district of the C.P., where the Maikāl range begins. The *Johillā*, a very small river, is really a feeder of the *Son* and, after flowing north and west from its source for a little more than a hundred miles as a thin stream, loses itself in the *Son*, in the north-west corner of the Rewā State, 13 miles east of Bandhu-garh. It should not, therefore, be counted as separate from the *Son*, which does not really rise from the same tank at Amar-Kantak but some distance to the east of it. The third great river with its source at the same place is the *Mahānadi*, which Abul Fazl has entirely left out. The *Mahānadi* flowing eastward across half the breadth of the Indian peninsula, falls into the Bay of Bengal in Orissa, more than 1800 miles from the mouth of its twin-sister the Narmadā, in the Arabian sea, though both rivers started from the same cradle.

The sacred tank at Amar-Kantak is 8 yards long and 6 yards wide, and surrounded by a brick-wall. It is situated 90 miles due east of Mandla city. (Tieffenthaler quoting an English engineer's report). "The Narmada in issuing from its source is only one yard in breadth. The *Son* is visible only for a distance of half a mile from the tank, and then it descends in a waterfall 25 yards high, and after a course of five miles, it loses itself in the sand, but newly acquiring greater volume it (finally) becomes a large river." (Tieffenthaler, i, 416-417.) The *Son* used to fall into the Ganges near Maner, when Rennell made his survey (*Bengal Atlas*, 1772), but the junction is now about ten miles higher up, at Koilwar (Rl. Stn.) *Jadunath Sarkar*.

† A species of black quartzose found in the Gandhak containing the impression of one or more ammonites conceived by the Hindus to represent Vishnu. This river is also known as the Sālgirām.

[1] Its name signifies 'the ruin of religious merit.' No person of any caste will drink its waters. The reason of its impurity is said to be that a Brahman having been murdered by a Raja of the Solar line, a saint purified him of his sins by collecting water from all the streams of the world and washing him

the Ganges near Patna. The smaller rivers of this Subah cannot be recorded. The summer months are intensely hot, while the winter is temperate. Warm garments are not worn for more than two months. The rains continue during six months and throughout the year the country is green and fertile. No severe winds blow nor clouds of dust prevail. Agriculture flourishes in a high degree, especially the cultivation of rice which, for its quality and quantity is rarely to be equalled. *Kisāri*[2] is the name of a pulse, resembling peas, eaten by the poor, but is unwholesome. Sugarcane is abundant and of excellent quality. Betel-leaf, especially the kind called *Maghi,* is delicate and beautiful in colour, thin in texture, fragrant and pleasant to the taste. Fruits and flowers are in great plenty. At *Maner,* a flower grows named *Muchakand,*[3] somewhat like the flower of the *Dhātura,* very fragrant and found nowhere else. Milk is rich in quality and cheap. The custom of dividing the crops is not here prevalent. The husbandman pays his rents in person and on the first occasion presents himself in his best attire. The houses for the most part are roofed with tiles. Good elephants are procurable in plenty and boats likewise. Horses and camels are scarce. Parrots abound and a fine species of goat of the Barbary breed which they castrate: from their extreme fatness they are unable to walk and are carried on litters. The fighting cocks are famous. Game is abundant. Gilded glass is manufactured here.

In the *Sarkār* of *Bihār,* near the village of *Rājgir* is a quarry of stone resembling marble, of which ornaments are made. Good paper is here manufactured. *Gayā* the place of Hindu pilgrimage, is in this province: it is also called *Brahma Gayā* being dedicated to *Brahma.* Precious stones from foreign ports are brought here and a constant traffic carried on.

In the *Sarkār* of *Hājipur* the fruits *Kathal*[4] and *Barhal* grow in abundance. The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one.

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in their waters which were collected in the spiring from which the Karamnāsā now issues. *I. G.*

[2] Lathyrus sativus.

[3] *Dr.* King of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, suggests that this may be the *Jasminum pubescens.* The flower resembles a miniature Dhatura flower and is very fragrant.

[4] Known as the Jack fruit (Artocarpus integrifolia, Roxb.). The *Barhal* according to the dictionary is a small round fruit, also an Artocarpus, doubtfully distinguished as "*lacucha.*"

In the *Sarkār* of *Champāran* the seed of vetch *Māsh*[5] is cast on unploughed soil where it grows without labour or tilling. Long pepper grows wild in its forests.

Tirhut has from immemorial time, been a seat of Hindu learning. Its climate is excellent. Milk curds keep for a year without alteration. If those who sell milk adulterate it with water, some mysterious accident befalls them. The buffaloes are so savage that they will attack a tiger. There are many lakes and in one of them the water never decreases, and its depth is unfathomable. Groves of orange trees extend to a distance of thirty *kos*, delighting the eye. In the rainy season gazelle and deer and tiger frequent together the cultivated spots and are hunted by the inhabitants. Many of these with broken limbs are loosened in an enclosure, and they take them at their leisure.

Rohtās is a stronghold on the summit of a lofty mountain, difficult of access. It has a circumference of 14 *kos* and the land is cultivated. It contains many springs, and wherever the soil is excavated to the depth of three or four yards, water is visible. In the rainy season many lakes are formed, and more than two hundred waterfalls gladden the eye and ear. The climate is remarkably healthy.

This *Subah* contains seven *Sarkārs* subdivided into 199 *Parganahs*. The gross revenue is 22 *krors*, 19 lakhs, 19,404½ *dāms*. (Rs. 55,47,985-1-3). Of these *Parganahs*, 138, pay revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates.[6] The extent of measured land is 24 *lakhs*, 44,120 *bighas*, yielding a revenue of 17 *krors*, 26 *lakhs*, 81,774 *dāms* (Rs. 43,17,044) in cash. The remaining 61 *Parganahs* are rated at 4 *krors*, 22 *lakhs*, 37,630½ *dāms*. (Rs. 12,30,940-12-5), out of which 22 *lakhs*, 72,174 *dāms* are *Suyurghāl* (Rs. 56,803-8-10). The province furnishes 11,415 Cavalry, 449,350 Infantry and 100 boats.

Sarkār of Bihār.

Containing 46 *Mahals*, 952,598 *Bighas*. Revenue, 80,196,390 *dāms* in cash from special crops, and from land

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[5] Phaseolus radiatus.

[6] The term *Zabti* though originally applied to lands sequestrated by the State, was used of rent free lands subjected to assessment in Bengal, to lands which had been resumed from Jagir grants by Jafar Khān: in the north-west, to money rents on the more valuable crops, such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton where rent in kind was the rule. Abul Fazl employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village.

paying the general *bigha rate*. *Suyurghāl,* 2,270,147 *dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,115. Infantry 67,350.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue Dām	Cav.	Inf.	Suyurghal Dām	Castes
Arwal	57,089-5	426,780	...	1000	...	
Aukhri [?Khokri] ..	49-401-10	3,747,940	...	...	...	
Ikhal	40,404-4	335,260	...	200	...	Afghān & Brāhman
Amritu	24,387-19	1,821,333	...	...	16035	Do.
Anbalu	...	847,920	...	250	...	Brāhman
Anchha	10,290-57	6,700,000	20	300	...	Afghān
Antri	1,998-9	147,980	20	200	...	Kayath
Behār with suburban district, has a fort of stone and brick	70,683-9	5,534,151	10	400	653,200	
Bahlāwar	48,310-3	3,651,640	...	500	9000	Brāhman
Basok	35,318-18	2,706,539	...	300	1,708,130	Shaikhzādah
Palach	30,030-18	2,270,538	...	500	59,185	Brāhman,
Baliā	26,000-18	2,056,502	20	400	85,747	Rājput
Patna, has two forts, one of brick and the other of mud	21,846-8	1,922,430	...	...	131,807	
Phulwāri	20,225-19	1,585,420	20	700	118,120	Rājput
Pahra	12,285 6	941,160	20	400	18,560	Brāhman
Bhimpur	10,862-15	824,584	...	...	24,424	
Pandārak	...	727,640	300	2000	...	
Tilādah	39,053-12	2,920,366	20	300	232,080	Shaikhzāda
Jarar	12,930-10	979,363	50	500	880	Do.
Chargāon	...	904,440	20	300	...	Brāhman
Jai Champa ..	...	620,000	20	600	...	
Dādar	...	262,500	...	...	...	
Dhakner	...	215,680	...	...	...	
Ruh	...	250,100	20	1500	...	Brāhman
Rāmpur	...	363,820	...	...	...	
Rājgir	3,756-12	288,228	...	...	17,225	
Sanot	36 780-7	2,824,180	20	500	...	
Samāi	32,514-3	2,537,080	10	200	62,380	Kāyath
Sahrah	...	2,079,000	...	600	...	Rājput,
Sāndah	24,562-2	1,889,956	...	500	...	Afghān
Seor, has a strong fort on a hill ..	14,145-8	1,250,591	200	5000	...	Brāhman
Ghiāspur	84,205-7	5,657,290	...	...	227,454	
Gidhaur, has a strong fort on a hill in the jungle	...	1,452,500	250	10,000	...	Rājput
Kātibahra	...	737,540	...	...	...	
Kābar	7,400-9	560,875	30	700	...	Kāyath
Guh	...	374,880	100	1000	...	Rājput
Ghātisār	...	380,820	...	...	...	
Karanpur	...	363,820	...	...	...	
Gaya	951-4	74,270	...	...	14,235	
Muner	89,039-15	7,049,179	...	...	325,380	
Masodhā	68,191-10	4,631,080	...	...	...	
Māldah	28,128-9	2,151,575	100	3000	49,805	Brāhman
Manroā	7,706-9	585,500	20	500	...	Do.
Maher	23,937-19	1,779,540	...	200	47,700	Do.
Narhat	30,555-7	2,380,309	5	200	...	Kāyath

Sarkār of Monghyr.

Containing 31 *Mahals.* Revenue 109,625,981½ *dāms.*
Castes various, 2,150 Cavalry, 50,000 Infantry.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Abhipur	2,000,000	Angu	147,800
Osla	89,760	Anbalu	50,000
Bhāgalpur	4,696,110	Surajgarh	299,445
Baliā	3,287,320	Sakhrasāni	160,000
Paharkiah	3,000,000	Satyāri	58,730
Pathrārah	140,920	Kahalgāon	2,800,000
Basai	132,000	Kharhi	689,044
Tanur	88,420	Kozrah	260,602
Chai	9,280,000	Khatki	160,000
Chandoi	360,000	Lakhanpur	633,280
Dharmpur	4,000,000	Masjidpur	1,259,750
Dānd Sakhwārah	136,000	Monghyr and suburban district	808,907½
Rohni	95,360	Masdi	29,725
Sarohi	1,773,000	Hindui	108,000
Sukhdehra	690,240	Hazār taki	9,182
Saghauli	360,000		

Sarkār of Champāran.

Containing 3 *Mahals,* 85,711 *Bighas,* 5 *Biswas.*
Revenue 5,513,420 *Dāms,* Horsemen, 700.
Infantry 30,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms
Samrun	7,200	„ 2	500,095
Mehsi	58,095	„ 7	3,518,435
Majhora	22,415	„ 16	1,404,890

Sarkār of Hājipur.

Containing 11 *Mahals.* 10 Villages, 436,952 *Bighas,*
15 *Biswas.* Revenue 27,331,030 *dāms.*

...	B.	& B.	Revenue
Akbarpur	3,366	„ 17	195,040
Boswāwi	10,851	„ 14	624,791
Basārā	106,370	„ 7	6,380,000
Bālīgachah	14,638	„ 2	915,660
Teghra	58,306	„ 13	3,518,354
Hājipur with suburban district	62,653	„ 17	3,833,460
Rati	30,438	„ 13	1,824,980
Saresā	102,461	„ 8	6,704,300
Imādpur	12,987	„ 7	795,870
Garhsarah	„	„	876,200
Naipur	27,877	„ 9	1,663,980

Sarkār of Sāran.

Containing 17 *Mahals.* Measured land 229, 052 *Bighas,*
15 *Biswas.* Revenue 60,172,004½ *dāms.*
Castes various. Cavalry 1,000. Infantry 50,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms
Indar	7,218	„ 4	534,996
Barāri	7,117	„ 10	533,820
Narhan	8,611	„ 8	654,508
Pachlakh	9,266	„ 15	437,997
Chanend	8,413	„ 13	633,270
Chanbāra	„		400,000
Juwainah	6,963	„ 8	309,285
Degsi	5,825		277,630
Sipāh	3,662		290,592
Pāl	66,320	„ 5	4,893,378
Bārā	15,059	„ 3	383,797½
Godah (Gawā?)	28,049	„ 3	2,012,950
Kaliyānpur	17,437		774,086
Kashmir	16,915		1,314,539
Māngjhi	8,752	„ 19	611,813
Mandhal	9,405	„ 7	698,140
Maker	10,936	„ 14	811,095

Sarkār of Tirhut.

Containing 74 *Mahals,* Measured land 266,464 *Bighas* 2 *Biswas.* Revenue 19,179,777½ *dāms.* Castes various Cavalry 700. Infantry 80,000.

	B.	& B.R	Dāms
Ahaspur	4,880	„	302,550
Utarkhand	2,068	„	128,412
Ahlwār	1,001	„ 1	62,212
Aubhi	„		60,000
Aughārā	836	„ 15	53,980
Athāis	559	„ 17	34,356
Basri &c., 4 Mahals	„	„	1,125,000
Bahrwārah	16,176	„	942,000
Bānpur	40,347	„	894,792
Barel	6,185	„	789,858
Pepra	1,823	„ 18	112,591
Padri	9,048	„	554,258
Basotra	8,864	„	546,627
Panchhi [?Bachhi)]	5,816	„	361,920
Bahnor	5,033	„	289,773½
Bachhnor	4,956	„	275,185
Pachham Bhagu	4,095	„	271,826
Bagda	3,716	„	267,862½
Purab Bhagu	3,022	„ 17	222,280
Pandrājah	3,135	„ 4	195,837½
Bādi Bhosādi	2,823	„	175,585
Bhālā	2,840	„	145,437
Bhadwār	2,087	„	130,471½
Parhārpur	1,968	„	121,067½
Bahādurpur	1,936	„ 16	119,305
Barai	1,455	„ 12	90,369½
Parhār Rāghu	1,303	„ 17	81,605
Bhaurā	1,170	„ 9	69,608
Palwāah	1,060	„ 9	65,628
Borā	875	„ 15	55,757
Banwā	„	„	40,539
Parhārpur, Jabdi	604	„ 14	37,736
Bagi	505	„ 5	31,550
Bochhāwār	188	„ 10	12,875
Barsāni	200	„ 18	12,695

	B.	& B.	Dāms
Tarāni	7,171	„	443,242
Tilokchāwand	2,411	„ 7	149,896
Tājpur	1,351	„ 14	85,434
Tāndah	1,038	„ 4	63,768
Tarson	980	„ 4	61,180
Tirhut with suburban district	21,398	„	1,307,706
Jākhar	17,140	„	1,068,020
Jarāyal	8,297	„	515,732
Chakmani	5,173	„	321,326
Jakhal [-pur]	3,092	„	196,020
Jabdi	„	„	45,025
Dahror	3,165	„	202,818
Darbhāngā	2,038	„	159,052
Rāmjaund	7,409	„	470,005½
Sareshtā	15,474	„	941,010
Salimpur	458	„ 14	29,094
Salimābād	44	„ 15	4,184
Sanjoli Tadrā	2,450	„	150,843½
Alāpur	8,796	„	442,466
Fakhrābād	1,170	„ 6	72,355
Khānauli	4,644	„	408,804
Ghar Chāwand	5,510	„	349,480½
Kodākhand	3,888	„	243,677
Korādi	„	„	90,000
Khandā	330	„ 6	21,443
Ladwāri	2,609	„	142,495
Mahlā	15,295	„	946,048
Morwah	8,289	„	515,485
Mandah, (Mahend?)	1,077	„ 12	66,693
Margā [?Naranga]	632	„ 18	39,022
Malahmi	151	„ 1	9,728
Nauram	„	„	288,140
Nautan	3,381	„ 7	209,153
Hāthi	2,563	„ 18	159,790½
Harni	796	„ 17	50,342
Hābi [?Hali)	3,665	„ 8	230,700

Sarkār of Rohtās.

Containing 18 *Mahals,* 47,334 *Bighas,* 15 *Biswas.* Revenue, 40,819,493 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 4,550. Infantry 162,000.

	B.	& B.	Dāms
Arah	53,512	„ 16	4,028,100
Bhojpur	66,078	„ 17	4,903,310
Pira	„	„	3,407,840
Panwār	22,733	„ 3	1,677,000
Baragāon	10,540	„ 17	842,400
Chakund (Jaund)	45,251	„ 3	4,440,360
Jaidar	26,538	„ 16	1,634,110
Danwār	29,154	„ 4	2,076,520
Dinār	„	„	350,000
Rohtās with suburban dist.	34,330	„ 10	2,258,620

	B.	& B.R	Dāms
Ratanpur, has a strong fort	„	„	783,425
Siris (Sarsi)	44,710	„ 3	2,760,446
Sahsaram	31,220	„ 18	2,370,790
Fathpur bhaiya	50,474	„ 15	3,736,000
Kotrā	29,167	„ 15	1,829,300
Kot, has a strong fort	„	„	847,920
Mangror (Munora?)	„	„	924,000
Naunor	29,621	„	2,000,000

The Subah of Illāhābād. (*Allahabad.*)

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Sinjhauli* in the *Jaunpur* district to the southern hills is 160 *kos;* its breadth from *Chausa* ferry to *Ghātampur* 122 *kos.* On the East is *Behār.* To the North, *Oudh. Bāndhu** lies to the South and *Agra* to the West.

Its principal rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Jamna,* and there are other small streams such as the *Rind, Ken, Saru* (Sarju), *Barna,* &c.

Its climate is healthy. It produces a variety of fruits, flowers and garden herbs, and it has always an abundant supply of melons and grapes. Agriculture is in a flourishing state. *Jowāri* and *Lahdarah,* however, do not grow and *Moth* is scarce. Cloths, such as *Jholi,* and *Mihrkal* and the like are beautifully woven, especially at *Benāres, Jalālābād* and *Mau.* At *Jaunpur, Zafarwāl* and other places woollen carpets are manufactured. A variety of game is also to be found.

Illahabād anciently called *Prayāg* was distinguished by His Imperial Majesty by the former name. A stone fort was completed and many handsome edifices erected. The Hindus regard it as the King of shrines. Near it, the *Ganges,* the *Jamna* and the *Saraswati* meet, though the latter is not visible. Near the village of *Kantat* considerable captures of elephants are made. What is most strange is that when Jupiter enters the constellation Leo, a small hill appears from out of the Ganges and remains there during the space of one month upon which the people offer divine worship.

Bārānasi, universally known as Benares, is a large city situated between the two rivers, the *Barna* and the *Āsi.*† In ancient books, it is styled *Kāsi.* It is built in the shape of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. In former days there was here an idol temple, round which procession was made after the manner of the *kaabah* and similar ceremonials of the pilgrims conducted. From time immemorial, it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustān.

* *Bandhu* is Rewa State, and *not* Banda as Jarrett noted in the 1st edition.

† The Asi is a mere brook and the city is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the *Barnā Nadi* on the N. E. and the *Asi Nala* on the S. W. The former rises to the N. of Allahabad and has a course of 100 miles. From the joint names of the two which bound the city, N. and S. the Brāhmans derive Varanasi, the Sanskrit form of Benares. Cunningham, *Ancient Geog. of India,* p. 437.

Crowds of people flock to it from the most distant parts for the purpose of instruction to which they apply themselves with the most devoted assiduity. Some particulars of its history shall be related in what follows.

In A.H. 410 Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni marched hither, and some disruption of the old faith was effected. In A.H. 416, he again invaded the country. He first invested Gwalior but raised the siege under a treaty of peace. He then resolved to take the fort of *Kālinjar*. The governor sent him 300 elephants with his respectful submission and proffered some eulogistic verses. Mahmud was so much pleased that he bestowed on him the governorship of the fort together with the charge of fourteen other places.

Jaunpur is a large city. Sultān Firoz (Tughlaq) king of Delhi laid its foundations and named it after his cousin Fakhruddin Jaunah. Its longitude is 190° 6″; its latitude 16° 15″.

Chanādah (Chanār) is a stone fort on the summit of a hill, scarce equalled for its loftiness and strength. The Ganges flows at its foot.

In its vicinity, there is a tribe of men who go naked, living in the wilds, and subsist by their bows and arrows and the game they kill. Elephants are also found in the forests.

Kālinjar is a stone fortress situated upon a heaven-reaching* hill. No one can trace its origin. It contains many idol temples and an idol is there, called *Kāl Bhairob*, 18 cubits high of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks. Adjoining it is a dense forest in which wild elephants, and kestrels and hawks and other animals are trapped. Ebony is here found and many kinds of fruits grow spontaneously. There is also an iron mine. In the neighbourhood, within eight *kos*, the peasants find small diamonds.

It is said that Rājā Kirat Singh the governor of the fort possessed six precious treasures, a learned Brāhman of saintly life, a youth of great beauty and amiable disposi-

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* Its elevation is 1230 feet above sea level. Ferishta ascribes the fort to Kedār Rājā, a contemporary of Muhammad, but local legend connects it with Chandra Varma, ancestor of the great Chandel family of Rajputs, who removed hither after their defeat by Prithi Rāj, the Chauhān ruler of Delhi. *I. G.*

tion, a parrot that answered any questions put to it and some say, remembered everything that it heard, a musician named Bakshu unequalled in the knowledge and practice of his art, and two handmaidens lovely to behold and skilled in song. Sultān Bāhadur Gujrāti having formed a friendship with the Rājā asked him for one of these. The Rājah generously and with a provident wisdom sent him Bakshu. Next Sher Khān of the House of Sur requested the gift of the two wonderful songstresses, and when his messenger returned without them, he invested the fort. Works were erected and the besieged were reduced to great straits. In despair, the Rājā, after the manner of the Hindus who hold their honour dear, burnt his women, for in the slumbering of his reason, he had set his affections upon the things of this fleeting life, and so giving his body to ashes, according to the desire of his enemies, he became soiled with the dust of dissolution. As to Sher Khān, who had conceived this wicked design, he fell at the powder magazine when the fire opened on the fort and the harvest of his life was consumed.*

The *Subah* contains ten *Sarkārs*, and 177 *Parganahs*. Revenue 21 *krors*, 14 *lakhs* and 17,819 *dāms* (Rs. 53,10,695-7-9)), and 12 *lakhs* of betel leaves. Of these *Parganahs* 131 pay revenue from crops charged at special rates. Measured land 39, 68,018 *bighas*, 3 *biswas*, yielding a revenue of 20 *krors*, 29 *lakhs*, 71,224 *dāms* (Rs. 50,74,280-9). The remaining 46 *Parganahs* pay the general *bigah* rate. They are rated at 94 *lakhs*, 56,595 *dāms* (Rs. 2,36,424-14). Of this, 1 *kror*, 11 *lakhs*, 65,417 *dāms* (Rs. 279,135-6-6) are *Suyurghāl*. The province furnishes 11,375 Cavalry, 237,870 Infantry and 323 elephants.

Note.—In the names of the *parganahs* under the following *Sarkārs*, I have altered the spelling where the variants allow, in accordance with Elliot's list, as his personal acquaintance with their true pronunciation is probably more correct than those of my previous lists which were adapted as far as possible to reconcile the readings of Gladwin and Tieffenthaler. The discrepancies are slight and will not interfere with their recognition.

* This took place in 1545. During the siege a live shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shāh stood and set fire to the gunpowder. He was brought out severely burnt and died next day, having previously ordered an assault which was at once made with success. K. R. Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, 330.

Subah of Illāhābād. Sarkārs.	*Subah of Agra.* Sarkārs.	*Subah of Oudh.* Sarkārs.	*Subah of Delhi.* Sarkārs.
Illāhābas.	Agra.	Garakhpur.	Delhi.
Karrah.	Kanauj.		Rewāri.
Korarah (Kora).	Kālpi.		Sahāranpur.
Kālinjar.	Kol.		Hisār Firozah.
Jaunpur.	Tijārah.		Sambhal.
Ghāzipur.	Irij.		Badāon.
Benares.	Sahār.		
Chanār.			

Sarkār of Illāhābās (Allahabad).

Containing 11 *Mahals*, 573,311 *Bighas*, 14 *Biswas*. Of these 9 *Mahals* yield 20,833,374½ *Dāms*, in money. *Suyurghāl*, 747,001½ *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 580. Infantry 7,100.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Illāhābās, with suburban district: has a stone fort ..	284,057	9,267,359	253,261	...	1,000	Brāhman
Bhadoi, with a brick fort on the bank of the Ganges ..	73,252-2	3,660,918	37,534	200	5,000	Rājput, a few Bhars[1]
Jalālābād,[2] 5 Mahals	...	737,220	...	10	400	Brāhman
Sorāon	63,932-4	3,247,127	161,527	40	1,000	Rājput, Chandel, Brāhman
Singraur, has a brick fort on the bank of the Ganges	38,536-6	1,885,066	74,883	...	...	Brāhman, Kāyath, Rahmatullāhi
Sikandarpur ..	34,756-8	1,867,704	92,138	25	500	Brāhman
Kantit, has a stone fort on the Ganges	...	856,555	...	50	2,000	Khandāl ?[3]
Kusi. (Elliot Kewāi)	14,385-3	721,115	19,005	15	400	Rājput, Brāhman
Khairagarh, has a stone fort on a hill	...	400,000	...	200	5,000	Rājput, Birāsi (Bhar ?)
Mah, has a stone fort on the hill Alwand[4] ..	21,962	1,139,980	22,495½	20	400	Rājput, Gaharwāl
Hādiābās,[5] (now called Jhusi. Elliot) ..	42,422-5	2,018,014	79,078	20	400	Rājput, Brāhman

[1] The Bhars were a powerful tribe during the period of Buddhist ascendancy. In Southern and Eastern Oudh there are many relics of their wealth and power in the shape of tanks, wells, embankments and deserted sites of brick built forts and towns. Beames, *Memoir*, i. p. 33. *Oudh Gazetteer*, i. p. xxxvi.

[2] Three names follow without diacritical points, intelligible in the MSS. Tieff. gives "Sobehe, Anelā, Bando, Barbar.

[3] A note to the text suggests, *Gaharwāl*, one of the 36 royal tribes of Rājputs.

[4] A note states that in the maps there is no hill. *Alwand* is the name of a well-known mountain in Hamadān, 80 leagues from Ispahan, often employed in Persian imagery as a synonym for loftiness.

Sarkār of Ghāzipur, (East.)

Containing 19 *Mahals*, 288,770 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. Revenue 13,431,308 *Dāms*, in money. *Suyurghāl*, 131,825 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 310. Infantry 16,650.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Baliā	28,344-15	1,250,000	...	200	2000	Rājput
Pachotar	13,679-9	6,982,040	2,250	50	2000	Do.
Bilhābās*	12,306	652,360	...	10	200	Do.
Bāhriābad	6,983-10	355,340	1,720	...	200	Do.
Bhalāech, (E. Barāich)	2 255-19	112,461	...	...	...	
Chausā, (E. Chaunsā) ..	15,602-11	791,653	...	10	500	Brāhman
Dihbā, (E. Dihmah) .	2,808-15	128,815	2,077	...	50	Rājput
Sayyidpur Namdi ..	25,721-3	1,250,280	18,172	20	1000	Brāhman
Zahurābād	13,802-12	657,808	29,528	500	20	Do.
Ghāzipur with suburban district	12,325-9	570,350	39,680	10	20	Kayath, Rājput
Kariyāt Pali	1,394-5	75,467	...	...	...	
Kopāchhit	19,266-11	942,190	893	20	2000	Rājput
Gandhā, (E. Garhā) ..	10,049-10	500,000	...	...	200	Do.
Karendā	6,260-15	293,551	...	...	300	Do.
Lakhner, (E. Lakhnesar)	2,883-3	126,636	834	...	...	
Madan Benāres ..	66,548-7	2,760 000	1,356	50	5000	Brāhman
Muhammadābād, and Parhārbāri	48,774-16	2,260[illegible]07	4,777	2000	100	Do.

Sarkār of Benāres (East.)

Containing 8 *Mahals*, 36,869 *Bighas*, 12 *Biswas*. Revenue 8,869,315 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 3,38,184 Castes various. Cavalry 830. Infantry 8,400.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Afrād	10,655-6	953,226	20,080	...	400	Brāhman, Rājput
Benāres, with suburban district	31,657-1	1,734,721	22,190	50	1000	Brāhman
Byālisi	60,961-3	547,634	...	20	300	Do.
Pandarhā, (var. and E. Pandrah)	4,610-15	844,221	15,836	10	400	Do.
Kaswār	41,184-14	2-29[illegible],160	80,120	50	2000	Do.
Katehar, has a brick fort	30,495-14	1,874,230	48,070	500	4000	Raghuvansi
Harhuā	13,098-3	713,426	8,145	..	300	Brāhman

* G. and T. Baliabass.

Sarkār of Jaunpur (North).

Containing 41 *Mahals,* 870,265 *Bighas,* 4 *Biswas.* Revenue 56,394,107 *dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl,* 4,717,654. Castes various. Cavalry 915. Infantry 36,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Aldiman	46,888-12	3,099,990	88,976	50	3,000	Rājput
Angli	42,992-14	2,713,551	464,516	50	2,000	Sayyid, Rājput, and Rahmatullāhi Bachgoti
Bihtari	17,703	844,357	12,520	10	100	Ansari*
Bhadāon	4,300	229,315	...	10	100	Saddíki
Tilhani	10,963-8	654,363	27,457	10	100	Rājput
Jaunpur with suburbs, has a fort, the lower part stone, and the upper constructed of brick	65,739-4	4,247,043	807,821	120	2,500	Rājput Kosak, Brāhman, Kurmi
Chāndipur Badhar, (E. Birhar)	22,826-7	1,467,205	157,641	20	400	Rahmatullāhi, Brāhman
Chāndah	17,590	989,286	...	20	300	Bachgoti
Chiriyākot	14,153	807,848	13,669	20	200	Rājput
Jakesar (E. Chakesar)	5,415-10	286,586	...	10	100	Saddiki
Kharid, has a brick fort on the banks of the Sarah	30,914-13	1,445,743	3,140	50	5,000	Rājput Kausik
Khāspur Tāndah ..	17,365	986,953	40,189	10	300	Kāyath
Khānpur	6-628-10	3, 08,020	5,387	...	150	Rājput
Deogāon	44,524-18	2,563,205	196,238	25	1,000	Do. Gautami†
Rāri	24,360	1,326,299	84,562	10	300.	Rājput
Sanjhauli	46,815-3	2,938,209	334,932	50	100	Sayyid, Rājput, Braman
Sikandarpur, has a brick fort ..	32,574-10	1,706,417	5,325	10	3,000	Brāhman
Sagdi, (E. Sagri) ..	19,792	1,274,721	102,224	10	200	Rājput
Surharpur	18,851	1,164,095	7,094	10	20	Do.

* These according to the I.G. (Bahraich) were the descendants of the early Mussalman settlers and invaders. For their descent and history, see Beames *Memoir*, I, 7. For Bachgoti, see Elliot (*Races of the N. W. P.*) who says that all Chauhans are Bachgotis, being of the *gotra* of Bach, but Sherring proves this to be an error, instancing the *gotras* of Vatsa and Kāsyap. *Hindu Tribes*, I, p. 164.

† A clan of Rājputs of the Chandarbans, once a powerful clan in the Lower Doab. See Elliot, p. 118, I, and Sherring, I, 202.

Sarkār of Jaunpur (North).—(*Contd:*)

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Shādiābād	30,848-8	1,700,742	10,020	20	400	Rājput
Zafarābād	2,822-9	156,926	13,806½	...	50	Do.
Qariyāt Mittu ..	8,991-11	551,410	...	10	300	Do.
" Dostpur ..	8,857	481 524	42,227	...	100	Do.
" Mendhah ..	7,416	394,870	21,260	...	100	Do.
" Seothah ..	2,968-10	206,738	14,224	...	100	Do.
Kolah	24,231	1,363,332	14,971	10	300	Do.
Ghiswah	30,775	1,241,291	42,366	10	200	Do.
Ghosi .. .	18,913	1,037,934	69,650	10	200	Do.
Gadwārah	2,191	513,942	2,682	50	5,000	Rājput Bachgoti
Kāudiyah, (E. Kauria)	5,764-12	341,890	...	...	200	Rājput
Gopālpur	3 266-8	18,043	4,948	...	100	Do.
Karākat	48,332-14	23,002,748	77,339	20	500	Do.
Mandiāhu, has a brick fort (E. Mariahu)	88,899-5	5,259,465	273,788	50	2,000	Rājput Kausik
Muhammadābād ..	56,350-14	3,229,063	220,442	30	1,000	Rājput, Brāhman
Mungra	9,626-5	529,730	...	...	200	Rājput
Majhāura	6,417-6	420,164	14,427	...	200	Rahmatullāhi
Mau	2,645-3	209,067	...	...	50	Shaikh zādah
Nizamābād	6,074-13	602,592	478,026	200	4,000	Rājput Gautami, Brāhman, Rahmatullāhi
Negun	10,145	758,796	145,350	...	200	Brāhman
Nathupur	4,948-14	278,472	21,239	10	200	Saddiki

Sarkār of Mānikpur.
Containing 14 *Mahals*, 666,222 *Bighas*, 5 *Biswas*.
Revenue 33,916,527 *Dāms* in money.
Suyurghal, 8,446,173. Castes various.
Cavalry 2,040. Infantry 2,900.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Arwal, has a brick fort	62,131-10	2,957,077	37 220	114	7 000	Rājput
Bhalol	32,343-3	1,832,283	175,753	20	500	Rājput Kāyath, Baoriya*
Tilhandi	11,721-6	383,251	54,821	10	300	Do.
Jalalpur Balkhar, has a brick fort	76,517-8	3,913,017	140,325	400	5,000	Brāhman Bachgoti,

* *Var.* Gauriya, Pariya: perhaps Baoria a tribe of professional thieves widely spread, and in a loose way, a distinct caste. *I. G.* under, Rajputana and Sherring, II. 82.

Sarkār of Mānikpur.—(Contd.)

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jāes, has a brick fort, (I. G. Jais)	25,625	1,424,787	277,863	250	7,000	Various
Dalmau, has a brick fort on the Ganges ..	67,508-9	3,626,067	344,130	50	200	Turkomān
Rae Bareli, has a brick fort on the Sai ..	65,751-17	3,650,984	180,080	40	2,000	Rājput, Khand, Baoria
Salon, has a brick fort	56,102	2,717,391	394,774	180	8,900	Rājput Khandwāl,† Bisen.
Qaryāt Karārah ..	51,505-19	2,461,077	115,774	20	700	Rājput, Bisen
„ Pāegāh ..	22,130	1,117,926	6,794	20	400	Do. do.
Kathot, has a brick fort	9,456-8	514,909	3,187	100	2,000	Bachgoti
Mānikpur with suburbs, has a brick fort on the Ganges	129,830-1	6,737,729	542,312	500	6,000	Bisen
Nasirābād	55,599-4	2,582,079	108,148	40	1,000	Rājput, Kāyath, Gaoria, Bais

Sarkār of Chanādah (Chanār), South.

Containing 13 *Mahals*, 106,270 *Bighas*, 8 *Biswas*.
Revenue 5,810,654 *Dāms* in money.
Suyurghāl, 109,065. Cavalry 500.
Infantry 18,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ahirwārah	1,858-8	109,073	...	...	...	
Bholi, (R. Bhuili) ..	18,975-10	1,112,656	33,605	...	...	
Badhaul, (R. Barhaul) ..	6,412-11	361,364	605	...	...	
Tāndah	...	488,010	...	...	...	
Chanādah, with suburban district, has a stone fort . ..	12,939-14	833,908	8,467	500	18,000	Saddiki, Faruki, Ansāri
Dhus	4,274-10	235,644	14,548	...	...	
Rāghupur, now pronounced Rāhupur R.)	7,267 12	451,962	17,869	...	...	
Villages, this side of the river	18,098	845,371	14,492	...	...	
Majhwārah	9,312-3	549,817	14,597	...	...	
Mahāich	7,950-2	390,609	2,069	...	...	
Mahwāri	4,878-3	227,067	...	...	...	
Mahoi, (R. Mawai) ..	4,301-2	206,288	3,353	...	...	

† Sherring gives the name of *Khondchwāl* to a trading caste in Bhurtpur. iii. 52.

Sarkār of Bhathkhora, (South.)

Containing 39 *Mahals*. Revenue 7,262,780 *Dāms* in money.

Cavalry 4,304. Elephants 200. Infantry 57,000.

Sarkār of Kālinjar, (South.)

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Measured land, 508,273 *Bighas*, 12 *Biswas*. Revenue 23,839,470 *Dāms*, in money.

Suyurghāl 614,580 *Dāms*. Castes various.

Cavalry 1,210. Elephants 112. Infantry 18,100.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Uguāsi, has a brick fort, (E. Ugāsi)	53,963-6	2,502,896	60,776	400	5,000	10	Sayyid, Gadhwāl, Parihār
Ajaigarh, has a stone fort on a hill ..							
Sendha, (E. Sihondā)	...	200,000	...	20	2,000	10	Gond
has a stone fort on the Ken . ..	138,467-12	6,262.833½	129.412	20	3.000	25	Gond, Chandel, &c.
Simauni, has a brick fort	48,866-3	2,247,346	15,300	300	3,000	...	Khandwāl
Shādipur, has a stone fort	62,755-15	2,798,329½	96,312	40	700	...	Rājput, &c.
Rasan . ..	11,988-10	512.026	...	50	100	20	Bhar, Bais
Kālinjar with suburban district	22,494	970,259	190,490	20	500	7	
Kharelah, has a brick fort	25,940-1	1,275.325	...	50	1,500	...	Rāput, Bais
Mahobā, has a stone fort, and each side of the village is flanked by two high hills . ..	81,567-13	4,042.014 &120,000 pJnleaves	880,528	100	3,000	40	Bagri* Rahmatu'l-lāhi, Parihār
Māndhā, has a stone fort	62,530-7	2,996.062	154,062	30	400	..	

* The Bāgri are a tribe inhabiting the Bāgar country, a tract between the S.-W. border of Hariana and the Ghāra. Bāgar is also the name of a tract in the Mālwah, but in the N.-W. P applied to the Bāgri Jats of Hissār and Bhattiāna. Elliot, *Memoir* (Beale), I, 9-10.

*Sarkār of Kurrah,** (*West.*)

Containing 9 *Mahals*, 341,170 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*.

Revenue 17,397,567 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 469,350 *Dāms*.

Castes various. Cavalry 500. Elephants 10. Infantry 15,000.

	Bighas and Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Jājmāo, has a fort on the Ganges ..	62,195-10	3,106,346	139,936	200	4,000	7	Afghān Lodi, Rājput, Bais.
Kurrah, with suburban district, has a brick fort on the Rind river	124,748-12	6,771,891	257,373	50	300	...	Brāhman
Ghātampur	73,876-3	3,667,564	48,654	100	2,000	10	Rājput Dikhit (Dikshit) Kāyath
Majhāwan	26,980-8	1,323,339	2,574	20	1,000	...	Brāhman
Kutiā	12,178-11	584,274	20,815	30	1,000	...	Rājput Gautami
Guner	10,041-16	513.457	...	20	1,000	...	Do.
Kiranpur Kinār, (Elliot Kiratpur Kanānda) ..	17,965	830,070	...	30	1,000	...	Do.
Muhsanpur	13,181	600,586	...	50	2,000	2	Rājput Chandel

* Kurrah is a decayed town in Fatehpur district; formerly the capital of this Sarkār under the Mughals : it still retains traces of its former importance. A few words follow this name which are either omitted or illegible in the other MSS. Literally they run thus : "And there is a village called Numi which produces flowers and colour."

Karah is now a ruined town on the right bank of the Ganges, 40 miles N.-W of Allahābād. It was the scene of the famous meeting between Muizu'ddin and his father in 1286 which forms the subject of Mir Khusru's well-known Persian epic, the *Kirānu's Saadain*. Two *sarkārs* of the Allahabad province bearing names liable to be confounded with each other in careless Persian writing, are *Korā* and *Kārā*. They were later distinguished as Korā-Jahānābād (situated in the Fathpur dist. of the U. P.) and Kārā-Mānikpur, (Kāra being in the Allahabad dist., and Mānikpur on the north bank of the Ganges opposite to Kārā and therefore in the Oudh province). The two places are 70 miles apart east to west. The best device for avoiding confusion is to spell *Korā* as *Kurrāh*, which form of the word we find in the Marathi and some Persian records. [J. Sarkar.]

Sarkār of Karah, (West.)

Containing 12 *Mahals*, 447,556 *Bighas*, 19 *Biswas*....
Revenue 22,682,048 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,498,862 *Dāms*.
Castes various. Cavalry 390. Infantry 8,700.

	Bighas and Biswas	D. Revenue	Suyur-ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Richhi, (Elliot Enchhi)	35,825-11	1,624,034½	34,974	10	500	...	Do.
Atharban	18,517-14	894,036½	4,770	10	200	...	Do.
Ayāsā	15,783-11	845.766	...	10	500	...	Rājput
Haveli, (suburban district) of Kara ..	9,638-17	5,192,170	442,080	100	1,000	...	Kāyath, Rājput, Brāhman, Khari
Rāri	56,727-18	2,707,034	26,350	10	4.000	...	Rājput Brāhman
Baldah* of Kara, has a fort on the Ganges, lower part stone, upper, brick	70,001-12	236.868	...	...	...	...	Various
Karāri, has a brick foot on the Jumna ..	39,686-19	141,953	...	...	...	...	
Kotlā	18,043-1	909,234	122,191	10	300	...	Brāhman Rājput
Kunrā, commonly Koson, (Elliot, *Karson*), has a brick fort ..	11,782-9	693,487½	...	100	2,000	...	Various
Fatehpur Hanswah, (Elliot Haswā) ..	55,915-8	2,892,705	370,420	50	1,000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Hatgāon	55,322-12	2,723,508½	24,829	40	1,000	...	Do.
Hanswah	42,521-3	2,123,661½	15,506	30	1,000	...	Afghān, Rājput

Its rulers.

Sultānu's Sharq reigned, 16 years.
Mubārak Shāh ,, 1 year and a fraction.
Sultān Ibrahim ,, 40 years ,,
Sultān Mahmud ,, 21 years and a few months.
Mahmud [=Muhammad] Shah ,, 5 months.
Husain ,, 19 years.

* Mr. Beames in a note to Elliot's Gloss., p. 83, II, distinguishes between *Haveli* and *Baldah*, the former alluding to the district close to the Capital and the latter to that at a distance.

Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān ...	. A.H	796 / 1394 A.D.
Malik Qaranful, Mubārak Sh. ...	..	802 / 1399
Shams ud-din Ibrāhim Sh. ...	...	804 / 1402
Mahmud Sh.	...	840 / 1436
Muhammad Sh.	...	862 / 1458
Husain Sh.	...	862-884 / 1458-79

—*(Cambridge Hist. India, iii).*

These six princes held sway for 97 years and a few months.*

This province was formerly administered by the sovereigns of Delhi. When the imperial authority devolved on Sultān Muhammad-b-Firuz Shāh, he bestowed the title of Sultān us Sharq upon Malik Sarwar a eunuch who had received from his predecessor the dignity of *Khān-i-Jahān*, and sent him to this province. He gave lustre to his reign by his judgment, clemency, justice and valour and thus garnered a provision for his life's last journey. When the cup of his days was full, the son whom he had adopted, named Mubārak Qaranful, by the assistance of the chief men of the State, raised himself to power and had the *khutbah* read and the coin struck in his own name. When the news of this event reached Mallu (*Khān*), he collected troops and marched from Delhi to oppose him and encamped in readiness for battle on the bank of the Ganges, but nothing decisive having been effected, both armies returned home.

When this prince died, his younger brother Ibrahim was raised to the throne. By his knowledge of men and capacity for affairs he administered the kingdom with justice and made the chastisement of the unruly a source of prosperity to his government. Wisdom was eagerly sought and the prospects of the intelligent in every profession was advanced. Qāzi Shahābu'ddin, a sage of Hindustan flourished about this time. He was born at Delhi and in that city acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the inductive sciences and traditional lore, and at the time of the arrival of Timur, he set out for Jaunpur in the company of his master Maulānā Khwājagi who was the successor of Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh of Delhi and there continued his progress and became the envy of his time. Shāh Madār, however, who is esteemed one of the saints of Hindustān and the chief of his contemporary series of divines, through the disagreement that ever exists between philosophers who regard the material world, and masters of the spiritual life, entertained no esteem for the Qāzi.

When the days of Ibrahim came to a close, his eldest son Bikhan Khān, under the name of Sultan Mahmud, assumed the sovereignty. As his deeds were not approved, the sentence of deposition was issued against him and his

* Six *Jaunpur* rulers,—97 years.

brother Husain raised to power. He made rectitude his rule of conduct and his chief object the conciliation of all hearts. Fortune favoured his desires and the world praised him but intoxicated by the maddening fumes of worldly success, he became arrogant. He was involved in war with Sultān Bahlol and was defeated. Sultān Bahlol left his son Bārbak at Jaunpur and entrusted him with the government. [1478.] On the death of Sultān Bahlol the throne of Delhi devolved on Sultān Sikandar. Sultān Husain with the connivance of Bārbak collected troops, made several attempts against Delhi, but with him the *Sharqi* dynasty closed.*

The Subah of Oudh.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the Sarkār of *Gorakhpur* to *Kanauj* is 135 *kos.* Its breadth from the northern mountains to *Sidhpur* on the frontier of the *Subah* of Allahabad is 115 *kos.* To the east is *Bihar;* to the north, the mountains; to the south, *Manikpur,* and to the west *Kanauj.* Its climate is good. Summer and winter are nearly temperate. Its principal streams are the *Saru* (*Sarju*), the *Ghaghar* (*Gogra*) the *Sai* and the *Godi* (*Gumti*). In the first mentioned, divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance show themselves. Agriculture is in a flourishing state, especially rice of the kinds called *Sukhdās, Madhkar* and *Jhanwān,* which for whiteness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness are scarcely to be matched. They sow their rice three months earlier than in other parts of Hindustān. When the drought begins, the Sai and the Gogra rise high in flood and before the beginning of the rains, the land is inundated, and as the waters rise, the stalks of rice shoot up and proportionately lengthen : the crop, however, is destroyed if the floods are in full force before the rice is in ear. Flowers, fruits and game are abundant. Wild buffaloes are numerous. When the

* Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi synasty till the defeat and death of Ibrahim grandson of Bahlol and last of the line, at Panipat by Bābar in 1526. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khān governor of Jaunpur who asserted his independence. It was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Khān and his son of Salim. Humayun on his reconquest of Hindustān died before he could master his eastern possessions. Jaunpur continued under the Afghāns until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign, took possession of it through Ali Quli Khān and incorporated it with his dominions. In 1575 the Viceregal Court was removed to Allahabad and Jaunpur was governed thenceforth by a Nizam.

plains are inundated the animals take to the high ground where the people find sport in hunting them. Some of the animals remain all day in the water and only at night approach the dry ground and breathe in freedom. *Awadh* (*Ajodhyā*) is one of the largest cities of India. In is situated in longitude 118°, 6′, and latitude 27°, 22′. It ancient times its populous site covered an extent of 148 *kos* in length and 36 in breadth, and it is esteemed one of the holiest places of antiquity. Around the environs of the city, they sift the earth and gold is obtained. It was the residence of Rāmachandra* who in the *Treta* age combined in his own person both the spiritual supremacy and the kingly office.

At the distance of one *kos* from the city, the *Gogra,* after its junction with the Sai, [*Saraju*] flows below the fort. Near the city stand two considerable tombs of six and seven yards in length respectively. The vulgar believe them to be the resting-places of Seth and the prophet Job, and extraordinary tales are related of them. Some say that at *Ratanpur* is the tomb of Kabir,† the assertor of the unity of God. The portals of spiritual discernment were partly opened to him and he discarded the effete doctrines of his own time. Numerous verses in the Hindi language are still extant of him containing important theological truths. *Bahraich* is a large town on the banks of the river Sarju. Its environs are delightful with numerous gardens. *Sālār Masud*[1] and Rajab Sālār are both buried here. The common people of the Muhammadan faith greatly reverence this spot and pilgrims visit it from distant parts, forming themselves in bands and bearing gilded banners. The first mentioned was connected by blood with Mahmud Ghaznavi, and sold his life bravely in battle and left an imperishable name. The second was the

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* The 7th *avatār*, who in this capital of the solar dynasty founded on the charict wheel of Brahma, consummated the glories of sixty generations of solar princes and as the incarnate Rāmā, is the hero of the famous epic that bears his name.

† His doctrines were preached between A.D. 1380 and 1420 and attempted the union of Hindu and Muhammadan in the worship of one God whether invoked as Ali or Rāmā. On his decease both these sects claimed the body and while they contested it, Kabir suddenly stood in their midst and commanding them to look under the shoud, vanished. A heap of beautiful flowers was there discovered, which, divided among the rival worshippers, were buried or burnt according to their respective rites. Pilgrims from upper India to this day beg a spoonful of rice water from the Kabir Monastery at Puri in Orissa.

[1] Under the orders of Mahmud of Ghazni, he penetrated the country in A.D. 1033, but was eventually defeated at Bahraich and fell fighting, *sanguine purpuratum*, as Tieffenthaler writes, crowned with the double glories of the hero and the martyr.

father of Sultān Firoz king of Delhi and won renown by the recitude of his life.

In the vicinity of the town, there is a village called *Dogon* which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage.

From the northern mountains quantities of goods are carried on the backs of men, of stout ponies and of goats, such as gold, copper, lead, musk, tails[2] of the *kutās* cow, honey, *chuk* (an acid composed of orange juice and lemon boiled together), pomegranate seeds, ginger, long pepper, *majith*[3] root, borax, zedoary, wax, woollen stuffs, wooden ware, hawks, falcons, black falcons, merlins, and other articles. In exchange they carry back white and coloured cloths, amber, salt, assafœtida, ornaments, glass and earthen ware.

Nimkhār is a fort of considerable note and a shrine of great resort. The river Godi (Gumti) flows near it, and around are numerous temples. There is a tank called *Brahmāwartkund* in which the water boils and with such a swirl, that a man cannot sink therein,[4] and it ejects whatever is thrown into it. In the neighbourhood is also a deep hollow, the springhead of a stream, one yard in breadth and four digits deep that flows into the Gumti. The Brāhmans tell strange tales of it and pay it worship. Its sand shapes itself into the form of *Mahādeo* which quickly disappears again and of whatever is thrown in, as rice and the like, no trace remains.

There is likewise a place called *Charāmiti*, whence, during the *Holi* festival, flames spontaneously issue forth with astonishing effect.

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[2] It would seem from a passage of Ferishta mentioning an inroad of Tibetans into Kashmir in the reign of Ibrahim, son of Nāzuk Shāh (p. 359, II) that the yāk is meant. The Kashmiris retaliated by pursuing the marauders, and exacting as compensation 500 horses, 1000 pieces of *pattu*, 200 sheep and 50 kutās cows. Later on, it is mentioned by Abul Fazl among the fauna of India and described as little differing from the common cow except in the tail which is a distinguishing peculiarity, and the origin of its name, *kutās*.

[3] Rubia Munjista, Roxb. a native of Nepal and other mountainous countries N.-E. of Bengal. Its root yields a red dye.

[4] Tieffenthaler asserts that it derives its name from Brahma who is supposed to have sacrificed here, but according to the *I. G.* there is a legend that in one of these tanks, Rāmā washed away his sin of having slain a Brāhman in the person of Ravana, who had carried off his wife Sita.

Lucknow is a large city on the banks of the Gumti, delightful in its surroundings. *Shaikh Mina* whom the people consider a saint, lies buried here.

*Surajkand** is a place of worship frequented by various classes of people from the most distant places.

Kheri is a town on the banks of the river *Sai* upon which the people go in boats to spear fish.

Bilgrām is a small town the air of which is healthy and its inhabitants are generally distinguished for their quick wit and their love of singing. There is a well here which adds to the intelligence and comeliness of whomsoever drinks of it for forty days.

This *Subah* is divided into five *Sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas*. The measured lands are 1 *kror*, 1 *lakh*, 71,180 *bighas*. Its revenue, 20*krors*, 17 *lakhs*, 58,172 *dāms*. (Rs. 5,043,954-4), of which 85 *lakhs*, 21,658 *dāms* (Rs. 213,041-7). are *Suyurghāl*. The provincial force consists of 7,640 Cavalry, 168,250, Infantry and 59 Elephants.

Sarkār of Oudh.

Containing 21 *Mahals*, 2,796,206 *Bighas*, 19 *Biswahs*, Revenue, 40,956,347 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 1,680,248 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,340, Elephants 23, Infantry 31,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-ghāl D.	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants	Castes
Oudh, with suburban district, 2 mahals ..	38,649-17	2,008,366	158,741	5	500	...	Brāhman Kumbi
Ambodha, has a brick fort	282,037	1,298,724	7,318	30	700	...	Bais
Ibrahimābād	19,338-8	445,417	103,806	...	...	...	Ansāri

* Identified with Asokpur, between Ajodhya and Gonda [Elliot, ii, 549].

Sarkār of Oudh—(contd.).

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants	Castes
Anhonah, has a brick fort	74,090	1,268,470	...	100	2,000	...	Chauhān, newly converted to Islām
Panchhamrāth ..	289,085	4,247,104	38,885	20	500	...	Rājput, Bāchhāl, Ghelot
Bileḥri, has a brick fort	15,859	815,831	...	50	2,000	...	Bachgoti
Basodhi	31,188	505,473	1,500	20	500	...	Do.
Thānah Bhadāon ..	8,703-2	427,509	36,172	...	1,000	...	Do.
Bakthā	44,401	385,096	3,960	...	500	...	Do.
Daryābād, has a brick fort	487,014	5,369,521	226,871	100	2,000	...	Rājput Chauḥān, Raikwār*
Rudauli, has a brick fort	351,533	3,248,680	269,063	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Chauhān, Bais
Silak, do. ..	571,071	4,723,209	200,945	100	2,000	...	Rājput, Raikwār
Sultānpur do. ..	75,903	3,832,530	98,967	200	7,000	8	Bachgoti
Sātanpur do. ..	80,154	1,600,741	109,788	300	4,000	...	Bais, newly converted to Islām, Bachgoti, Joshi
Subeha†	104,780	1,609,293	87,200	30	1,000	...	Rājput
Sarwapāli	58,170	1,210,335	47,107	...	1,000	...	Bachgoti
Satrikah (Satrikh) ..	37,041	1,126,295	92,695	20	1,000	...	Ansāri
Gawārchak	79,158	3,773,417	3,782	50	1,070	...	Raikwār
Kishni, has a brick fort	25,674	1,339,286	123,847	...	1,500	3	Rājput
Mangalsi	116.401	1,360,753	86,504	20	1,000	...	Sombānsi
Naipur	5,997	308,788	2,940	...	500	...	Various

* The origin of this tribe *Raikwār* is given in the I. G. (Bahraich) and their settlements in Sherring I, 219.

† Subeha is a well-known *parganah* in Bāra Bankī District. In the *I. G.* its area is recorded as 88 square miles, or 56,467 acres of which 30,783 are cultivated. Govt. land revenue £6611. In Akbar's time according to the above figures Rs. 40,232-7, and the average taking the bigha ⅝ of an acre, 65,487½ acres nearly.

Sarkār of Gorakhpur.

Containing 24 *Mahals,* 244,283 *Bighas,* 13 *Biswas.* Revenue 11, 926,790. *Dams* in money. *Suyurghal* 51,235 *Dams.* Castes various. Cavalry 1,010. Infantry 22,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Utraulā, has a brick fort	32,052	1,397,367	6,935	50	1,500	...	Afghān-i-Miyānah
Unhaulā	4,114-17	201,120	2 170	...	400	...	Bisen
Bināikpur, has a brick fort	13,857-7	600,000	...	400	3,000	...	Rājput Surajbansi
Bānbhanpārah (E. Bamhni, p.)	6,688	414,194	...	...	2,000	...	Rājput
Bhawāpārah	3,105-15	155,900	...		200	...	Bisen
Telpur, has a brick fort	9,005-17	400,000	...	100	2,000	...	Rājput Surajbansi
Chilupārh, do. ..	6,536-14	289,302	...	...	2,000	...	Rājput
Daryāpārh (E. Dhuria, (p.)	31,357-19	1,517,078	5,067	60	400	...	Bisen
Dewāpārah and Kotlah* 2 mahals	16,194-17	717,840	...	20	2,000	...	Do.
Rihli, (or Rudauli) ..	33,183 19	1,618,074	20,873	...	1,000	...	Rājput Bisen
Rasulpur and Ghosi, 2 mahals (E. Ghaus) ..	4,200	622,030	...	...	500	...	Sombansi
Rāmgarh and Gauri, 2 mahals	10,762	485 943	...	...	...	...	Do., troops entered under Bināikpur
Gorakhpur with suburban district, has a brick fort on the Rapti, 2 mahals ..	12,656-8	567,385	3,919	40	200	...	Surajbansi
Katihlā, has a brick fort	900-12	40,000	...	300	2,000	...	Bansi
Rahlāpārh, Do. (E. Rihlā, p.)	16,012	425,845	...	20	300	...	Bisen
Mahauli. Do. ..	2,523	618,256	...	...	2,000	...	Bisen
Mandwah	1,909-19	452,321	...	20	500	...	Sombansi
Mandlah	1,252-6	51,100	...	...	...	...	
Maghar and Ratanpur, 2 mahals, has a brick fort	26,062	1,352,585	16,771	...	2,000	...	Bisen, Bais

* Elliot, Dhewāpāra Kuhānā.

Sarkār of Bahraich.

Containing 11 *Mahals,* 1,823,435 *Bighas,* 8 *Biswas.* Revenue 24,120,525 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghal,* 466,482 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 1,170. Infantry 14,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bahraich with suburban district has a fort on the river Sarju ..	697,231	9,139,141	402,111	600	4,500	...	Rājput
Bahrah	926	37,185	...	...	500	...	Kahnah (Kher ?)
Husāmpur, has a brick fort	157,415	4,707,035	1,601	70	900	...	Raikwār, Bisen
Dāngdun	84,436	440,562	...	...	2,000	...	Janwār*
Rajhat	4,064-11	166,780	...	...	1,000	...	Ditto
Sujhauli	124,810	877,007	...	...	...	...	Rājput, Janwār
Sultānpur	58,146	166,001	...	...	700	...	Janwār
Fakhrpur, has a brick fort	191,720	3,157,876	56,035	150	2,000	...	Raikwar
Firozābād, ditto ..	108,601	1,933,079	4,107	200	7,000	...	Rājput or Tanwār
Fort of Nawagarh ..	417,601	2,140,858	...	50	1,000	...	Various
Kharonsa, has a brick fort	28,489-17	1,315,051	2,628	100	1,000	...	Bais

* A tribe of Rajputs in Sihonda and Simauni of Bundelkhand : Rasulābād and Bithur of Cawnpore, and in Kutiya Gunir of Fatehpur.

Sarkār of Khairābād.

Containing 22 *Mahals,* 1.987,700 *Bighas,* 6 *Biswas. Revenue,* 43,644,381 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghal,* 171,342 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 1,160. Infantry 27,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Baror Ānjnah	79,670-9	4,326,437	107,079	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Baswah, has a brick fort	135,119	2,545,643	107,916	30	1,000	...	Rājput, Bāchhal
Pāli	144,627	1,849,270	37,945	30	1,000	...	Ānnin ?

Sarkār of Khairābād—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bāwan	56,156	1,161,235	26,488	20	1,000	...	Ditto.
Basrah	60,063	...	...	...	300	...	Various
Bhurwārah, has a brick fort	8,971-18	48,543	....	50	2,500	...	Ahnin
Basārā	21,740	276.066	...	...	200	...	Bachhal
Pilā	961-14	48,202	...	...	200	...	Ahnin
Chhatyāpur	64,706	1,765,641	41,094	50	700	...	Rājput Gaur
Khairābād with suburban District, 2 Mahals, has a brick fort ..	159,072	2 161,234	174,191	50	2,000	...	Brāhman
Sāndi, has a brick fort	211,804	3,055,339	195,106	20	2,000	...	Sombansi
Sarah	68,832	2,091,983	8,666	60	500	...	Chauhān
Sadrpur	120,696	831,175	15,581	20	500	...	Janwār Bāchhal
Gopāmau, has a brick fort	107,368,5	5,620,466	562,037	100	3,000	...	Rājput Kuār
Kheri, do. do. ..	260,168	3,250 522	50,522	60	1,500	...	Bisen, Rājput, Janwār
Khairigarh, one of the most important fortresses in Hindustān. There are 6 forts of brick and mortar, at a short distance from it	43,052-7	1,829,328	...	300	1,500	...	Bais, Bisen, Bachhal, Kahnah
Kharkhelā	15,815-16	473,727	...	20	500	...	Asin ?
Khānkhat Mau ..	3,058-11	235,656	...	...	400	...	Various
Lāharpur	208,288	3,029,479	209,079	50	1,000	...	Brāhman
Machharhatta	71-069	2,112,176	2,430	30	2,000	...	Rājput, Bachhal
Nimkhār, has a brick fort	58,775-18	3,566,055	66,055	100	1,500	...	Ahir
Hargarāon	66,952	200,000	26,385	20	500	...	

Sarkār of Lucknow.

Containing 55 *Mahals*, 3,307,426 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue 80,716,160 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 4,572,526 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,680. Elephants 36. Infantry 83,450.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amethi, has a brick fort	117,361	3,976,480	300,217	300	2.000	20	Ansāri
Unām, has a brick fort	61,045	2,012,372	253 747	50	4,000	...	Sayyid
Isauli, has a brick fort on the Gumti ..	1,670,095	4,206,046	240,846	50	2,000	...	Rājput, Bachgoti

Sarkār of Lucknow—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Asiyun	57,726	830,625	63,421	10	500	...	Bais, Chandel
Asoha	25,027	509,901	...	...	400	...	Ahnin
Unchahgāon	33,122	417,957	...	1000	2,000	...	Bais
Bilgrāon, has a brick fort	192,800	5,124,113	356,892	20	1,000	...	Sayyid, Bais
Bangarmau Ditto ..	242,291	8,802,122	151,481	...	2,000	...	Rājput, Ghelot
Bijlaur [v. Bijnor] ..	80,581	2,505,047	193,961	30	1,000	...	Chauhān
Bāri	80,590	1,284,799	51,560	30	1,000	...	Bais
Bharimau	19,409-3	591,406	...	20	500	...	Bais
Pangwān	34,727	420,732	12,730	...	500	...	Bais
Betholi	8,736	340,191	8,194	...	200	...	Rājput, Jāt
Panhan	8,945	267,809	...	...	300	...	Bais
Parsandau	9,111	237,537	...	...	200	...	Rājput, Kumbhi
Pātan .. .	5,621	214,256	...	...	400	...	Brāhman, Kunbi
Bārāshakor .. .	9,357	168,584	...	...	300	...	Brāhman
Jahalotar	61,774	1,123,176	21,441	20	2,000	...	Chandel
Dewi, has a brick fort	88,637	1,938,837	174,207	30	2,000	...	Rājput
Deorakh	13,340-9	689,586	...	100	1,500	...	Bais
Dadrah	10,796	73,737	...	50	...	...	Rājput
Ranbarpur, has a brick fort	75,490	2,425,885	79,225	100	2,000	...	Bais, Brāhman
Rāmkot, Ditto ..	9,790	268,099	...	...	200	...	Rājput
Sandilah, Ditto .	393,700	10,623,901	837,245	100	5,000	...	Ghelot, Bāchhal
Sāipur	39,083-15	2,625,388	28,836	40	1,000	...	Rājput, Chandel
Sarosi	2,571	1,239,767	1,567	20	1,000	...	Chandel, Rājput
Sātanpur	60,600	1,028,800	10,192	50	2,000	...	Bais, Brāhman
Sahāli	13,065	694,707	130,216	10	500	...	Rājput
Sidhor*	35,794	1,692,281	313,022	100	1,000	...	Afghān, Rājput
Sidhpur .. .	9,371-4	505,018	..	150	1,500	...	Bais
Sandi	7,856-9	392,313	13,792	...	1,000	...	Rājput
Saron	5,576	210,316	2,858	...	100	...	Rājput, Shaikhzādah, Kunbi
Fatehpur, has a brick fort	198,300	3,161,440	261,440	200	2,000	5	Rājput
Fatehpur Chaurāsi ..	106,962	909,176	6,594	10	500	...	Rājput, Chandel
Garh Anbhatti (Amethi) has a brick fort ..	47,356	1,800,000	...	250	5,500	8	Rājput, Brahman Goti
Kursi, has a brick fort	80,817	1,693,844	62,919	20	2,000	3	Rājput
Kākori, Ditto ..	31,564	1,134,432	14,430	30	500	...	Rājput, Bisen
Khanjrah .. .	22,300	818,472	...	100	2,000	...	Bais

* *Var.* Sayyidpur, Seopur, Sheopur. G. Seedhore.

Sarkār of Lucknow—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ghātampur	27,390	552,561	...	...	500	...	Brāhman
Kachhandan	22,066	430,596	4,460	...	500	...	Chandel
Gorandā	4,803	334,769	...	...	200	...	Brāhman
Konbhi	5,940	267,089	...	...	400	...	Rājput
Lucknow with suburban district	91,722	1,746,771	241,195	200	3,000	...	Shaikhzādah, Brāhman, Kāyath
Lashkar	16,894	168,529	...	...	4,000	...	Bais
Malihābād, has a brick fort	169,269	4,479,250	108,545	30	1,000	...	Bais
Malāwah	83,022	3,598,713	222,038	30	2,000	...	Bais
Mohān has a brick fort	60,990	1,996,673	198,484	30	2,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Morāon has a brick fort	68,847	1,698,444	4,806	150	2,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Madiāon	49,422	1,136,213	32,900	30	500	...	Barkhalā*
Mahonāh	50,895	977,860	8,805	50	2,000	...	Rājput
Manawi, has a brick fort	29,455	771,372	13,767	...	2,000	...	Mussalmān, Rājput
Makrāed	17,959	576,200	5,247	...	1,000	...	Rājput, Bais
Harha, has a brick fort	163,226	2,450,522	6,509	100	1,500	...	Bais
Hardoi	11,734	359,748	6,026	...	300	...	Brāhman
Hanhār	13,109	329,735	...	80	500	...	Bais

* Here a word illegible, Barkalā is an inferior class of Rājputs found in Western and Central *parganahs* of Bulandshahr.

The Subah of Agra, the Royal Residence.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from Ghātampur on the Allahabad side to *Palwal* on that of Delhi is 175 *kos*. In breadth it extends from *Kanauj* to *Chanderi* in *Mālwah*. On the east lies *Ghātampur;* to the north, the *Ganges;* to the south *Chanderi*, and to the west, *Palwal*. It possesses many rivers, of which the principal are the *Jumna* and the *Chambal*. The former flows down from the northern mountains, the latter rises at *Hāsilpur* in *Mālwah* and unites with the *Jumna* at *Kālpi*. Ranges of hills lie scattered to the south. The excellence of its climate is almost unrivalled. Agriculture is in perfection. Fruits and flowers of all kinds abound. Sweet-scented oil, and betel-leaf of the first quality are here obtained, and its melons and grapes rival those of Persia and Transoxiana. *Agra* is a large city and possesses a healthy climate. The river *Jumna* flows through it for five *kos*, and on either bank are delightful villas and pleasant stretches of meadow. It

is filled with people from all countries and is the emporium of the traffic of the world. His Majesty has built a fort of red stone, the like of which travellers have never recorded. It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujerat which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models. At the eastern gate are two elephants of stone with their riders graven with exquisite skill. In former times Agra was a village dependent on *Biānah*. Sultan Sikandar Lodi made it his capital, but his present Majesty embellished it and thus a matchless city has arisen. On the opposite side of the river is the *Chār Bāgh*, a memorial of Bābar.* It was the birth-place of the writer of this work, and the last resting-place of his grandfather and his elder brother. Shaikh Ālāu'ddin Majzub, Rafiiu'ddin Safawe and many other saintly personages also repose there.

Near the city on the banks of the river Jumna is a village called *Rangtah*, a much frequented place of Hindu worship.

Fatehpur was a village formerly one of the dependencies of *Biānah*, and then called *Sikri*, situated twelve *kos* distaut from Agra. After the accession of his Majesty, it rose to be a city of the first importance. A masonry fort was erected and two elephants carved in stone at its gate inspire astonishment. Several noble buildings also rose to completion and although the royal palace and the residences of many of the nobility are upon the summit of the hill, the plains likewise are studded with numerous mansions and gardens. By the command of his Majesty a mosque, a college and a religious house were also built upon the hill, the like of which few travellers can name. In the neighbourhood is a tank, twelve *kos* in circumference and on its embankment his Majesty constructed a spacious courtyard, a *minār*, and a place for the game of *Chaugān*; elephant fights were also exhibited. In the vicinity is a quarry of red stone whence columns and slabs of any dimensions can be excavated. In these two cities under his Majesty's patronage carpets and fine stuffs are woven and numerous handicraftsmen have full occupation. *Biānah* in former

* The old Agra of the Lodi dynasty lay on the left bank of the river where traces of its foundations still exist. The modern city is on the right bank and is the work of Akbar. The fort was built in A.D. 1566. Babar's garden later called *Hasht Bihisht*, or *Nurafshān* Gardens, now called the Rām Bāgh.

times was a large city. It possesses a fort containing many buildings and cellars, and people at the present day still find therein weapons of war and copper utensils. There is also a lofty tower. Fine mangoes grow here, some of them more than two pounds in weight. Sugar of extreme whiteness is also manufactured. Here too is a well, with the water of which mixed with white sugar, they make cakes weighing two pounds more or less which they call *kandaurah* (with no other water will they solidify) and these are taken to the most distant parts as a rarity. Indigo of finest quality is here to be obtained, selling at ten to twelve rupees per *man* weight. Excellent *hinna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) is also to be found, and here are the tombs of many eminent personages.

Todah Bhim is a place at a distance of three *kos,* from which is a pit full of water, the depth of which none has sounded. Mines of copper and turquoise are said to exist, but the expense of working them exceeds their income.

Mathura (Muttra) is a city on the banks of the *Jumna* : it contains some fine temples, and is one of the most famous of Hindu shrines. *Kālpi* is a town on the banks of the *Jumna*. It is the resting-place of many saintly personages. Excellent sugarcandy is here manufactured. In the time of the *Sharqi* princes, it was tributary to Delhi. When Qādir Khān affecting the airs of sovereignty proclaimed his independence, Sultān Hoshang marched from Mālwah and having chastised him, reinstated him in the government. Sultān Muhmud of the *Sharqi* dynasty, however, seized it in turn from Nasir Khān, the son of Qādir Khān.

Kanauj was in ancient times the capital of Hindustān.

Gwalior is a famous fortress and an elephant carved in stone at its gate fills the beholder with astonishment. It contains some stately edifices of its former rulers. Its climate is good. It has always been noted for its exquisite singers* and lovely women : here is an iron mine.

Alwar (Ulwar) produces glass and woollen carpets.

Bairāt possesses a copper mine, so profitable that from a *man* weight of ore, they obtain 35 *sers* of metal. A silver mine is also said to exist but it does not pay to work it. [A dependency of Narnol, but now in Jaipur.]

Near the hill of *Nārnol* is a well at which the Hindus worship and when the *tithi* of *Amāwas* falls on a Friday,

* According to the *S. ul M.* the famous Tānsen was one of these. See Vol. I, pp. 611 of the Ain.

it overflows at sunrise and water can be drawn without the aid of a rope.

At *Singhānah, Udaipur* and *Kotputli* are mines of copper. In the town of *Kānori* are many cold and hot springs.

The *Subah* contains thirteen *Sarkārs*, two hundred and three *Parganahs* (fiscal subdivisions). The measured lands are 2 *krors,* 78 *lakhs,* 62,189 *bighas,* 18 *biswas.* The revenue is 54 *krors,* 62 *lakhs,* 50,304 *dāms.* (Rs. 13,656,257-9-6). Of this, 1 *kror,* 21 *lakhs,* 5,703½ *dāms* (Rs. 302,642-9)are *Suyurghāl.* The provincial force consists of 50,681 cavalry, 577,570 Infantry and 221 elephants.

Sarkār of Agra.

Containing 33 *Mahals,* 91,007,324 *Bighas.* Revenue 191,819,265, *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 14,566,818 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 15,560. Infantry 100,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Agra with suburban district	891,990-5	44,956,458	8,824 454	3000	1,5000	...	Gaur,* Jat, Lodh, &c.
Etāwah, has brick fort on the Jamna	284,106	10,739,325	151,362	2000	1,5000	...	Chauhān, Bhadauriya, Brāhman
O'l [=*Ao,* near Dig.]	153,377-9	5,509,477	81,542	1000	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman
Oudeh, (Elliot Odhi)	274,067	2,884,365	78,165	20	500	..	Rājput, Brāhman, &c.
Ud [Udai]	203,505	1,003,848	36,870	100	500	...	Shaikhzādah
Bijwārah has a stone fort ..	663,286	10,966,560	...	1500	5000	...	..
Biānah with suburban dist. has a stone fort ..	235.442	7,110,104	562,205	50	100	..	Ahir, Jat
Bāri	276,964	5,064,158	57,414	300	7000	...	Rājput, Panwār
Bhosāwar	303,509	5,505,460	255,460	50	1500	...	Rājput of various castes
Banāwar [?Bhandor]	12,890	155,360	...	30	400	...	Bargujar

* A Surajbansi tribe of Rajputs. *Lodh,* a widely spread tribe, chiefly fishermen. *Bhadauriya* is a branch of the Chauhan Rājputs. For *Oudehi* I suggest *Uchen* and for *Bhaskar* either *Pahesar* or *Biswar.* [J. S.]

Sarkār of Agra—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Todah Bhim ..	284,103-11	3,787,075	13,361	100	1000	...	Rājput, Thatthar[1]
Bhaskar	43,009	2,891,100	15,325	20	700	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Ahir
Jalesar, has a brick fort	904,733	6,835,400	412,080	400	5000	...	Ghelot, Suraj Bānkrah
Chandwar, has a brick fort on the Jumna	407,652	11,442,250	60,342	200	7000	...	Chauhān
Chausath [Chaumuha] . ..	974,34	4,182,048	674,315	50	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Jat, Ahir
Khānwah	5,334	2,912,495	222,628	30	4000	...	Rājput, Jat
Dholpur, has a brick fort on the Chambal	284,087	9,729,311	255,747	200	4000	...	Sikarwār[2]
Rāpri, has a brick fort	477,201-11	13,508,035	173,407	200	4000	...	Chauhān, descendants of Rāwat-Bāhan
Rajhohar [?Rajakhera]	318 285	1,694,208	48,023	20	300	...	Rājput
Songar Songri ..	90,599	985,700	7,822	70	500	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Fatehpur, has a stone fort ..	202,723-17	8,494,005	597,346	500	4000	...	Shaikhzādah, Chishti, Rājput, Sankarwāl
Kotumbar	96,760	745,951	...	50	300	...	Rājput, Jat
Mahāwan, has a brick fort ..	290,703	6,784,780	284,787	200	2000	...	Sayyid, Brāhman
Mathurā, do. ..	37,347	1,155,807	69,770	...	...	...	...
Maholi	66,690	1,501,246	...	30	500	...	Rājput, &c.
Mangotlah [Mangtai]	74 974	1,148.075	79,355	20	400	...	Do.
Mandāwar	10 190	132,500	...	150	800	...	Chauhān
Wazirpur	71.328	2,009 255	9,255	20	300	...	Rājput
Hindaun	482,930	9,049,881	301,980	100	1000	...	Rājput, Brāhman, Jat
Hatkānt, has a brick fort	606.991-12	5,693,807	43,231	2000	20,000	...	Chauhān, Bhadauriya
Milak	137,421	2,789,494	30,531	20	500	...	Rājput of various castes.

[1] Gujars converted to Islam. Elliot, I, 101.
[2] Sikarwār, a branch of the Bargujar Rajputs.

Sarkār of Kālpi.

Containing 16 *Mahals*, 300,023 Bighas, 9 Biswas, Revenue, 49,356,732 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 278,290½ *Dāms*. Castes various, Cavalry 1,540. Elephants 30. Infantry 34,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
U'lai [? Urai] ..	95,677-18	1,297,379	72 213	20	500	...	Rājput
Bilāspur	126 888-14	3,714,547	13,110	100	50,000	...	Kachhwāh
Bhudekh	72 930-14	1 260,199	3 414	50	2000	...	
Derāpur	103,085	1,760,750	4,221	50	2000	...	Shaikhzādah
Deokali [?Churki] ..	109,652	1,466,985	1,700	200	2000	10	Brāhman
Rāth, has a brick fort	510,970-16	9,270,894	270,894	70	3000	9	Afghan, Turkoman
Rāepur	43,166-8	120,000	...	..	500	10	Rājput,
Suganpur [?Jagmanp]	...	1,507,877	58 664	60	1000	...	Rājput, Bais
Shāhpur	...	8,848,420	245,747	300	3000	6	Chauhān, Malikzādah
Kālpi, with suburban district	...	4,871,053	203,909	4000	5000	10	Various
Kanār [? Karmār] ..	...	4,943,096	6,085	100	2000	1	Sengar*
Chandaut	...	3,027,917	27,121	50	4000	...	Parihār
Khandelah, (Elliot Khurela)	86,053-11	871,733	15,008	20	1000	...	Rājput
Muhammadābād ..	184,080	1,617,257	4,260½	50	1000	...	Rājput Kumbi
Hamirpur	404,797-6	4,803,828	182,245	200	2000	...	Kumbi

Sarkār of Kanauj.

Containing 30 *Mahals*, 2,776,673 *Bighas*, 16 *Biswas*. Revenue 52,584,624 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,184,655 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 3,765. Infantry 78,350.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhongāon, has a fort and near it a tank called Somnāt full of water extremely sweet	337,105	4,577,010	53 316	1000	10,000	...	Chauhān
Bhojpur . ..	180,874-13	3,446 737	104 705	150	2000	...	Kharwār
Tālgrāon	74,100-10	3,387,076	128,558	20	1000	...	Rājput, Musalmān

* *Sengar*, a branch of the Agnibansi Rājputs.

Sarkār of Kanauj—(Contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bithur	175,042-11	2.921 389	...	300	5000	...	Chandel
Bilhaur	63,773-14	2 828 347	216 741	20	10[illegible]	...	Rājput
Patiāli	158,634-14	1,8[illegible]7,600	45,656	100	2[illegible]00	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Pati Alipur	38.418-11	1.153 682	8,060	20	500	...	Rājput
Pati Nakhat [?Agath]	49 261-18	566 997	2,497	50	500	...	Sengar
Barnah	34,736-14	450,000	...	10	200	...	Rājput of various castes
Bārā	8,739-14	400,000	..	10	300	...	Chauhān
Phapund	111.546	5 4[illegible]2 391	19,813	300	2[illegible]00	...	Sengar
Chhabrāmau	76,318-7	1.522,028	22 128	20	500	...	Rājput, Chauhān
Deohā	11,950-12	483,171	79.045	20	300	...	Chauhān Bais, Dhākar[1]
Saket	132 955-9	3 230 752	158,310	100	3000	...	Chauhān
Sonj [=Sonkh] ..	64,070-6	1 200 000	...	200	3000	...	Dhākar
Sihāwai	78,574-9	252 245	21,969	20	500	..	Gāuruah[2]
Sheoli	12 523	623 473	...	10	300	..	Rājput
Sakatpur	22 561	623 441	...	300	4000	...	Rājput, Bais
Sakrāon	19 817-10	549 050	2 253	10	500	...	Rājput
Sahār	25,195-8	846,553	1,640	30	500	...	Chauhān,
Saurikh	10,089-5	465,328	7,138	20	400		Chauhān, Dhākar
Sikandrapur Udhu ..	4,964-14	276,918½	22,624	10	200	...	Gauruah, Brāhman
Saror [Barour] ..	20,121-16	447,563	2,044½	10	800	...	Chauhān, Sengar
Sikandarpur Atreji ..	36,084-17	269,622	6.511	5	150	...	Rājput
Shamsābād, has a fort on the Ganges ..	718,577-7	7,138,452	19,603	400	2000	...	Rāthor
Kanauj, with suburb. dist. has a brick fort : one of the great capitals of Hindustān ..	126,255-12	2,470,743	222,036	200	10.000	...	Shaikhzādah, Farmuli, Afghān, Chauhān
Kampil	139,808-6	1,651,586	30,370	100	200	:	Rājput, Chauhān, Panwār
Karāoli	40,445-6	1.409.988	...	20	1000	...	Rājput
Malkusah	30,229-14	1,500,000	...	300	15,000	...	Rājput, Ghelot
Nānāmau[3]	3,329-5	136,921	...	200	200	...	Rājput, Brāhman

[1] *Dhākar*, a Rajput tribe scattered over Agra, Mathura, Etawa and Rohilkhand. Elliot, I. 78.

[2] *Gauruah*, an inferior clan of Rājputs often confounded with Gaurāhars but quite distinct. Elliot, I. 115.

Sarkār of Kol, (Koil).

Containing 21 *Mahals,* 2,461,730 *Bighas.* Revenue 54,992,940 *Dāms* in money, *Suyurghāl* 2,094,840 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 4,035. Infantry 78,950.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Atrauli	320,569	5,454,459	5400,459	500	9500	...	Rājput, Chauhān, Afghān
Akbarābād	118,389	3,003,409	23,060	500	5000	...	Rājput, Pundir[1]
Ahār, has a brick fort on the Ganges ..	45,764	2,106,554	87,140	20	400	...	Musalmān, Brāhman
Pahāsu	55 060	2 502 562	...	100	2000	...	Bargujar
Bilrāon	111,878	2,131,765	56,561	50	1000	...	Afghān Chauhān
Pachlānā	39 128	624,825	...	200	5000	...	Rajput, Gaurāhar
Tappal, has a brick fort	163,046	1,802,571	2,571	100	8000	...	Chauhān
Thānah Farīdā [=Pharihā]	63 847	112 750	...	20	500	...	Rajput, Bāchhal
Jalāli	145,801	2,957,910	86,352	500	6000	...	Rājput, Pundir
Chandaus	42 469	1 749 238	36,662	100	2000	...	Chauhān
Khurjah	89,726	3,703,020	583,056	200	5000	...	Bargujar
Dibhāi, has a brick fort	48 599	2,169 939	72,869	50	1000	...	Do.
Sikandrah Rāo, has a brick fort	83,480	4,412,381	290,458	400	4000	...	Afghān, Pundir
Soron, has a brick fort	40,656	975 016	16,900	20	400	..	Sayyid, Rājput
Sidhupur	70,567	989.458	...	200	2500	...	Rājput Surki
Shikārpur	44,850	1,974 827	50,291	250	2000	...	Sayyid, Shaikhzādah, Bargujar
Kol, has a brick fort ..	548,655	10,412 305	445	450	29,050	...	Chauhān, Janghārah[2]
Gangeri	53,545	372,050	31,849	25	200	...	Afghān, Rājput
Marahrah	205 537	3,679 582	156 095	200	2000	...	Chauhān
Malakpur	30,845	1.446.132	2,288	50	400	...	Pundir, Chauhān
Nuh, has a brick fort, (Elliot, Noh) ..	139,299	1,311,955	29,160	100	3000	...	Rājput, Jat, Afghān

[1] Pundir is one of the numerous branches of the Gujar clan. Elliot, I. 19.
[2] A turbulent tribe of Rājputs of the Tuar clan in the S. E. Rohilkhand. Elliot, I, 141.

Sarkār of Gwālior.

Containing 13 *Mahals*, 1,146,465 *Bighas*, 6 *Biswas*. Revenue 29,683,649 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 240,350 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,490. Infantry 43,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Anhon, has a fort ..	106 899-14	2,277,947	...	200	4000	...	Tonwar
Badrhattah, Do. ..	63,914-18	696,800	...	300	5000	...	Do., Rājput
Chinaur Do. ..	140.140-16	1,051,341	35.930	100	4000	...	Brāhmau
Jhalodā [Jakhoda] fort	32 677-15	219 306	...	100	2000	...	Gujar
Dandroli	197,316-11	1,807,207	...	50	1000	...	Rājput Tonwar
Rāepur	87.797-17	1,017,721	...	40	700	...	Tonwar
Sirseni [Sirsi] ..	94 243	832 128	...	200	5000	...	Sikarwāl
Samauli [Silauli] ..	46,284-8	2,001,344	...	50	700	...	Bāgri
Sarbandah, has a brick fort	22,124-17	267,497	...	200	6000	...	Sikarwāl
Alāpur, has a fort; during Sultān Alāuddin's time it was called Akhār[1] ..	211,229	5,128,766	...	50	500	...	Brāhman
Gwālior with suburban district	345,657	12 488,072	188,740	1000	2000	...	Rājput, Tonwar
Khatoli, has a fort ..	198,270	3,105,315	6,450	200	4000	...	Jat

Sarkār of Irij.

Containing 16 *Mahals*, 2,202,124 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue 37,780,421 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 456,493 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 6,160. Elephants 190. Infantry 68,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Irij	625,597	2,922,436 in money.	101,661	100	5000	10	Kāyath
Parhār,[2] has a brick fort	752,791	5,237,096	172,380	940	20500	50	Rājput
Bhānder	257 042-18	2,533,449	100,688	50	2000	5	Afghān, Kāyath
Bijpur [Bijawar] ..	30,635	1,391,097	...	3000	5000	...	Tanwar
Pāndor [Pandwaha] ..	8,951	464 111	...	100	2000	5	Parihār

[1] Var. Akhar, Kahār, Sahār.
[2] Probably *Panwārī*.

Sarkār of Irij—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Jhatra, 4 mahals, has a brick fort ..	...	11,787,904	...	4000	15000	70	Rājput
Riābānah[1], has a fort ..	12,072	500,000	...	50	2000	...	Kachhwāhah
Shāhzādapur	21,257	450,781	...	...	...	...	...
Khatolah &c. 3 mahals, has a fort	...	3,000,000	...	100	5000	20	Gond
Kajhodah [?Gahrauli]	...	750,200	...	...	...	...	...
Kidār	...	120,000	...	...	...	...	...
Kunch, has a fort ..	155,320	1,851,802	27,712	50	2000	...	Kumbi
Khakes,[2] has a fort ..	89,233	1,343,078	7,673	50	1000	...	Kachhwāhah
Kānti	...	240,000	...	20	5000	10	Gond
Khāerah, [Khārela] has a brick fort ..	222,557	4,776,357	46,729	200	5000	10	Kachhwāhah
Maholi	26,581	502,102	...	100	10000	10	Parihār

Sarkār of Bayānwān.

Containing 27 *Mahals*, 762,014 *Bighas*. Revenue 8,459,296 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 82,662 Dāms. Castes various. Cavalry 1,105. Infantry 18,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Antri, yields excellent quality of betel leaf from which the revenue is chiefly derived	906,140	..	..	10	100	...	Various
Amwāri [Amola] ..	223,000	..	...	Entered under Ratangarh.			Mārwār Gaurual
Atiwan [Araon] ..	35,958	165,165	54,114	15	260	...	Gond, Gaurual
Autelah	29,444	32,455	1,257	...	100	...	Brāhman
Bayānwān ..	86,241	601,275	20,169	320	3000	...	Pundir, Panwār
Banwār	17,329	457,439	6,558	20	300	...	Brāhman, Khidmatiyah
Parānchah [Paraich] ..	39,784	396,183	21,541	20	500	...	Bundela

[1] *Riābānah* = ? *Rebai* of map.
[2] Kedpur.
[3] Khankes. Khakeah. Ganges. Khaksen.

Sarkār of Bayānwān—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Badnun [Bardun] ..	...	275,000	...	10	200	...	Bundela
Bhāsandā	...	169,040	../.	10	300	...	Panwar
Chinaur, has a fort ..	50,973	548,631	3,800	10	200	...	Ahir, Brāhman
Jarhali	19,865	144,055	...	10	800	.	Panwār
Jagtān [?=Jignā] ..	...	128,680	...	...	150	...	Various
Dahāilah,* here a large lake, full of water-lilies	18,127	17,308	...	20	350	...	Brahmān, Gujar
Ruchādah [Ruchera] ..	94,223	472,839	15,702	10	200	...	Kāyath, Brāhman
Ratangarh, has a fort	70,523	855,995	...	200	4000	...	Jat
Roherah	2 309	1,017,682	...	50	500	...	Gujar
Sohandi, has a brick fort [? Suchendi] ..	81,655	896,959	...	300	5000	...	Panwār
Kanaulah [Karaia] ..	11,704	364,968	...	10	200	...	Gujar, Jat
Karharah	...	277,000	...	...	...	...	Mentioned under Ratangarh
Kaheod,† has a fort in the mountains ..	27,290	196,804	...	...	200	...	Brāhman
Khandhā	17,403	162,661	3,036	...	200	...	Ahir, Jat
Khand Bajrah the greater . ..	33,782	138,934	...	25	300	...	Bundela, Jat
Do. the lesser ..	1,602	68,470	...	10	200		Minā, Gujar
Kherihāt	24,318	112,079	...	...	800	...	Do.
Kajhārah, has a stone fort on a hill ..	17,269	82,291	...	5	300	..	Gujar
Kadwāhah	7,169	4[illegible],296	...	50	300	...	Ahir
Mau, has a fort ..	59,070	850,429	5,189	50	10 0	...	Ahir

* *Dahailah* [*Ind. Atlas.* 51 *S.E.*], 16 m. due east of Narwar, on the way to Antri, has a very large lake. It was 2 miles to the west of this place, according to T. that Abul Fazl lost his life in the ambuscade set for him by the Bundelā Chief Bir Sing. *Dabra* in the maps 13 miles south of Antri and 42 m. n. of Jhansi, has no lake, and cannot be this mahal.

† Prob. *Kāmod* of map.

Sarkār of Narwar.

Containing 5 *Mahals,* 394,353 *Bighas.* Revenue 4,233,322 *Dāms. Suyurghāl* 95,994 *Dāms.* Castes, Rajput Tonwar. Cavalry, 500. Infantry, 20,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Baroi, has a fort; some of the villages near the Saklā are of great productive value	88,085	638,700	...	...	...	...	...
Bauli (? Paori), has a fort on the Saklā ..	242,456	141,915	...	...	...	..	...
Seopuri, has a stone fort	24,975	1,250,000	...	...	...	..	...
Kolāras has 2 forts, one near the village of Barwā. There is a small hill with a waterfall. It is a place of Hindu worship	133,10	764,880	14,862	...	...	...	...
Narwar with suburb: dist. has a stone fort. In certain parts of the fort are ancient Hindu temples of stone	25,522	438,025	81,312	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Mandrāel.

Containing 14 *Mahals.* 65,642 *Bighas.* Revenue 3,738,084 *Dāms.* Castes Rājput, Jādon. Cavalry 4,000. Infantry 5,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.		Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.
Untgar, has a stone	7,674	498,978	Lungu .. .	902	54,126
fort on a hill and	6,413	359,706	Ratanbalāhar .	1,215	82 006
below it flows the	6,866	324,091	Samarthalah ..	9 160	526,330
river Chambal .	4,382	261,746	Kanakherah ..	1,988	116,168*
			Kharnun	880	54,074
Bijaipur	..	...			
Balāoli . ..	769	38,498	Kahtoni	1,925	51,944
Bākhar (= Manākhur) ..			Mandrāel, has a fort		
Bagrond			on a hill and the		
Jhakwār (= Jakola) ..			river Chambal on the		
Dāng Makhori ..	7,812	498,978	north .. .	15,746	897,794

* Var. 1310 and 764,380 for the area and revenue.

Sarkār of Alwar.

Containing 43 *Mahals,* 16,62,012 *Bighas.* Revenue 39,832,204 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 699,212 *Dāms.* Cavalry 6,504. Infantry 42,020.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Alwar, has a stone fort on a hill	85,084	2,679,820	350 066	10	1,500	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt, descendants of Bahādur Khān
Anthlah Bhābru ..	24,956	850,731	...	20	500	...	Kachhwāhah
Umran	39,762	642,153	1,043	20	1,000	...	Baqqāl
Ismāilpur	28,938	503,840	2,266	40	500	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt
Bairāt, has a stone fort (Parāt, p. 103) ..	23,522	7,201,791	1,796	50	1,000	...	Baqqāl
Bihrozpur	119,015	2,621,958	9,317	350	2,000	...	Khānzādah of
Bahādurpur	60,451	1,950,000	95,000	500	2,000	...	Mewāt
Bharkol	74,281	678,733	...	50	1,000	...	Do. Do. Do. Do.
Balhār (? Bairohar) ..	58,654	443,612	...	40	500	...	Bargujar, Rājput
Barodah Fateh Khān ..	16,074	201,059	1,059	30	300	...	Mewāt Khānzādah o
Panāin	28,726	195,690	...	5	50	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Baróda [Bagar] Meo ..	13,062	158,045	619	50	300	...	Do.
Bhudah Thal	80,606	146,000	...	5	50	...	
Bhiwāi	14,918	122,088	...	5	50	...	Various
Basānah (=Baswa) ..	20,789	100,856	...	5	50	...	Do.
Bajherah	2,663	104,890	...	10	50	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Balheri (Bālhattah) ..	6,565	188,507	...	30	500	...	Bargujar
Jalālpur	46,840	893,599	10,665	...	...	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Hasanpur Badohar ..	20,353	947,871	3,020	100	300	...	Do.
Hasanpur Kori, (Gori)	47,740	1,259,659	...	120	300	...	Do.
Hājipur, has a stone fort	26,489	456,779	3,120	500	1,000	...	Chauhān
Deoli Sājari ..	83,186	1,600,000	...	150	1,000	...	Bargujar
Dadekar ..	27,051	695,262	7,312	150	1,000	...	Meo.

[1] Mentioned in Elliot as in ancient times a well-known lawless plundering race, driven out of the Etawah tract by the Senghers and Chauhāns. According to Sherring (III, 90) they are an indigenous tribe converted to Islām, but retaining a good many Hindu customs; now an agricultural people divided into 12 clans.

Sarkār of Alwar—(*contd.*)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Dharā	12,338	512,613	5,015	100	508	...	Khānzādah and Meo.
Rāth	6,030	229,741	3,744	10	100	...	Meo.
Sakhān	18,790	804,262	...	100	700	...	Chauhān
Khohari Rana ..	2,208	4,359,272	96,919	900	5,000	...	Khānzādah of Mewāt, A'mā and Duar (obscure text)
Khelohar	58,276	1,459,048	14,088	125	1,000	...	Meo
Kol [=Gol] Dhoār ..	33,956	627,100	...	30	500	..	Rājput
Kiyārah	307	600,000	...	100	1,000	..	Minā
Khirali	26,746	465,640	23,150	100	500	...	Sayyid, Gujar
Ghāt Sudan (or Seon) has a fort	16,494	357,110	...	...	...	...	
Kohrānā [=Ghosrana]	3,565	166,666	...	300	1,000	...	Māhat (?)
Mandāwar, has a brick fort	100,322	1,889,097	5,608	500	1,000	...	Chauhān
Maujpur	44,140	639,858	12,022	300	500	...	Abbāsi
Mubārakpur [Māra..pur]	18,636	514,198	...	50	300	...	Khānzādah
Mongonā [Mangwar] ..	38,112	475,260	...	100	700	...	Do.
Mandāuar	17,800	27,051	...	4	20	...	Chauhān
Naugāon (Nowgong) ..	23,771	2,058,512	34,296	70	500	...	Khānzādah
Nāhargarh	35,452	604,194	...	20	200	...	Do.
Harsoli	11,800	227,096	...	10	100	...	Meo
Harpur .. .	16,944	686,605	3,255	20	4,000	...	Jat
Harsānā	4,025	208,281	...	40	500	...	Meo

Sarkār of Tijārah.

Containing 18 *Mahals*. 740,001 *Bighahs*. 5½ *Biswas*. Revenue 17,700,460 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 701,761½. Cavalry 1,227. Infantry 9,650.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Indri, has fort on a hill	134,150	1,995,216	26,096	400	3,000	...	Khānzādah of Mewat
Ujinah [Uchaira] ..	33,328	428,347	22,796	45	150	...	Khānzādah, Thathar

Sarkār of Tijārah—(*contd.*)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Umrā Umri	8,107	307,037	...	10	100	...	Thathar, Meo
Bisru	35,703	215,800	5,354	10	200	...	Khānzādah, Meo
Pur	2,476	540,645	1,559	10	200	...	Thathar
Pinangwān, has a stone fort	75,148	1,329,350	34,312	20	300	...	Meo
Bhasohrā, has stone fort	57.778	1.416 715	25,471	30	400	...	Do.
Tijārah, has a fort ..	131,960	3,603,596	204,419	500	2,000	...	Do.
Jhimrāwat, has a stone fort on a hill ..	22,632-11	496,202½	31,283½	50	300	...	Do.
Khānpur	9,893	195,620	...	20	150	...	Do.
Sākras	12,106	460,088	50,411	14	150	...	Do.
Sānthādāri	7,712-11	406.811	267,470	200	...	...	Do.
Firozpur, situated on the skirt of a hill in which there is an ever-flowing fountain with an image of Mahadeo set up; a Hindu Shrine ..	64,150	3,042,642	69,044	50	1,000	...	Do.
Fatehpur Mungartā ..	43,700	1,135,140	12,955	10	200	...	Do.
Kotlah, has a brick fort on a hill on which there is a reservoir 4 *kos* in circumference	71,265	1,552,196	7,017	30	700	...	Khānzādah, Gujar
Karherah, (Ghāserah, Elliot)	9,785	330,076	...	10	200	...	Meo
Khora ka Thānah. So in MSS., but Elliot Khawā)	7,945	168,719	...	10	250	...	Do.
Naginān [Noganwa] ..	7,215-19	377 257	3,572	100	150	...	Do.

Sarkār of Nārnol.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 2,080,046 *Bighas*. Revenue 50,046,703 *Dāms*. *Suyurghal* 775,103 Dāms. Castes various. Cavalry 7,520. Infantry 37,220.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bārh	146,754	2,060,662	...	100	1,000	...	Chauhān, Rājput, Musalmān, Khandār. (*Var.* Kedār).

Sarkār of Nārnol—(contd.)

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bābāi, has a stone fort and a coppermine; hills adjacent ..	78,426	920,170	...	400	3,000	...	Parihār.
Barodah [Bahora] Rāna	47,266	592,995	...	300	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Chālkaliānah ..	517,540	7,744,027	56,164	200	5,000	...	Jat of the Sangwān clan.
Jhojeun [Jhajlai], has a stone fort on the skirt of a hill ..	95,331	2,329,069	...	2000	3,000	...	Kiyām-Khāni.*
Singhānah Udaipur, has a coppermine and mint for copper coinage	...	11,881,629 in money.	3,351	400	1,000	..	Tonwar, Parihār.
Kānodah, in the village of Zerpur in this Parganah, a large Hindu temple	10,723	4,356,189	91,577	1000	4,000	..	Rājput, Musalmān, Hālu. [Jat]
Kotputli, has a stone fort and in the village of Bhandhārah is a copper mine in working ..	170,674	4,266,837	29,425	700	4,000	...	Tonwār Rājput, Gond.
Kanori [?Kanti), has 3 forts in three villages	150,297	2,721,126	...	1000	5,000	...	Tonwār.
Khandelā	..	1,300,000 in money.	..	200	2,000	...	Rājput, Kachhwāhah.
Khodāna [or Konodana]	18,493	908,109	...	20	700	...	Jat.
Lapoti [=Pataudi] ..	88,281	1,512,470	16,000	100	500	...	Chauhān.
Villages at the foot of the mountain where is a copper mine. In that of Rāepore is a copper mine and a mint and the stream there is polluted by it	176,650	274,350	.	100	2,000	...	Narbān. [Chauhan]
Nārnol, has a stone fort	214,218	5,913,228	549,161	500	2,000	...	Ahir.
Narhar [?Narera] do. ..	356,293	4,282,837	29,405	500	2,000	...	Kiām Khāni, Afghan, Mākar. (?)

* Called Kāim Khāni by Elliot and Sherring. They are Chauhāns converted to Islam. Their ancestors fought against Bāber in 1528.

Sarkār of Sahār.

Containing 7 *Mahals*. 763,474 *Bighas*. Revenue 5,917,569 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 109,447 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 265. Infantry 1,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Pahāri	106,422	1,228,999	26,045	20	700	...	Meo, Thathar
Bandhauli	25,980	441,840	6,840	10	300	...	Jat &c.
Sahār, has a fort ..	385,895	2,469,616	21,678	200	7,000	...	Bāchhal, Gujar, Jat, Kachhwāhah.
Kāmah	90,500	505,724	1,229	10	300	...	Meo, Jat Ahir
Koh Mujāhid [Q. Kho]	23,769	170,965	...	4	200	...	Meo, Jat,
Nunherah	50,816	618,115	17,515	...	...	...	Ahir, Jat, Meo
Hodal	78,500	462,710	33,140	10	200	...	Jat &c.

THE SUBAH OF MALWA.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the extreme point of *Garha* (*Māndla*) to *Bānswārah* is 245 *kos*. Its breadth from *Chanderi* to *Nandarbār* is 230 *kos*. To the east lies *Bāndhun* [Rewa]; to the north *Narwar;* to the south *Baglānah;* to the west *Gujarāt* and *Ajmer*. There are mountains to the south. Its principal rivers are the *Narbadah*, the *Siprā*, the *Kāli Sind*, the *Betwa*, and the *Godi*.* At every two or three *kos* clear and limpid streams are met on whose banks the willow grows wild, and the hyacinth and fragrant flowers of many hues, amid the abundant shade of trees. Lakes and green meads are frequent and stately palaces and fair country homes breathe tales of fairyland. The climate is so temperate that in winter there is little need of warm clothing, nor in summer of the cooling properties of saltpetre. The elevation of this province is somewhat above that of other areas of the country and every part of it is cultivable. Both harvests

* The *Godi* is a tributary of the Narmada.

are excellent, and especially wheat, poppy, sugarcane, mangoes, melons and grapes. In *Hāsilpur* the vine bears twice in the year, and betel leaves are of fine quality. Cloth of the best texture is here woven. High and low give opium to their children up to the age of three years. The peasants and even grain dealers are never without arms. *Ujjain* is a large city on the banks of the Sipra. It is regarded as a place of great sanctity and wonderful to relate, at times the river flows in waves of milk. The people prepare vessels and make use of it, and such an occurrence brings good fortune to the reigning monarch.

In the 43rd year of the Divine Era when the writer of this work was proceeding to the Deccan by command of his Majesty, a week before his arrival at *Ujjain*, on the 16th of the Divine month of *Farwardin* (March) four *gharis* of the night having elapsed, this flow occurred, and all conditions of people, Musalman and Hindu alike talked of it.*

In the neighbourhood are 360 places of religious worship for Brāhmans and other Hindus. Close to this city is a place called *Kāliyādah*, an extremely agreeable residence where there is a reservoir continually overflowing yet ever full. Around it are some graceful summer dwellings, the monuments of a past age.

Garha† is a separate State, abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants. Its produce is sufficient to supply fully both Gujarāt and the Deccan.

Chanderi was one of the largest of ancient cities and possesses a stone fort. It contains 14,000 stone houses, 384 markets, 360 spacious caravanserais and 12,000 mosques.

Tumun is a village on the river *Betba* (Betwā) in which mermen are seen. There is also a large temple in which if a drum is beaten, no sound is heard without.

In the Sarkār of *Bijāgarh* there are herds of wild

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* Another reading adopted by Gladwin is "partook of it." Gladwin while rejecting this fable, suggests a sudden impregnation of the river with chalk.

† It was the ancient capital of the Gond Dynasty of Garha Mándla and its ruined keep known as the Madan Mahal still crowns the granite range along the foot of which the town stretches for about 2 miles. *I. G.*

elephants. *Mandu* is a large city; the circumference of it. fort is 12 *kos*, and in it there is an octagonal tower. For some period it was the seat of government and stately edifices still recall their ancient lords. Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultāns. A remarkable fact is that in summer time water trickles from the domed roof of the mausoleum of Sultān Hoshang and the simpleminded have long regarded it as a prodigy, but the more acute of understanding can satisfactorily account for it. Here the tamarind grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.

Learned Hindus assert that a stone is met with in this country which when touched by any malleable metal turns it into gold, and they call it *Pāras*. They relate that before the time of Bikramājit, there reigned a just prince named Rājā Jai Sing Deva who passed his life in deeds of beneficence. Such a stone was discovered in that age, and became the source of vast wealth. The sickle of a straw cutter by its action was changed into gold. The man, not understanding the cause, thought that some damage had occurred to it. He took it to a blacksmith by name Māndan to have it remedied, who divining its properties, took possession of it, and amassing immense wealth, garnered a store of delights. But his natural beneficence suggested to him that such a priceless treasure was more fitted for the reigning prince, and going to court he presented it. The Rāja made it the occasion of many good deeds, and by means of the riches he acquired, completed this fort in twelve years, and at the request of the blacksmith, the greater number of the stones with which it was built, were shaped like an anvil. One day he had a festival on the banks of the Narbadah, and promised to bestow a considerable fortune on his Brāhman priest. As he had somewhat withdrawn his heart from worldly goods, he presented him with this stone. The Brāhman from ignorance and meanness of soul, became indignant and threw the precious treasure into the river to his subsequent and eternal regret. Its depth there prevented his recovering it, and to this day that part of the river has never been fathomed.

Dhār is a town which was the capital of Rājā Bhoja and many ancient princes. The vine here bears twice in the year when the sun first enters Pisces (February) and Leo (July), but the former of these two vintages is the sweeter.

In the Sarkār of *Handiah* are numerous wild elephants.

In *Nandurbār* good grapes and melons are obtainable.

This *Subah* contains 12 *Sarkārs*, subdivided into 301 *Parganahs*. The measured land is 42 *lakhs*, 66,221 *Bighas*, 6 *Biswas*. The gross revenue is 24 *krors*, 6 *lakhs*, 95,052 *Dāms*. (Rs. 6,017,376,-4-15). Of this 11 *lakhs*, 50,433 *Dāms* (Rs. 28,760-13) are *Suyurghāl*. The Provincial force consists of 29,668 Cavalry, 470,361 Infantry and 90 Elephants.

Sarkār of Ujjain.

Containing 10 *Mahals*. 925,622 *Bighas*. Revenue 43,827,960 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl*, 281,816 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 3,250 Infantry 11,170.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghal D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ujjain with suburban district, has fort of stone below and of brick above ..	289,660	1,888,035	55,323	760	2,000	...	Ujjainia, Rāthor
Unhel .. .	56,841	2,801,972	20,935	130	500	...	Rājput, Ujjainia, Dhakarah
Badhnāwar has a stone fort	60.096	8,056 195	1,095	500	3,000	...	Rāthor, &c.
Pānbihār	36 567	1,937 596	29,400	100	500	...	Ujjainia
Dipālpur	95,706	6,080 000	...	500	1,000	...	Rājput, Ujjainia
Ratlām	94,466	4,421,540	21,548	500	1,000	...	Rājput Mehtar, Soriah
Sānwer	46,694	2,418,375	133,156	150	300	...	Rājput, Magwar
Kampil has a fort partly stone, partly brick	59 802	2,907,817	2,344	150	400	...	Rājput
Khāchrod	66,626	2,651,044	...	60	1,200	...	Rājput, Deora [Chauhan], Dharar or Dhur (?)
Nolāi has a brick fort on the banks of the Chambal [? Naulāna]	128,264	3,651,866	18,015	400	1,200	...	Bais, Jādon, (Yadu)

Sarkār of Rāisin.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Asapuri &c. 6 *Mahals* ..	3,238	...	173,064	170	945	...	
Bhilsah	40,816	6,094,970	...	480	1,000	...	Rājput
Bhori (? Bamari) ..	5,970	316,017	...	...	100	...	
Bhojpur	4,097	220,592	...	115	1,000	...	
Bālābahat	...	215 122	...	265	500	...	
Thànah Mir Khān ..	...	735,315	...	200	500	...	Rājput
Jājoi (Khajuri ?) ..	...	215,122	...	15	100	...	
Jhatānawi	3,404	184,750	...	10	150	...	
Jalodā	250	13 290	...	2	5	...	
Khiljipur	775	41.060	...	2	150	...	
Dhāmoni (=Dharoli) ..	13,007	788,389	...	5	400	...	
Digwār	4,932	292,313	...	75	520	...	Rājput
Dilod	1,974	144,000	...	35	100	...	
Diwatia [?or Dhānia]	...	21,502	...	20	170	...	
Raisin, with suburb, district has a stone fort on a hill, one of the famous fortresses of Hindustān ..	17,497	934,739	...	80	425	...	Rājput, Solankhi
Siwāni	10,975	580 828	...	80	945	...	
Sarsiah (? Bersia) ..	5,557	279,346	...	70	500	...	
Shāhpur	1,673	89 067	...	5	40	...	
Khimlāsah	11,720	645,665	...	40	100	...	Rājput
Kherā	10,534	560,037	...	30	320	...	
Kesorah	8,375	473 267	...	40	100	...	
Kham-Khera	7,102	378 460	...	50	100	...	
Kargarh	6,907	365,707	...	70	500	...	
Korai	...	145,566	...	50	100	...	
Laharpur	...	32,267	...	30	100	...	
Māhsamand (Dhamand)	814	48,024	...	50	140	...	

*Sarkār of Garha.**

Containing 57 *Mahals*. Revenue 10,077,080 *Dāms*. Castes Gond. Cavalry 5,495. Infantry 254,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amodgarh has a brick fort on a hill ..	...	239,000	...	...	...	...	Gond
Bāri and Bangar, 2 mahals .. .	...	485 000	...	5	200	...	Do.

* Clearly printed in the Persian text as *Garha*, but misread by Jarrett as *Kanauj*. [J. S.]

Sarkār of Garha—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhutgāon	...	400,025	...	50	1,000	...	Gond
Bārh, Sānā and Jhāmāhar, 3 mahals ..	...	395,000	..	200	4,000	...	Do.
Biāwar and Nejli, 2 mahals	...	300,000	...	...	...	...	Do.
Bakhrah	...	238,000	...	100	10,000	...	Do.
Banākar, Amrel, 2 mahals, has a stone fort	...	140 000	...	150	10,000	...	Do.
Babai	...	82,000	...	100	10.000	...	Do.
Bairagarh has a strong fort	...	45,000	...	15	200	...	Do.
Chāndpur, Chanderi, 2 mahals	...	39,000	...	5	..	...	Do.
Jetgarh, Bhaldewi and suburb, district, 3 mahals	....	12,000	...	400	30 000	...	Do.
Jethā (v. Chetia) ..	...	12,000	...	100	1,000	...	Gond Brāhman
Damodah	...	1,355,000	...	10	500	...	Gond
Dhāmeri (=Dhamari) and Dhamerā, 2 mahals	...	49 000	...	10	200	...	Do.
Deogāon	...	25.000	...	20	1,000	...	Do.
Deohār, Hurbhat, 2 mahals	...	18.000	...	20	1,000	.	Do.
Darkarah	...	18,000	...	10	200	...	Do.
Ratanpur and Parhar, 2 mahals	...	613,000	...	10	...	...	Do.
Rāngarh	...	400,000	...	200	10.000	...	Do.
Rāngarh and Sārangpur (? Singarpur) 2 mahals	...	1,055 000	..	10	200	...	Do.
Rasuliyā	...	12.000	...	200	5,000	...	Do.
Sitalpur .. .	...	75.000	...	...	...	...	Gond mentioned under Garha
Shāhpur, Chaurāgarh, 2 mahals, has a strong fort	...	850,000	...	100	1.000	...	Gond
Garha with suburb. district has a strong fort	..	1.857.000	...	500	8.000	...	Do.
Kedārpur &c. 12 mahals	...	121 000	...	500	50 000	..	Do.
Khatolah	...	1,626,000	..	500	10,000	...	Do.
Lānji, Karolah, Dungarolah, 3 mahals ..	...	1,000,000	...	200	20,000	..	Do.
Mandlā	...	352 000	...	100	1,000	...	Do.
Harariya(Deogarh, 2 mahals, has a wooden fort on a hill ..	...	900,000	...	1500	50,000	...	Do.

Sarkār of Chanderi.

Containing 61 *Mahals*. 554,277 *Bighas*. 17 *Biswas*. Revenue 31,037,783 *Dams*. *Suyurghāl* 26,931 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 5,970. Infantry 66,085. Elephants 90.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Udaipur has a stone fort	35,995	832,086	...	2000	10,400	...	Bāgri, Bakkāl
Aron	...	216,000	...	10	40	...	Khāti
Eran	1,759	1,759	...	10	100	...	Dāngi (Bundelas)
Itāwa	2,315	80,000	...	15	50	...	Ahir &c.
Bhorāsa has a stone fort on the Betwa ..	6,783	765,000	...	40	150	...	Brāhman
Bandarjhalā	2,750	720,000	...	25	600	...	Brāhman, Jat, Bāgri
Bāra &c. 5 mahals. Each of the 5 Parganahs has a fort of which 4 are stone and that of Māl (?) brick	12,074	635,500	...	500	5,000	...	Bundela, Kāyath
Badarwās and Ahak, 2 mahals	4,951	304,800	...	10	170	...	Ahir
Bajhār (? Pachar) has a brick fort and a large tank and small hill are adjacent .	2,600	174,000	...	20	300	...	Brāhman
Beli [=Bijli]	1,253	70 000	...	10	170	...	Ahir
Tāl Baroda [Barwa Sagar]	18,619	1,090,000	...	60	3,000	..	Musalmān
Tumun, on the Betwa: the residents there say that mermen inhabit the river. There is also a temple ..	6,704	312,504	...	15	120	...	Brāhman
Thatābariyār (? Manohar Thāna) . ..	403-17	22,500	...	5	10	...	
Thanwāra, Lalatpur &c. 3 mahals, has a stone fort	10,977	610,987	...	80	2,000	...	Rājput Sāhti

Sarkār of Chanderi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Chanderi* with suburban district, 2 mahals, has a stone fort	23,021	1,186,388	...	95	1,350	...	Ahir
Jhājhon, Deohari the smaller, 2 mahals ..	6,468	387,480	...	80	900	...	Chauhān &c.
Jorsingār &c. 5 mahals	9,568	448,000	...	30	100	...	Mākhāti
Chirgāon has a fort ..	5,096	200,000	...	15	150	...	Khāti
Joāsah	2,550	144,000	...	15	40	...	Rājput, Khāti
Deohari, the greater, on the river Sindh ..	16,466	857,998	...	65	200	...	Do.
Dub Jākar has a stone fort	8,875	580 500	...	500	5 000	...	Khichi
Daurāhal &c. 4 mahals	2,600	147,282	...	310	5,000	...	Various
Ranod has a stone fort and near it a large reservoir which is a Hindu shrine ..	5,833	364,000	...	15	60	...	Baqqāl
Rodahi &c. 5 mahals, has a stone for above the *bandar* where there is also a large temple ..	3,652	206,000	...	20	700	...	Rājput, Gond
Rāgah (? Rāghogarh) has a stone fort ..	1,487	84,000	...	50	150	...	Rājput, Us Karor
Saronj white muslin of the kind called Mahmudi is here manufactured	186,427	11,065,785	26,931	100	2,500	...	Rawāthansi karer (?)
Sahjan &c. 3 mahals ..	70,221	3,976,700	...	150	20,000	...	Dandar (?)
Shādora near this town is a small hill ..	5,840	334 290	...	50	1,000	...	Makhāti
Gunā has a brick fort ..	18,615	1,092,062	...	15	250	...	Khichi &c.
Garanjiyab has a stone fort on the Betwa ..	8,837	468,000	...	30	200	...	Dingi
Koroi (=Korwai) on the Betwa	4,196	252,000	...	25	150	...	Brāhman
Kāngrah has a stone fort on the Sind ..	4,670	230,990	...	35	100	...	Musalman
Kādrola has a stone fort	2,970	166,000	..	20	400	...	Dingi

* Emendations suggested by J. S.—Deohari (=Dehri), Kangra (=Kanjit), Kadrala (=Kadwana), Kojan (=Kanjia), Bandarjhala (=Bandrāila), Bārah (=Barāgāon), Thanwara (=Tahrauli), Jhājhon (=Jaklon), Joāsa (=Churāra), Kalakot (=Kālapāhar), Laroala (=Ladhaura), Rāgah (may also be Raksa)—all found in the Survey of India maps.

Sarkār of Chanderi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Kolakot, has a stone fort on a hill ..	2 771	156 459	...	150	1,500	...	Gujar.
Kojān, on the Betwa ..	1,224	69,152	...	10	20	...	
Laroālah, on the Betwa	3,140	168,000	...	10	20	...	Bakkāl.
Mungāoli, has a brick fort	29,756	1,440,000	...	70	700	...	Kāyath.
Miānah, 3 kos from it is a high hill ..	12,196	668,600	...	60	3,000	...	Rājput Khātri.
Mahadpur	561	144,000	...	...	140	...	Khātri.

Sarkār of Sārangpur.

Containing 24 *Mahals.* 706,202 *Bighas.* Revenue 32,994,880 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 324,461 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 3,125. Infantry 21,710.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ashtah	48,502	800,790	790	230	1,500	...	Chauhān, Dodhi, (Dodhia).
Akbarpur	30,094	170 610	...	45	150	...	Various.
Āgra	7,852	472,362	...	100	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Bajilpur produces the finest quality of betel leaf	11,590	647,544	...	140	500	...	Khichi.
Paplun	11,180	610 544	...	160	700	...	Rathor.
Bhorāsah	4,147	259,777	...	30	100	...	Various.
Bajor (? Pachor) ..	1,100	65,820	...	10	200	..	Do.
Bāniān	721	40 841	...	25	100	...	Do.
Beāwar	2,505	156,740	...	60	700	...	Kāyath.
Talain	48,056	1,800,700	27,826	150	500	...	Chauhān.
Khiljipur	113	6,027	...	100	200	...	Various.
Zirapur	6,047	377,352	...	40	300	...	Various.
Sārangpur, with suburb. district 2 mahals, has a brick fort ..	21,800	1,294,321	47,559	120	2,000	...	nil. Khichi. Chauhān.
Sahār Bābā Hāji .	20,263	1,093,049	...	150	1,000	...	Dhandel.

Sarkār of Sārangpur—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Sandarsi	9,443	434,889	...	105	2,000	...	Chauhān.
Sosner	121	54,876	...	25	300	...	Various.
Shujāapur	133,433	8,017 124	238,212	500	3 000	...	Chauhān.
Karhali (Karapli) ..	17,179	7,447 906	80,506	500	2,000	...	Do.
Kāyath (=Kaoti) ..	33,938	1,193 396	10,368	110	700	...	Do.
Kānhar (Khātar) ..	26,045	1,097,047	15,318	...	...	...	
Karhari	288	17,252	...	25	200	...	Various.
Muhammadpur ..	47,704	1,981,182	...	170	1,000	...	Aljiyah, Dharar, Rāthor, Dudmā. (?)
Naugām	69,472	2,755,438	4,882	200	1,500	...	Chauhān.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh.†

Containing 29 *Mahals*. 283,278 *Bighas*, 13 *Biswas*. Revenue 12,249,121 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,773. Infantry 19480.

	Bighas Bighas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Anjari (=Amjad), situated near the Narbada	13,713	1,707.093	...	...	...	...	Bhil, included in seorānah.
Un, Sanāwada, here a temple to Mahadeo	5,321	290.348	..	300	1,000	...	Sohar, Rajput.
Amlāta, here a lake called by the Hindus Saman (? Biman) ..	4,919	226.677	..	...	...	...	Rājput. Sohar, included in Balakwarah.
Bāmangāon	15,679	781,014	...	5	100	...	Bersiya Brāhman.
Balakwāra, famous for fine sweet musk melons	9,268	407,014	...	500	1,000	...	Sohar, Rājput.
Barodara	6,452	369,898	...	5	50	...	Brāhman.

† South of the Narmada and south of Mandaleshwar.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bikhangāon, has a stone fort; here good horses are procurable	12,580	223,816	...	50	215	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Balkhar, near the Narbada; adjacent are small hills ..	5,584	223,616	...	included in Balakwārah		...	Rājput.
Bāsniyah	9,870-13	85,000	...	...	50	...	As above mentioned.
Badriya (? Beria) ..	8,839	84,293	...	...	50	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Bangelah, forest adjacent where elephants are hunted	2,185	52,939	...	5	800	...	Bhil.
Biror (=Barur) ..	7,477	391,333	...	5	500	...	Do.
Tikri, on the Kodi; here a large temple to Mahādeo, and a small hill	14,771	645,245	...	included in Seorānah		...	Rājput, Bhil, &c.
Jalālābād, with suburb. district has a stone fort	9,285	414,268	...	34	1,470	...	Bhil, Bāhal.
Chamāri, has a stone fort	17,916	543,994	...	100	500	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Deolā Khatiā (Divai) ..	6,430	392,080	...	...	...	...	Rājput, Sohar, included in Balakwārah.
Deolā Narhar (?Dhaoda)	3,286	98,569	...	5	500	...	Bhil.
Seorānah, near the Narbadah, and a large temple there ..	13,074	627,207	...	300	2,025	...	Bhil, &c.
Sindhawā, good hunting ground for elephants .. .	9,974	353,819	...	24	550	...	Koli.
Silwārah, has a brick fort	9,628	325,544	...	350	9,000	...	Bhil.
Sāngori (=Sangvi) . ..	4,607	170,210	...	5	250	...	Nahal, Karhah.
Kasrāod, on the Narbadah, has a large tank and a small hill	20,490	1,150,569	...	under Balakwārah.			Sohar.

Sarkār of Bijāgarh—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Khargon, has a fort, stone below, brick above	14,626	753,194	...	50	500	...	Rājput, Sohar, Kanārah (Khatri ?)
Kānapur	5,358	126,846	...	under Balakwarah.			Do. do.
Khudgāon	2,738	85,062	...	5	20	...	Rājput, Kanāri.
Lahrpur, commonly Muhammadpur ..	6,792	205,743	...	5	400	...	Rājput, Kahiri.
Lowārikoh	2,476	50,000	...	5	300	...	Bhil.
Mandawara, here a large temple ..	15,948	777,881	4,187	under Seoranah			Do.
Mahoi (Mohipur), near the Narbada	8,318	395,206	...	5	50	...	Bhil, &c.
Morāna (Mardāna) has a stone fort ..	9,211	355,902	...	5	70	...	Rājput, Sohar.
Nāwari (Newali), has a stone fort	9,779	408,164	...	...	...	...	Bhil.
Nangalkādi	9,057	370,208	...	5	500	...	Bāhal.

Sarkār of Mando.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 229,969 *Bighas*, 15 *Biswas*. Revenue 13,788,994 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 127,732 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,180. Infantry 2,526.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amjhera	...	395,400	3,800	60	...	...	
Barodah	27,370-19	1,307,760	3,936	80	150	...	
Betmān	7,780-12	656,556	8,750	60	100	...	
Choli Mahesar ..	18,183	968,370	10,500	70	200	...	
Hāsilpur, the vine here bears twice a year, and fine cloth of the kind *Amān* and *Khāsah* are manufactured	4,895-13	210,000	...	40	85		
Dhār, anciently a large city	38,660	2,079,306	36,264	120	150	...	

Sarkār of Mando—*Contd.*

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Dikhtān	17,643	958,986	...	70	200	...	
Dharmagāon	3,018-11	916,442	...	...	...	...	
Sāgor	12,807-14	683,084	...	50	150	...	
Sanāsi	70,670	3,097,190	29,696	800	600	...	
Kotra	...	2,393,871	385	165	300	...	
Mando, with suburb. district, 2 mahals	540-17	48,398	...	10	50	...	
Manāwara	2,048-10	102,164	...	20	50	...	
Nalchah	9,949-7	545,952	34,105	70	200	...	
Nawāli	...	224,608	...	45	100	...	

Sarkār of Handiah.

Containing 23 *Mahals*. Land under special crops 20 *Mahals*. 89,573-18 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Amount of revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates and from land paying the general *bigah* rate. 11,610,969 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 157,054 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,296. Infantry 5,921.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Unchod	59,495	2,037,877	10,825	200	500	...	
Angalgāon	414	422,947	...	150	200	...	
Amondah	392	21 834	...	7	20	...	
Bijnolā	606	44,418	...	25	100	...	
Punāsa	873	25,251	...	10	100	...	
Balahri (? Bhilakheri)	...	825	...	...	15	...	
Chakhodā	2,319	158,876	13,324	20	80	...	
Champāner	317	20,350	...	20	100	...	
Dewās	188,249	6,718,000	42,837	875	2,000	...	
Rājorā	383	25,641	...	7	20	...	
Satwās	971	89,080	7,504	45	150	...	
Samarni [? Timurni]	775	52,115	...	5	40	...	
Siyāmgarh	160	20.494	...	111	550	...	
Seoni	...	2,250	...	50	500	..	
Khandohā Islāmpur	22,632	1,298,581	6,400	120	500	...	
Mundi	367	19,443	...	7	20	...	
Mardānpur	...	450	...	50	500	...	
Nimāwar	18,207	946 467	...	25	100	...	
Naugāon	1,187	79,264	...	30	120	...	
Niman (=Nimanpur)	1,160	75,152	...	14	56	...	
Hāndah (=Ḥarda)	2,954	146,044	...	30	100	...	
Handia, with suburb. district, has a stone fort on the Narbada on a level plain	5,164-15	350,051	76,160	40	150	...	

Sarkār of Nandurbār.

Containing 7 *Mahals.* 2,059,604 *Bighas.* Revenue 50,162,250 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 198,478 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 500. Infantry 6,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Bhāmber (Bhamer) ..	212,830	69,244,355	...	...	...	...	
Sultānpur	995,993	28,119,749	159,744	...	...	...	
Khāer (or Jahur ?) ..	868	53,310	...	...	...	...	
Nandurbār, with sub. district	203,007	14,252,191	38,734		...	...	
Ner	15,253	722,760	...	...	...	...	
Namorhi	1,645	89,585	...	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Mandesor.

Containing 17 *Mahals.* Revenue 6,861,396 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 23,387 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 1,194. Infantry 4,280.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ringnod	...	716 355	...	80	250	...	Sisodiā.
Ujenwās	...	170 953	...	60	200	...	Ahir, Gond.
Basād . ..	...	515,400	...	80	250	...	Sisodiā.
Budha ..	...	255,062	...	65	300	...	Rājput, Dodia. (Bodhia.)
Tharod	...	109,220	...	74	250	...	Ahir.
Barāudah	...	106 703	...	50	200	...	Ahir, Gond.
Baraltah	...	90 970	727	30	100	...	Chauhān.
Bhathpur (? Bhanpur)	...	63.104	..	16	250	...	Rājput, Dodia.
Tāl	...	1,600 000	..	160	250	...	Do. do.
Titrod	...	500 000	...	80	220	...	Do. do.
Jamiāwara	..	619,759	...	80	200	...	Sisodiā.
Sukhera	...	46 000	...	50	300	...	
Ghiyaspur	...	138 890	...	60	800	...	Gond, Ahir.
Qiyāmpur	...	175,350	...	110	300	...	Deorā.
Kotri	...	803	...	50	500	...	
Mandesor, with suburb. district, 2 mahals ..	...	1,651,920	23,660	100	400	...	Rājput.

Sarkār of Gāgron.

Containing 12 *Mahals.* 63,529 *Bighas.* Revenue 4,535,794 *Dāms.*

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Urmāl	...	502,774 in money.	...	...	...	...	
Akbarpur	...	62,500	...	...	...	...	
Panch Pahār	21,399	1,573,560	...	...	...	...	
Chechat	...	222,640	...	...	...	...	
Khairābād	17,136	646,000	...	...	...	...	
Rāepur	9,716	28,730	...	...	...	...	
Sonel	9,638	281,909	...	...	...	...	
Sendar (=Sandhara) ..	695	81,929	...	...	...	...	
Ghāti	...	600,046	...	...	...	...	
Gāgron, with suburb. district, has a stone fort	...	19,781 in money.	...	...	...	...	
Nimthor . ..	4,945	608,834	...	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Kotri Parāwa.

Containing 10 *Mahals.* 190,039 *Bighas.* Revenue 8,031,920 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 2,245. Infantry 6,500.

	Biswas	Revenue D.	Sayurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Alot (*missp.* Āsop) ..	42 220	1 733 927	250	700		...	...
Ājigarh	4,553	855 612	350	200		...	Rajut, Deora.
Āwar . ..	9 204	532,056	...	80	300	...	
Barod	20,224	923,667	...	160	400	..	Rajput, Sondhia.
Dāgdudhālia	13 881	458,144	...	125	400	...	Do. do.
Soyat	13 381	693,585	...	240	500	...	Do. Deora
Kotri Parāwa, 2 mahals with suburb. dist. ..	46,046	1,856,566	...	770	1,800	...	Kayath.
Gangrār	200,615	1,066,683	...	200	700	...	Rajput, Sondha.
Ghosi (? Gadguchi) ..	2,567	116,880	...	60	200	...	Sondhia.

Princes of Mālwa.

I.

Five Rājahs of this dynasty reigned in succession, 387 years, 7 months, 3 days. (Dates from Prinsep.)

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
B. C. 840.	Dhanji, (Dhananjaya, a name of Arjun, about 785 before Vikramaditya), ...	100	0	0
,, 760.	Jit Chandra, ...	86	7	3
,, 670.	Sālivāhana, ...	1	0	0
,, 680.	Nirvāhana, ...	100	0	0
,, 580.	Putrāj, (Putra Rājas of Vansāvalis without issue), ...	100	2	0

II.

Eighteen princes of the Ponwār caste reigned 1,062 years, 11 months, 17 days.

B. C. 400.	Aditya Panwār, (elected by nobles. [Co-temp. Sapor, A. D. 191. Wilford.	86	7	3
,, 390.	Brahmarāj, (reigned in Vidarbhanagar), ...	30	7	3
,, 360.	Atibrahma, (at Ujain, defeated in the north), ...	90	0	0
,, 271.	Sadhroshana, (Sadasva Sena. Vāsudeva of Wilford, Basdeo of Ferishta, A. D. 390, father-in-law of Bahrām Gor. revived Kanauj dynasty), ...	80	0	0
,, 191.	Hemarth, (Heymert, Harsha Megha, killed in battle), ...	100	0	0
,, 31.	Gandharb,* (Gardabharupa, Bahrāmgor of Wilford), ...	35	0	0
B. C. 56.	Bikramjit, (Vikramaditya. Tuār caste, 3rd of Wilford), ...	100	2	3

* Under power of a curse, in consequences of a crime, he was changed into an ass resuming his human form only at night. Hemar I, notwithstanding, gave him his daughter in marriage and she gave birth to Vikramaditya.

			Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A. D.	44.	Chandrasen of the same race (possessed himself of all Hindustān), ...	86	3	2
,,	135.	Kharagsen, (Surya Sena, w. 676),	85	0	0
,,	215.	Chitarkot, ...	1	0	0
,,	216.	Kanaksen, (cōnquered Saurashtra [Surāt and Gujerāt] founder of the Mewār family, ancestry traced by Jain Chronicles consulted by Tod, to Sumitra, 56th from Rāma), ...	86	0	0
,,	302.	Chandrapāl of the same race, ...	100	0	0
,,	402.	Mahendrapāl, ...	7	0	0
,,	409.	Karamchand of the same race, ...	1	0	1
,,	410.	Bijainand, (Vijyananda), ...	60	0	0
,,	470.	Munja, (killed in the Deccan, reigned A. D. 993, according to Tod).			
,,	483.	Bhoja, (by Tod 567 A. D. The other two Rājās Bhoja, Tod fixes in 665 [from Jain MSS.] and 1035, the father Udāyati. Kālidās flourished), ...	100	0	0
,,	583.	Jayachand, (put aside in favour of the following), ...	10	0	2

III.

Eleven princes of the Tonwar, (Tuar) caste reigned 142 years, 3 days.

A. D.	593.	Jitpāp, ...	5	0	0
,,	598.	Rānā Rāju, ...	5	0	0
,,	603.	Rānā Bāju, ...	1	0	3
,,	604.	Rānā Jaj Jalu, *var,* and U. T.), ...	20	0	0
A. D.	620.	Rāna Chandra, ...	30	0	0
,,	654.	Rāna Bahadur, ...	5	0	0
,,	659.	Rāe Bakhmal, (Bakhtmal), ...	5	0	0
,,	664.	Rāe Sukanpāl, ...	5	0	0
,,	669.	Rāe Kiratpāl, ...	5	0	0
,,	674.	Rāe Anangpāl, (rebuilt and peopled Delhi 791, Tod.), ...	60	0	0
,,	734.	Kunwarpāl, ...	1	0	0

IV.

Eleven princes of the Chauhān caste reigned 140 years.

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A. D. 735.	Rājā Jagdeva, ...	10	0	0
,, 745.	Jagannāth, his nephew, ...	10	0	0
,, 755.	Hardeva, ...	15	0	0
,, 770.	Bāsdeva, ...	16	0	0
,, 786.	Srideva, ...	15	0	0
,, 801.	Dharmdeva, ...	14	0	0
,, 815.	Baldeva, ...	10	0	0
,, 825.	Nānakdeva, ...	9	0	0
,, 834.	Kiratdeva, ...	11	0	0
,, 845.	Pithurā, ...	21	0	0
,, 866.	Māldeva, (conquered by Shaikh Shāh father of Ala u'd din), ...	9	0	0

V.

Ten princes reigned 77 years.

A. D. 1037.	Shaikh Shāh, (from Ghazni), ...	70	0	0
,, 1037.	Dharmrāja Sud, (Vizier during minority of, ...	20	0	0
,, 1057.	Ālā u'd din, son of Shaikh Shāh, put the Vizier to death, ...	20	0	0
,, ,,	Kamāl u'd din, (murdered by, ...	12	0	0
,, 1069.	Jitpal Chauhān, (Jaya Sing of Delhi and Lahore? 977, a descendant of Mānikya Rai ?)'	20	0	0
,, 1089.	Harchand, ...	20	0	0
,, 1109.	Kiratchand, ...	2	0	0
,, 1111.	Ugarsen, ...	13	0	0
,, 1124.	Surajchand, ...	12	0	0
A. D. 1136.	Birsen, (dispossessed by the following), ...	10	0	0

VI.

Eight princes reigned 205 years.

A. D. 1146.	Jalāl u'd din, (an Afghan), ...	22	0	0
,, 1168.	Ā'alam Shah, (killed in battle by, ...	24	0	0

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A.D. 1192.	Kharagsen, son of Birsen (Birsen, emigrated to Kāmrup, married the king's daughter, succeeded to the kingdom and regained Malwah), ...	8	0	0
,, 1200.	Narbāhan. { Udayādityadeva, Naravarmadeva, Yasovarmadeva, Jayavarmadeva, Lakhan,* ...	20	0	0
,, 1220.	Birsāl, ...	16	0	0
,, 1236.	Puranmal, ...	39	0	0
,, 1268.	Haranand, ...	62	0	0
,, 1330.	Sakat Sing, (killed at the invasion of the following), ...	60	0	0

VII.

Eleven princes reigned 142 years, 2 months 4 days.†

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A. D. 1390.	Bahādur Shāh, (king of Deccan, killed at Delhi), ...	some ms.		
,, 1390.	Dilāwar Khān Ghori, (viceroy of Mālwah assumed sovereignty), ...	20	0	0
,, 1405.	Hoshang Shāh, ...	30	0	0
,, 1432.	Muhammad Shāh, (Ghizni Khān, poisoned), ...	some ms.		
,, 1435.	Sultān Mahmud, uncle of Hoshang, (Rānā of Chitor Kumbho, presents *tankas* coined in his own name, 1450), ...	34	0	0

* These five reigned A.D. 1137—1143 according to the Ujjain inscription.

† Correct list of Malwa Sultans—

Dilawar Kh. Ghuri	A.H. 794/1932 A.D.
Hushang Sh.	808/1405
Muhammad Sh. (Ghazni Kh.)	838/1435
Ma'sud	839/1436
Mahmud 1.	839/1436
Ghiyās-ud-din	873/1469
Nāsir-ud-din	905/1500
Mahmud II.	916-937/1510-31

		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
A.D. 1469.	Sultān Ghiyās u'd din, ...	32	0	0
,, 1500.	,, Nāsir u'd din, (his son Shahāb u'd din revolts),	11	4	3
,, 1512.	,, Mahmud II, (younger son, last of the Khiljis),	26	6	11
,,	Qādir Shāh, ...	6	0	0
,,	Shujāat Khān, known as Shujāwal Khān, ...	12	0	0
,,	Bāz Bahādur.			

In 1534 Malwah was incorporated with Gujerāt kingdom; in 1568 as a province of Akbar's empire.

It is said that two thousand, three hundred and fifty-five years, five months and twenty-seven days prior to this, the 40th year of the Divine Era [761 B.C.] an ascetic named *Mahābāh*, kindled the first flame in a fire-temple, and devoting himself to the worship of God, resolutely set himself to the consuming of his rebellious passions. Seekers after eternal welfare gathered round him, zealous in a life of mortification. About this time the Buddhists began to take alarm and appealed to the temporal sovereign, asserting that in this fire-temple, many living things were consumed in flaming fire, and that it was advisable that Brahmanical rites should be set aside, and that he should secure the preservation of life. It is said that their prayer was heard, and the prohibition against the said people was enforced. These men of mortified appetites resolved on redress, and sought by prayer a deliverer who should overthrow Buddhism and restore their own faith. The Supreme Justice brought forth from this fire-temple, now long grown cold, a human form, resplendent with divine majesty, and bearing in its hand a flashing sword. In a short space, he enthroned himself on the summit of power, and renewed the Brahmanical observance. He assumed the name of *Dhananjaya* and coming from the Deccan, established his seat of government at Mālwah and attained to an advanced age.

When Putrāj, the fifth in descent from him, died without issue, the nobles elected Aditya Ponwār his successor, and this was the origin of the sovereignty of this house. On the death of Hemarth in battle, Gandharb, the chosen, was raised to the throne. The Hindus believe that he is the same as Hemarth whom the Supreme Ruler introduced

among the celestials in the form of a *Gandharb*[1] and then clothed in human shape. Thus he became universally known by this name and prospered the world by his justice and munificence. A son was born to him named Bikramājit who kept aflame the lamp of his ancestors and made extensive conquests. The Hindus to this day keep the beginning of his reign as an era and relate wonderful accounts of him. Indeed he possessed a knowledge of talismans and incantations and gained the credulity of the simple. Chandrapāl obtained in turn the supreme power and conquered all Hindustān. Bijainand was a prince devoted to the chase. Near a plant of the Munja[2] he suddenly came upon a new-born infant. He brought him up as his own son and called him by the name of Munja. When his own inevitable time approached, his son Bhoja was of tender age. He therefore appointed Munja his successor, who ended his life in the wars of the Deccan.

Bhoja succeeded to the throne in the 541st year of the era of Bikramājit and added largely to his dominions, administering the empire with justice and liberality. He held wisdom in honour, the learned were treated with distinction, and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. Five hundred [*correctly* nine] sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his court and were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit. The foremost of these was Barruj [Vararuchi], a second was Dhanpāl [Dhanwantari] who have composed works of great interest and left them to intelligent seekers of truth, as a precious possession. At the birth of Bhoja, either through a grave miscalculation of the astrologers or some inadvertence on the part of those who cast his horos-

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[1] A class of demigods who inhabit the heaven of Indra and form the celestial choir at the banquets of the deities. He appears in the lists as *Gandhapāla*, fostered by an ass, *Gandha-rupa* or *Harshamegha*, epithets of the same animal. According to Wilford the Pandits who assisted Abul Fazl disfigured the chronology of the supplement to the *Agni-purana*. Of Salivahana and Naravahana they made two distinct persons as well as of Bahrām with the title of Gor in Persian and Himār, or the Ass in Arabic. Thus they introduced Himār or Hemarth and Gor or Gandharb.

[2] *Saccharum munja*; a rush or grass from the fibres of which a string is prepared of which the Brahmanical girdle is properly formed. Munja wrote a geographical description of the world or of India which still exists under the name of *Munja-prati-desa-vyvasthā* or state of various countries. It was afterwards corrected and improved by Rājā Bhoja, and still exists in Gujerāt. Munja transferred the capital from Ujjain to Sonitpura in the Deccan called after him *Munja-pattana* on the Godaveri.

cope, the learned in the stars in consultation announced a nativity of sinister aspect. They prognosticated hazard to the lives of such as sympathised with him, and these to save their own, cast this nursling of fortune in the dust of destitution and exposed him in an inhospitable land. He was there nourished without the intervention of human aid. The sage Barruj, who at that time was not accounted among the learned, having recast his horoscope after profound investigation, foretold the good tidings of a nativity linked to a long life and a glorious reign. This paper he threw in the way of the Rājā, whose heart on reading it, was agitated with the impulse of paternal love. He convened an assembly of the astrologers, and when the nativity was scrutinised, and it was ascertained where the error lay, he went in person and restored Bhoja to favour and opened the eyes of his understanding to the strangeness of fortune. They relate that when the child was eight years old, the short-sighted policy of Munja impelled him to desperate measures and he contemplated putting the innocent boy to death. He entrusted him to some of his trusty followers to make away with him secretly, but these ministers of death spared him, and concealing him, invented a plausible tale. On his taking leave, he gave them a letter telling them to read it to the Rājā in case he should inquire regarding him. Its purport ran as follows :—"How doth darkness of soul in a man cast him out of the light of wisdom, and in unholy machinations stain his hands in the blood of the innocent! No monarch in his senses thinks to carry with him to the grave his kingdom and treasures, but thou by slaying me seemest to imagine that his treasures perpetually endure and that he himself is beyond the reach of harm." The Rājā on hearing this letter, was aroused from his day-dream of fancied security and brooded in remorse over his crime. His agents, when they witnessed the evidences of his sincerity revealed to him what had occurred. He gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoja with much affection and appointed him his successor.

When his son Jayachand's[1] reign was ended, none of the Ponwār caste was found worthy to succeed. Jitpal of the Tonwar caste, who was one of the principal landowners was elected to the throne, and thus by the vicissitudes of fortune the sovereignty passed into this family.

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[1] Jayananda according to Wilford, who gives the next name as Chaitra or Jytepāl and identifies or confounds him with Chandrapāla.

When Kunwarpāl died, the royal authority passed into the hands of the Chauhāns. During the reign of Maldeva, Shaikh Shāh came from Ghazni and acquired possession of Mālwah and lived to an advanced age. At his death his son Alā u'd din was a minor, and his chief minister Dharm Rāj Sud occupied the throne. As soon as Alā u'd din came of age, he rose in arms to assert his rights and put to death the disloyal usurper. Jitpal Chauhān, a descendant of Mānik Deva Chauhān, who was in the service of Kamāl-u'd-din, under the impulse of malice and in pride of wealth compassed the destruction of his master and in the hope of gain, acquired for himself eternal perdition. Under the rule of Tipparsen, an intriguing Afghān, getting together some desperate characters as his abettors, laying an ambush for the Rājā, slew him while hunting, and assumed the sovereignty with the title of Jalāl u'd din. Tipparsen had married his son Kharagsen into the family of the Rājā of Kāmrup. The Rājā, for his eminent services, appointed this adopted son his heir, and when the Rājā died, Kharagsen ascended the throne and to avenge his wrongs marched an army against Mālwah and Aālam Shāh was killed in battle.

In the reign of Sakat Singh a prince named Bahādur Shāh advanced from the Deccan and having put the Rājā to death, marched against Delhi and was taken prisoner while fighting against Sultān Shahāb u'd din.

From the time of Sultān Ghiyās u'd din Balban (A.D. 1265) to that of Sultān Muhammad son of Firoz Shāh (A.D. 1387) no serious weakness in the imperial authority betrayed itself, but on his death the empire of Delhi became a prey to distractions. Dilāwar Khān Ghori who had been appointed by him to the government of Mālwah, assumed independence. The Sultān bestowed the government of four provinces upon four individuals who had been faithful to him in his adversity. To Zafar Khān[1] he gave Gujerāt; Khizr Khān was appointed to Multān; Khwājah Sarwar to Jaunpur and Dilāwar Khān to Mālwa. After his death, the time being favourable, each of the four assumed independence. [Persian text confused.]

Alp Khān the son of Dilāwar Khān was elected to the succession under the title of Hoshang. It is said that his father was poisoned by his order whereby he has gained

[1] Zafar Khān took the title of Muzaffar Shāh.

everlasting abhorrence. Sultān Muzaffar of Gujerāt marched against him and took him prisoner and left his own brother Nasir Khān in command of the province. But as he was tyrannous in conduct and ignored the interests of his subjects, Musa, cousin of Hoshang, was raised to the throne. Sultān Muzaffar released Hoshang from confinement and despatched him to Mālwa in company with his own son Ahmad Khān, and in a short time he was restored to power. On the death of Muzaffar, he perfidiously marched against Gujerāt, but meeting with no success, returned. On several subsequent occasions he attacked Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt but was shamefully defeated.

On one occasion cunningly disguised as a merchant, he set out for *Jājnagar.*[1] The ruler of that country accompanied by a small retinue visited the caravan. Hoshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together, Hoshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince therefore sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty.

Hoshang was engaged in wars with Mubārak Shāh son of Khizr Khān viceroy[2] of Delhi, with Sultān Ibrahim of the Jaunpur dynasty, and with Sultān Ahmad of the Deccan.[3] On his death, the nobles, in accordance with his bequest, raised his son Nasir Khān to the throne under the

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[1] Jājpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants. This story occurs in the Tab. Akbari, p. 537, and in Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 236. (Briggs, IV, 178). Ferishta's account is that in A.H. 825 (1421—2), Hoshang with a 1,000 picked cavalry disguised as a merchant set out for Jājnagar, one month's journey from Mālwa and took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, much sought after by the ruler of Orissa and stuffs of various kinds, his object being to exchange these for elephants the better to meet Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt in the field. On his arrival near Jājnagar he sent to inform the Rājah of the presence of his caravan and the prince arrived with a number of elephants to barter for the horses, or ready to pay in coin, as the need arose. The horses were caparisoned and the stuffs laid out for inspection, when a storm of rain came on and the lightning frightening the elephants, they trampled on the goods and caused great damage. Hoshang tore his hair and swore that life was no longer worth having and at a signal, his men mounted and attacked the Rājā's guard, and put them to flight. Capturing the Rājā, Hoshang discovered himself and excused his action on the ground of destruction of his property. He then stated his object. The Rājah admired his audacity and 75 elephants purchased his own release. Hoshang carried him as far as the frontier and set him at liberty.

[2] He never assumed the royal title but styled himself viceroy of Timur in whose name the coin was minted and the *Khutbah* read.

[3] Ahmad Shah Wali of the Bahmani dynasty (1422—35)

title of Muhammad Shāh. Mahmud Khān, cousin of Sultān Hoshang, basely bribed his cup bearer and that venal wretch poisoned the Sultān's wine. The generals of the army kept his death secret hoping to place his son Masaud Khān upon the throne and they sent to confer with Mahmud Khān. He replied that worldly affairs had no longer any interest for him but that if his presence in council were necessary, they must come to him. They foolishly went to his house and were placed in confinement, and by the aid of some disloyal mercenary partisans, he seized upon the sovereignty of Mālwa and was proclaimed under the title of Sultān Mahmud (Khilji). Upon such a wretch,[1] in its wondrous vicissitudes thus did Fortune smile and the awe he inspired secured him the tranquil possession of power. He waged wars with Sultān Muhammad son of Mubārak Shāh, king of Delhi, with Sultān Ahmad, king of Gujerāt, with Sultān Hussain Sharqi of Jāunpur, and with Rānā Kumbha of Mewār.

Khwājah Jamāl u'd din Astarābādi[2] was sent to him as ambassador by Abu Said Mirza with costly gifts which greatly redounded to his glory. Mahmud II (1512 A.D.) through his ungenerous treatment of his adopted followers[3] fell into misfortune but was again reinstated in power by the aid of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh (II) of Gujerāt (A.D. 1511-26). Through his reckless bravery in battle he was taken prisoner by the Rānā (Sanga)[4] who treated him with generosity and restored him to his kingdom. He was again captured in action against Sultān Bahādur of Gujerāt and conveyed to the fortress of Chāmpāner. He was killed (A.D. 1526) on his way thither and Mālwa was incorporated with Gujerāt until it was conquered by Humayun. When this monarch returned to Agra, one of the relations of Sultān Mahmud, by name Mallu, seized on the government of Mālwa under the title of Qādir Khān.

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[1] He proved notwithstanding, the ablest and most chivalrous of all the Mālwa princes.

[2] This ambassador arrived with presents from Mirza Sultān Said 3rd in descent from Tamerlane who reigned over Transoxiana and held his court at Bokhārā—grandfather of Bāber. He returned with presents of elephants, singing and dancing girls, Arab horses and an ode in the vernacular composed by Mahmud himself which Abu Said valued above all the other gifts. Ferishta II, 254.

[3] The reference is to his dismissal of his Hindu minister Medni Rāe and the Rājput troops to whom he owed his kingdom when deserted by his nobles at the beginning of his reign.

[4] Rana Sanga (A.D. 1508—1529) under whom Mewār reached its highest prosperity, fought Babar in 1526.

During the supremacy of the usurper Sher Khān the control of the province was invested in Shujāat Khan, who rebelled under the reign of Salim Khān and assumed independence under Mubāriz Khān.

On his death, his eldest son Bāyizid succeeded under the title of Bāz Bahādur until the star of his Majesty's fortune arose in the ascendant and this fertile province was added to the imperial dominions.

May the robe of this daily-widening empire be bordered with perpetuity, and its inhabitants enjoy to their hearts' fill a prosperity that shall never decay.

SUBAH OF DĀNDES.

This flourishing country was called *Khāndes*, but after the capture the fortress of *Asir* (1600 A.D.) and when this province fell under the government of prince Dānyāl, it was known as *Dāndes.*[1] It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Borgāon* which adjoins *Handiah* to *Lalang* which is on the borders of the territory of *Ahmadnagar* is 75 *kos*. Its breadth from *Jāmod* adjoining *Berār* to *Pāl* which borders *Mālwa* is 50, and in some parts only 25 *kos*. On its east is *Berār;* to the north, *Mālwa;* to the south, *Gālnah* (Jālna)* : to the west, the southern chain of the mountains of *Mālwa*. The rivers are numerous, the principal being the *Tāpti* which rises between *Berār* and *Gondwāna,* the *Tabi* which has its source from the same quarter and which is also called the *Purna,* and the *Girna* near *Chāpra*. The climate is pleasant and the winter temperate.

Jowāri is chiefly cultivated, of which, in some places, there are three crops in a year, and its stalk is so delicate and pleasant to the taste that it is regarded in the light of a fruit. The rice is of fine quality, fruits grow plentifully and betel leaves are in abundance. Good cloth stuffs are woven here : those called *Siri Sāf* and *Bhiraun* come from *Dharangāon.*

Asir is the residence of the governor. It is a fortress on a lofty hill. Three other forts encompass it which for strength and loftiness are scarcely to be equalled. A large and flourishing city is at its foot. *Burhānpur* is a large city three *kos* distant from the *Tapti.* It lies in latitude 21° 40′, and is embellished with many gardens and the sandalwood also grows here. It is inhabited by people of all countries and handicraftsmen ply a thriving trade. In the summer, clouds of dust fly which in the rains turns to mud.

Aādilābād is a fine town. Near it is a lake, a noted place of worship, and the crime of Rājā Jasrat (Dasarath)[1]

* *Galna* is 20 m. S.W. of Dhulia in W. Khandesh, while *Jalna* is far to the south of E. Khandesh, beyond the Ajanta range.

[1] Dasarath's crime was committed in his youth when he unwittingly killed the hermit's son in the forests by the banks of the river Sarayu in Oudh. The story is told in Rāmāyan, Bk. II, Sec. 63 (see Griffith's translation, Vol. II, p. 243). He was cursed by the bereaved father and fated to be similarly agonised for the loss of his son in after years.

was expiated at this shrine. It is full all the year round and it irrigates a large area of cultivation.

Chāngdeo is a village near which the *Tapti* and the *Purnā* unite, and the confluence is accounted a place of great sanctity. It is called *Chakra Tirth*. Adjacent to it is an image of *Mahādeo*. They relate that a blind man carried about him an image of Mahādeo which he worshipped daily. He lost the image at this spot. For a time he was sore distressed, but forming a similar image of sand, he placed it on a little eminence and adored it in a like spirit. By a miracle of divine will, it became stone and exists to this day. Near it a spring rises which is held to be the Ganges. An ascetic by the power of the Almighty was in the habit of going to the Ganges daily from this spot. One night the river appeared to him in a dream, and said, "Undertake these fatigues no longer; I myself will rise up in thy cell." Accordingly in the morning it began to well forth and is flowing at the present time.

Jāmod is a rich *parganah*. In its neighbourhood is a fort on a high hill called *Pipaldol*. *Dhāmarni* is a prosperous town. Near it is a tank in which a hot spring perpetually rises and which is an object of worship.

Choprah is a large flourishing town, near which is a shrine called *Rāmesar* at the confluence of the *Girna* and the *Tapti*. Pilgrims from the most distant parts frequent it. Adjacent to it is the fort of *Malkāmad* [=Malkheda].

Thālner was for a time the capital of the *Fāruqi* princes. The fort though situated on the plain is nevertheless of great strength.

This *Subah* contains 32 *parganahs*. Scarce any land is out of cultivation and many of the villages more resemble towns. The peasantry are docile and industrious. The provincial force is formed of *Kolis*, *Bhils* and *Gonds*. Some of these can tame lions, so that they will obey their commands, and strange tales are told of them.

Its revenue is 12,647,062, *Berāri tankahs* as will appear in the statement. After the conquest of Asir, this revenue was increased by 50 per cent. The *tanka* is reckoned at 24 *dāms*. The total is therefore, 455,294,232 Akbari *dāms*. (Rs. 11,382, 355-12-9).

Sarkār of Dāndes.

Containing 32 *mahals.* Revenue in money 12,647,062 Tankas.

	Tankahs		*Tankahs*
Asir, north of Burhanpur ...	1,060,221	Chāndsir, south	198,900
Atrāl, south	264,249	Jalod, south [Jalam ?] ...	317,206
Erandwel, east, by south ...	543,328	Chopra, west	730,965
Amalnerā	2,406,180	Dāngri, south	315,325
Warangāon, east by south ...	215,504	Dāmri, west	325;300
Pāchorah, west	206,728	Rāver, west	883,655
Purmāl, west	162,830	Renpur, east [? Ratanpur]	820,971
Bodwad, south-west ...	183,540	Sāvdā, south	430,008
Names omitted in all MSS ...	{ 58,511	Shendurni, between E. and W.	104,754
	{ 246,112	Aādilābād, east by south ...	527,223
Bāhil, south	290,311	Laling, south	352,644
Bhadgāon, south	256,331	Lohārā, south	247,965
Betāwad, south	320,782	Mānjrud, east [Mānjal] ...	104,965
Bāer [Bhāmer], west by south	595,968	Nasirābād, south	824,925
Thālner, west by south ...	594,239	Name omitted in all MSS. ...	316,338
Jāmod, east	175,844		
Jāmner, midway between E. and W.	470,042		

In ancient times this country was a waste and but few people lived about the fortress of Asir. The locality was traditionally connected with *Ashwatthāmā** and established as a shrine. It is related that *Malik Rāji* from whom *Bahādur*[1] is the ninth in descent. under stress of misfortune came from *Bidar* to these parts and established himself in the village of *Karondā*,[2] a dependency of *Thālner,* but being molested by the natives, he repaired to Delhi and took service under Sultān Firoz. The king admired his skill as a huntsman, and his reward being left to his own choice, he received a grant of that village and by judicious policy acquired possession of other estates and reclaimed much waste land. In the year 784 A.H. (A.D. 1382), he made *Thālner* his seat of government, assumed the title of Aādil Shāh and reigned for 17 years. He was succeeded by his son Ghizni Khān under the title of Nasir Shāh, after which this province became known as Khāndes. He reigned 40 years, 6 months, and 26 days. On his death his son Mirān Shāh administered the State. By some he is called Aādil Shāh. He occupied the throne 3 years, 8

* *Son of Drona*, a hero of the *Mahābhārat.*

[1] Bahādur Khān Fāruqi, 1596 A.D. last of the dynasty.

[2] According to T., his father was Khān Jahān one of the ministers in the court of Alā-ud-din Khilji and of Muhammad Tughlaq. He claimed descent from the Caliph Omar called by Mahammad "al Fāruq" or the discriminator, on the day that he publicly professed his conversion, because on that day "Islām was made manifest and truth distinguished from falsehood." See as Suyuti's *Hist. of the Caliphs,* Jarrett's translation, p. 118. Karonda = *Karwand*, 12 m, n, of Thalner,

months and 23 days. He was followed by his son Mubārik Shāh Chaukandi Sultān during 17 years, 6 months and 29 days. His son Aādil Shāh Aynā whose name was Ahsan Khān, had a prosperous reign of 46 years, 8 months and 2 days. He removed to *Burhānpur* and made himself master of Asir. Sultān Ahmad of Gujerāt, the founder of Ahmedābād, gave him his daughter in marriage. At his death, his brother Dāud Shāh reigned for 7 years, 1 month and 17 days. Aādil Shāh (II) son of Hasan took refuge in Gujerāt. Sultān Māhmud Bigarah Rāji gave him in marriage *Ruqayya* the daughter of Sultān Muzaffar, (his son) and accompanying him to *Khāndes,* restored him to his kingdom and returned to his own. He reigned 13 years. He left two sons, Mirān Muhammad Shāh and Mubārik Shāh. Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt being on terms of friendly alliance with the first-named[1] made him his heir, and guadian to his nephew Mahmud and his own brother Mubārik. Mirān Shāh from a sense of their deserts, and with political sagacity did them no injury and contenting himself with the kingdom of Khāndes, restored Mahmud to the sovereignty of Gujerāt. He reigned 16 years, 2 months and 3 days. When the measure of his days was full, the nobles raised his son Rāji to the throne. Mirān Mubārik wrested it from him and reigned in succession to his brother, administering the government for 31 years, 6 months and 5 days. He was succeeded by his son Mirān Muhammad who reigned 9 years, 9 months and 15 days. When he died, his younger brother Rāja Ali Khān[2] was elected and assumed the title of Aādil Shāh. His administration was conducted with ability and he was killed in the

[1] His sister being mother of Mirān Shāh.
[2] He married a sister of Abul Fazl.

Khandesh Muslim rulers—

Ruler	Date
Malik Rājā, Rājā Ahmad	A.H. 784/1382 A.D.
Nasir Khan	801/1399
Adil Kh. I.	840/1437
Mubārak Kh. I, Chaukanda	844/1441
'Adil Kh. II, Ainā	861/1457
Dāud Kh.	907/1501
Ghazni Kh.	914/1508
Hasan Kh.	914/1508
'Alam Kh. (usurper)	914/1508
'Adil Kh. III. ('Alam Kh.)	914/1509
Mirān Muhammad Sh. I.	926/1520
Ahmad Sh.	943/1537
Mubārak Sh. II.	943/1537
Muhammad Sh. II.	974/1566
Hasan Sh.	984/1576
'Adil Sh. IV. (Rājā 'Ali Kh.)	985/1577
Bahādur Sh. (Qadr Kh.)	1006-1009/1597-1601

wars of the Deccan fighting on the side of his Majesty's victorious troops. He was buried at Burhānpur, after a successful reign of 21 years, 3 months and 20 days. At his death the succession devolved on Khizr Khān, his son, who took the name of Bahādur Shāh. But the star of his destiny was obscure and in the 45th year of the Divine era, he was deprived of his kingdom as has been recorded in its proper place.

SUBAH OF BERĀR.

Its original name was *Wārdātat,* from *Wārdā,* the river of that name and *tat,* a bank. It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Baiṭhalwādi* to *Biragarh* is 200 *kos,* its breadth from *Bidar* to *Handia* 180 *kos.* On the east lies *Biragarh* adjoining *Bastar;* to the north is *Handia;* to the south *Telingāna;*[1] on the west *Mahkarābād.* It is a tract—situated between two hill-ranges having a southerly direction. One of these is called *Bandah* upon which are the forts of *Gāwilgarh, Narnāla* and *Melgarh.* The other is *Sahia,* where rise the forts of Mahur and Rāmgarh.

The climate and cultivation of this province are remarkably good. There are many rivers, the principal of which is called *Ganga Gautami* called also the *Godavari.* As the Ganges of Hindustān is chiefly connected with the worship of Mahādeo, so is this river with (the *Rishi*) *Gautama.* Wonderful tales are related regarding it and it is held in great sanctity. It rises near *Trimbak*[2] in the *Sahia* range and passing through the country of *Ahmadnagar,* enters *Berār* and flows into *Telingāna.* When Jupiter enters the sign Leo, pilgrims flock from all parts to worship.[3] The *Tāli* and *Tapti* are also venerated. Another river the *Purnā* rises near *Dewalgāon,* and again the *Wardā*

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[1] As this province corresponds geographically with the ancient *Tri-Kalinga,* Gen. Cunningham thinks Telingana to be probably, a slight contraction of Tri-Kalinga. See *Anc. Geo. Ind.,* p. 519.

[2] In the Nāsik District, about 50 miles from the Indian Ocean. At this spot is an artificial reservoir, reached by a flight of 90 steps, into which the water trickles drop by drop from the lips of an earthen image shrouded by a canopy of stone.

[3] Once in every 12 years, a great bathing festival called *Pushkaram,* is held on the banks of Godaveri, alternately with the other eleven sacred rivers of India. The most frequented spots are the source at Trimbuk, Bhadrāchalam on the left bank about 100 miles above Rājāmahendri, the latter itself, and the village of Kotipāli. *I. G. Tāli,* variants *Pāli, Pāti.*

issues forth ten *kos* higher up than the source of the *Tāli*. The *Napta** also rises near *Dewalgāon*.

In this country the term for a *Chaudhri* [village headman] is *Desmukh*, for a *Qānungo*, *Des Pūndia*; the *Muqaddam* is called *Patil* and the *Patwāri*, *Kulkarni*.

Elichpur is a large city and the capital. A flower violet in colour is found here and is very fragrant. It is called *Bhui champah*[1] and grows close to the ground.

At the distance of 7 *kos* is *Gāwil*, a fortress of almost matchless strength. In it is a spring at which they water weapons of steel.

Panār is a strong fort on an eminence which two streams surround on three sides.

Kherla is a strong fort on a plain. In the middle of it is a small hill which is a place of worship. Four *kos* from this is a well, into which if the bone of any animals be thrown it petrifies, like a *cowrie-shell* only smaller. To the east of this resides a *Zamindār* named *Chātwāi* (=Jātibā) who is master of 2,000 cavalry, 50,000 foot and more than 100 elephants. Another such *Zamindār* is named *Dādhi Rāo* who possesses 200 cavalry, and 5,000 foot. To the north is *Nāhar Rāo* a chief whose force consists of 200 horse and 5,000 foot. Formerly in this neighbourhood, was a *Zamindār* named *Hatiā*, but now his possessions are under other subjection and the whole race are *Gonds*. Wild elephants are found in this country. The chiefs were always tributary to the kings of Mālwa; the first, to the governor of *Garha*, and the others to the government of *Handia*. *Narnālah* is a strong fortress on a hill, containing many buildings. *Bija Rāo* is a *Zamindār* in the neighbourhood who has a force of 200 cavalry and 5,000 foot. Another is *Dungar Khān* with 50 horse and 3,000 foot: both of the *Gond* tribe. Near *Bālāpur* are two streams, about the borders of which are found various kinds of pretty stones, which are cut and kept as curiosities. Six *kos* distant was the head-quarters of Prince Sultān Murād which grew into a fine city under the name *Shahpur*.

Near *Melgarh* is a spring which petrifies wood and other substances that are thrown into it.

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* *Napta*—doubtfully written in Persian. The great *Pengauga* is evidently meant, but only one small feeder of it rises here; NPTA=PNNA.

[1] The *S. ul M.* calls it *Bhuin Champa* and adds "it grows also in Bengal; it shoots from the ground with leaves like the ginger-plant and till the rainy season it continues in growth and is green. In the winter it withers away and disappears altogether." The word is properly *Bhum Champak*, "The ground Champak", and is the Kaempferia Rotunda.

Kallam (Kalamb), is an ancient city of considerable importance; it is noted for its buffaloes. In the vicinity is a *Zamindār* named *Babjeo* of the *Gond* tribe, more generally known as *Chāndā*: a force of 1,000 horse and 40,000 foot is under his command. *Birāgarh* which has a diamond mine and where figured cloths and other stuffs are woven, is under his authority. It is but a short time since that, he wrested it from another chief. Wild elephants abound.

About *Bāsim* is an indigenous race for the most part proud and refractory called *Hatkars*: their force consists of 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. *Banjāra* is another *Zamindāri*, with 100 horse and 1,000 foot. At the present time it is under the authority of a woman. Both tribes are Rājputs.

Māhur is a fort of considerable strength situated on a hill. Adjacent is a temple dedicated to *Durgā*, known in this country as *Jagadathā* [=Jagatdhātri]. Here the buffaloes are of a fine breed and yield half a *man* and more of milk. The *Zamindār* is a Rājput named *Indradeo* and is entitled *Rānā*. He commands 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

Mānikdrug is a remarkable fort on a hill surrounded by extensive forests. It is near *Chandā*, but up to the present is independent territory.

Jitanpur is a village in the Sarkār of *Pāthri*, where there is a thriving trade in jewels and other articles of value.

Telingānah was subject to *Qutb ul Mulk*[1] but for some time past has been under the authority of the ruler of Berār.

In *Indur* and *Nirmal* there exist mines of steel and other metals. Shapely stone utensils are also carven here. The breed of buffaloes is fine and, strangely enough, the domestic cocks are observed to have bones and blood of a black colour.* A *Zamindār* called *Chanāneri*,[2] is *Desmukh*, a man of the most distinguished character, who has a force of 300 horse. *Rāmgir* is a strong fort on a hill, enclosed by forests. Wild elephants are numerous. It has not as yet been annexed to the empire.

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[1] *Warangal* was the ancient capital of this kingdom founded by the Narapati Andhras which was also considered to include the coast territory from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Kistnā known as Kalinga. After the invasion of Alā u'd din in 1303, it continued with some interruptions under Hindu rule till its remains were incorporated in the dominions of Quli Qutb Shāh the founder of the Qutb Shāhi dynasty, in 1512 with Golconda as its capital.

* See Constable's ed. of Bernier, p. 251, note.

[2] *Var. Jayaberi.*

Lonār is a division of *Mehkar,* and a place of great sanctity. The Brahmans call it *Bishan Gayā.* There are three *Gayās,* where the performance of good works can be applied as a means of deliverance to the souls of deceased ancestors; namely, *Gayā* in *Behār* which is dedicated to *Brahma, Gayā* near *Bijāpur* dedicated to *Rudra,* and this one. Here is also a reservoir, having a spring in it of great depth, and measuring a *kos* in length and in breadth, and surrounded by lofty hills. The water is brackish, but when taken from the centre or at its sides, it is sweet. It contains the essential materials for the manufacture of glass and soap, and saltpetre is here produced and yields a considerable revenue.

On the summit of a hill is a spring at the mouth of which is carved the figure of a bull. The water never flows from this spring to the other, but when the 30th lunar day (conjunction) falls on a Monday, its stream flows into the large reservoir. In the neighbourhood is a *Zamindār* called *Wāilah* of the Rājput tribe, commanding 200 horse and 2,000 foot. Another is called *Sarkath,* also a Rājput, and possesses 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

Batialah is a fort of considerable strength on a hill, of which *Pātāl Nagari* is a dependency. In the sides of the hill twenty-four temples have been cut, each containing remarkable idols. The *zamindar is Medni Rāo,* a Rajput, with 200 horse and 1,000 foot. Another is *Kāmdeo,* a Rājput having under him 100 horse and 1,000 foot.

This *Subah* contains 16* *sarkārs* and 142 (should be 242) *parganahs.* From an early period the revenues were taken by a valuation of crops, and since the *tankah* of this country is equal to 8 of Delhi, the gross revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs* or 56 *krors* of *dāms*[1] (Rs. 14,000,000). Some of the Deccani princes increased the revenue to 37,525,350 *tankahs.* In the time of Sultán Murād a further

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* But only 13 Sarkars are named in the detailed statement given in the following pages

[1] This makes 16 *dāms* to the *tankah.* In the revenue statement of Khandesh, the *tankah* is reckoned at 40 *dāms.* That of Gujerāt=two-fifths of a *dām* or 100 to the rupee of 40 *dāms.* Bayley *Hist. of Gujerāt,* p. 6. If Prince Murād's increase be added to that of the Deccani princes, the total gives 40,162,804 *tankahs.* This sum multiplied by 16 results in 642,604,864 *dāms.* As 40 Akbari *dāms* are equivalent to a rupee, the above total represents 16,065,121 rupees. Under Akbar, according to the I. G. the land tax of Berār was Rs. 17,376,117. Under Shah Jahan, Rs. 13,750,000, and under Aurangzeb, 15,350,625, but the latter amount, taken by Mr. E. Thomas from Manucci, is given by Tieffenthaler from the same authority as 10,587,500. See his dissertation on the apparent inaccuracies of calculation in the registers of the empire and their cause. Vol. I, p. 65.

addition of 2,637,454 Berāri *tankahs* was made. The total amounted to 40,162,704 Berāri *tankahs*. The original amount and the additional increase were thus tabulated, the whole reaching the amount of 642,603,272 Delhi *dāms*.

Eight *parganahs* of the *Sārkar* of *Kallam* (Kalamb) were annexed to *Chāndā*, the revenue of which is not included, nor those of 22 *parganahs* of the *Sarkār* of *Kherla*, held by Chātwā (Jātibā) and some few other *Zamindārs*.

Sarkār of Gāwil.

Containing 46 *parganahs*. Revenue 134,666,140 *dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 12,874,048 *dāms*.

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Sub. dis. of Ellichpur, has a fort of stone and brick on the plain ..	14,000 000	2,800,000	Thugāon	5,600,000	...
Āshti	4,800,000	...	Chakhli, (Banjārās) and Gonds, 400 Cav. 2,500 Inf.) ..	2,400,000	...
Aron	3 200 000	...	Daryāpur	6,400 000	...
Anji	1,600 000	...	Dhāmori	2,718,540	1,118,540
Anjangāon	3,200,000	...	Ridhpur	6,400,000	...
Karyāt Bāhil ..	604,000	...	Sarasgāon	5,296,000	496,000
,, Bāri ..	114,368	82,368	Qasbah Serālā ..	1,835 390	1,015,890
Bhādkali	3,200,000	...	Sarson	4,800,000	...
Basrauli	1,280 000	...	Sālor	340,000	...
Beāwadā	700,000	60,000	Karyāt Sherpur ..	48,000	...
Palaskher	960,000	...	Karhātha Kuram ..	2,400,000	...
Karyāt Pālā, (100 Cav., 2,000 Inf. Gonds)	800,000	...	Kholāpur	4,870,114	70,114
Baror	1,280,000	...	Kāranja, Badhonā, 2 mahals	4,800,000	...
Qasbah Baligāon ..	817,350	177,350	Karanjgāon, Qasbāh Kherah, 2 mahals	523,200	...
,, Postah ..	814,416	594,460	Kumargāon ..	640 000	...
Radharāmani ..	1,825,300	1,625,300	Kāranjā Bibi ..	4 200 000	1,400,000
Tivsā	800,000	...	Kurha	4,800 000	...
Maner	800,000	...	Mane	4,800,000	...
Mānjarkher ..	6,400,000	...	Nandgāon Pith .. Nandgāon	6,633,826	233,826
Mālkher	480,000	...	Parganah Nir ..	3,220,000	...
Manglor, (Mangrol)	2,800,000	...	Hātgāon	3,200,000	1,600,000
Murjhi [Mojhri] ..	4,800,000	...		1,600,000	...

Sarkār of Panār.

Containing 5 *Parganas*. Revenue 13,440,000 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Sub. dist. of Panār, has a lofty stone fort, surrounded on 3 sides by water ...	4,000,000	Kheljhari, 100 horsemen, 400 foot, Rājput	2,400,000
Sewambārhā, Kānt Barhā ...	640,000	Māndgāon Karar, 25 horse, 400 foot, Rājput [=Nandgaon Qazi of map] ...	4,800,000
Sheln, 16 horsemen, 400 foot	1,600,000		

Sarkār of Kherla.

Containing 35 *Parganahs.* Revenue 17,600,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.
Atner, has a stone fort on the plain. Rājput, 100 horse, 2,000 foot	3,200,000
Ashta	160,000
Patan	1,200,000
Bhesdahi, Rājput, 100 horse, 2,000 foot	1,600,000
Baror, Chandji Māli (?) 20 horse, 500 foot	2,800,000
Bāsad, (Māsod), Brahman, Gond, 10 horse, 100 foot ...	480,000
Pauni, Rājput, 40 horse, 500 foot	400,000
Suburb. dist. of Kherla, Rājput, Lohāri, Gond, 50 horse, 2,000 foot ...	3,200,000
Sātner, Atner, 2 mahals, Gond, 100 horse, 2,000 foot	1,600,000
Sāinkherah	2,000,000
Qasbah Jaror ...	480,000
Mundavi, Brahman, Gond, 10 horse, 100 foot ...	480,000
Multāi	
Durgah	
Nārangwari [?Maramjhiri]	
Mālābil	
Māloi	
Mangah	
Sewah	
Jāmkher	
Belwali	
Sirāi	
Chakhli	
Khāwar [? Kenaur] ...	
Wāldah	
Bāri	
Wāigāon	
Deo-thānah	
Bāri	
Saloi	
Rāmjok	
Janābak [? Halbatak] ...	
Jomār [? Chopar] ...	
Habiyāpur	

Sarkār of Narnāla.

Containing 34 *Parganas.* Revenue 130,954,476 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 11,038,422 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Ankot	6,470,066	70,066
Ādgāon, Dogar, Gond, 50 horse, 2,000 foot ..	8,000,000	...
Amner and Jalpi, 2 mahals	4,800,000	...
Angolah	11,200 000	...
Bālapur	22 000 000	3,300.000
Panjar	2,000 000	...
Bārsi Tānkli ..	2,864,000	...
Pigalgāon	2,400,000	...
Pātar Shaikh Bābu	3,700 000	500 000
Qasbah Bārigāon ..	1,600,300	640 000
Pātarra	3,342 500	1,262 500
Bānbahar	1.568 000	668 000
Badner Bhuli ..	2.764,450	364.452
Badner Kānka ..	4 813 700	13 800
Jalgāon	10,000,000	2,000,000
Jaipur	400 000	...
Chāndor	4,887,000	87,000
Dhāror	1,200,000	...
Dhendā	5,600,000	...
Rohankher .	2,000,000	...
Rājor . ..	1,000,000	520,000
Sheolā	640,000	...
Sherpur .. .	48,000	...
Karankher .. .	2,400,000	800,040
Kothal .. .	1,409,000	209,000
Kothil .. .	640.000	...
Mangāon	4,800,000	...
Mahen .. .	600 000	280,000
Malkāpur . ..	11,200,000	...
Melgarh, (from proceeds of road tolls or safe-conduct passports) ..	94,960	...
Karvāt Rājor ..	400,000	170,866
Nādura, (Nandura)	1,200 000	...
Qasbah Hatgāon ..	1,500,000	800,000

Sarkār of Kallam (Kalamb).

Containing 31 *Parganahs.* Revenue 32,828,000 *Dāms* in money.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Indori [Undri]	1,200,000	Qasba Kallam	500,000
Amrāoti	1,200,000	Kelāpur	1,200,000
I'ni [Anjni]	1,600,000	Lādkher	1,600,000
Punah [? Pusda]	3,600,000	Nāigāoń	960,000
Bori	1,200,000	Nachangāon	640,000
Belur	2,800,000	Yunt Lohārā [? Noni L.)]	128,000
Tālegāon	100,000	Barkhonda or Tark Chanda (in the possession of a *Zamindār*)	
Talegaon, Waigāon ...	4,800,000		
Dungar	1,600,000		
Rālegāon	200,000	Malbori	
Sālod	3,200,000	Chandur	
Kurha	960,000	Lahubāti [? Lohagarh] ...	

Sarkār of Bāsim.

Containing 8 *Parganahs.* Revenue 32,625,250 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 1,825,250.

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Aunda	4,864,000	64,000	Chār Thāna ..	4,800 000	1,600,000
Suburb. dist. of Bāsim, Rājput, 100 horse, 1,000 foot ..	8,161,250	161,250	Kalambuh Nāri ..	3 200,000	
			Karari and Bāmni ..	1,200.000	
			Manglur	3,200 000	
Bāthi [Pathri] ..	2,400,000	...	Narsi	4,800,000	

Sarkār of Māhur.

Containing 20 *Parganahs.* Revenue 42,885,444 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 97,844 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Ansing	960,000	Pusād	4,000,000
Amar Kher	6,400,000	Tāmsā	2,177,844
Chikni	3,200,000	Seoli	64,000
Chincholi	2,400,000	Giroli	3,200,000
Suburb. dist. of Māhur, with Qasbah, of Surah, *Suyurghal 97,844*	3,680,000	Khenot	1,300,000
		Korath [Korandh]	480,000
		Metth [Mantha]	2,400,000
Dhārwah	2,400,000	Mahāgāon	1,600,000
Dhāuki [Dhamni]	320,000	Nāndāpur	2,000,000
Shevāiā	2,400,000	Hald Badhonā	

Sarkār of Manikdrug.

Containing 8 *Parganahs*. Revenue 14,400,000 *Dāms* in money.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Papal	3,400,000	Rājor	2,400,000
Bhān	2,000,000	Karath	2,000,000
Chāndor	2,400,000	Nair	1,600,000
Jāir [? Jaora]	1,600,000		

Sarkār of Pāthri.

Containing 18 *Parganahs*. Revenue 80,805,954 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 11,580,954 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D		Revenue D	Suyurghāl D
Ardhāpur	1,600,000	...	Jahri [Jherree] ..	1,600 000	400,000
Suburban district of Pathri	25,114.740	5,014,740	Shevli .. .	3 600,000	1,200,000
			Kosri	3,200 000	...
Parbani	8,000 000	...	Lohgāon	4,800,000	1,600,000
Pānchalgāon ..	2,000.000	...	Makat Mādhkher ..	2,400 000	...
Balhor [Valur] ..	2,400.000	...	Mātargāon [? Mānegaon]	480,000	160,000
Basmat	21,280,000	...		6,871.208	471,209
Bārad	160,000	...	Nander	400,000	...
Tākli	640,000	...	Wasā	1,200,000	240,000
Jintor	3,600,000	1,200,000	Hātā		

Sarkār of Telingāna.

Containing 19 *Parganahs*. Revenue 71,904,000 *Dāms* in money. Suyurghāl 6,600,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Indur	4,800,000	Qaryāt Khudāwand Khān ...	640,000
Ullah	800,000	Dhakwār [? Deglur] ...	96
Bodhan, *Suyurghāl* 4,400,000	8,000,000	Rājor, *Suyurghāl* 800,000 ...	1,600,000
Bāsar, *Suyurghāl* 400,000 ...	1,600,000	Kotgir, *Suyurghāl* 1,000,000	2,200,000
Bhaisa	6,400,000	Kharki	6,400,000
Bālkondā	6,400,000	Kosambet	664,000
Bimgal [Potangal] ...	2,400,000	Lahgāon	11,200,000
Bānorā [Banauli]	3,200,000	Mudhol	6,400,000
Bhukar	1,600,000	Nirmal	6,400,000
Tamburni	1,600,000		

Sarkār of Ramgarh [=Rāmgir]

Containing 5 *Parganahs*. Revenue 9,600,000 *Dāms* in money.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bal Arab	800,000	Khandwah [? Khandar] ...	2,240,000
Subub. dist. of Rāmgir ...	2,560,000	Mul Marg	800,000
Chinur	3,200,000		

Sarkār of Mehkar.

Containing 4 *Parganahs.* Revenue 45,178,000 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 376,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Suburban district of Mehkar, 7 divisions ...	2,560,000	Dewalgāon	5,600,000
Tamurni [? Samarni] ...	7,200,000	Sakkar Kherla, *Suyurghāl* 376,000	6,776,000

Sarkār of Baithalwādi.

Containing 9 *Parganahs.* Revenue 19,120,000 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 4,800,000 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Undargāon	400,000	Dahād [=Dhār]	4,800,000
Anāwān [Anva]	40,000	Dhāwer [=Dhāora] ...	2,600,000
Baithal-wādi	1,200,000	Seoni	640,000
Chāndor [=Chāndol] ...	1,280,000	Sānolad Bārah [? Shilod Barud]	1,600,000
Chikhli	2,000,000		

This province was dependent on the ruler of the Deccan. During the reign of Sultān Mahmud, five *Sardārs* rebelled and kept him under restraint, and the sovereignty was assumed by Fath-ullah who had held the office of Imād-ul-Mulk.[1] He ruled but four years. At his death,

[1] Imād-ul-Mulk one of the oldest of the Bahmani ministers had been appointed to the government of Berār by Muhammad Shāh II of the Bahmani dynasty (A.D. 1463—1482) under the advice of his prime minister Mahmud Gawan, to whom this dynasty owed its splendour, and which perished at his death. Mahmud II (A.D. 1482—1518) for a period cf 37 years was content with the nominal sovereignty leaving the real power in the hands of Qasim Barid and his son Amir, the founder of the Barid Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadābād. The Bahmani kingdom was now broken up into five independent sovereignties, *viz.*, the Barid Shāhi, the Adil Shāhi of Bijāpur, the Nizām Shāhi of Ahmadnagar, the Qutb Shāhi of Golconda and the Imād Shāhi of Berār. Imād-ul-Mulk, in the general anarchy seized the government which had been entrusted to him and declared his independence in A.D. 1484. The succession is thus given in the U. T.

1484. Fath u'l lah Bahmani, governor of Berār, became independent.
——. Alā u'd din, Imād Shāh, fixed his capital at Gāwel.
1528. Darya Imād Shāh, married his daughter to Hasan Nizām Shāh.
——. Burhān Imād Shāh, deposed by his ministers.
1568. Tufal, whose usurpation was opposed from Ahmadnagar and family of Imād Shāh and Tufāl was extinguished. In the appendix to Elphinstone's Hist of India, (Edit. Cowell 1866) the dates are as follows :—

	A.D.
Fatah Ullah	1484
Alā u'd din	1504
Derya (about)	1529
Burhān (perhaps)	1560

During the minority of Burhān, his prime minister, Tufāl usurped the government and the State merged in that of Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1572.

his son Alā-ud-din, took the same title and reigned 40 years. His son Daryā Khān succeeded, and enjoyed the government for 15 years. After him, his son, Burhān, a minor, was raised to the throne, but the nobles perfidiously usurped the administration, till Murtaza Nizām-ul-Mulk conquered and annexed the country to Ahmadnagar.

SUBAH OF GUJARAT.

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from *Burhānpur* to Jagat [*i.e.,* Dwārkā in Kathiawar] is 302 *kos;* its breadth from *Jālor* to the port of *Daman* 260 *kos,* and from *Idar* to *Kambhāyat* (Cambay) 70 *kos.* On the east lies *Khāndeš;* to the north *Jālor* and *Idar;* to the south, the ports of *Daman* and *Kambhāyat,* and on the west, *Jagat* which is on the seashore. Mountains rise towards the south. It is watered by noble rivers. Besides the ocean, there are the *Sābarmatti* (Savarnamati), the *Bātrak,* the *Mahendri,* the *Narbadah,* the *Tapti,* the *Saraswati,* and two springs called *Ganga* and *Jamna.* The climate is temperate and the sandy character of the soil prevents it from turning into mud in the rainy season. The staple crops are *Jowāri,* and *Bājra,* which form the principal food of the people. The spring harvest is inconsiderable. Wheat and some food grains are imported from *Mālwa* and *Ajmer,* and rice from the Deccan. Assessment is chiefly by valuation of crops, survey being seldom resorted to. The prickly pear is planted round fields and about gardens and makes a goodly fence, for this reason the country is difficult to traverse. From the numerous groves of mango and other trees it may be said to resemble a garden. From *Pattan*[1] to *Baroda* which is a distance of a 100 *kos,* groves of mango yield ripe and sweet fruit. Some kinds are sweet even when unripe. Fine figs grow here and musk-melons are delicious in flavour both in summer and winter, and are abundant during two months in both seasons. The grapes are only moderate in quantity: flowers and fruit in great plenty. From the thick growth of forest sport is not satisfactory. Leopards[2] abound in the wilds.

The roofs of houses are usually of tiles and the walls of burnt brick and lime. Some prudently prepare the foundations of stone, and of considerable breadth, while the walls have hollow spaces between, to which they have secret access. The usual vehicles are two-wheeled drawn by two oxen. Painters, seal-engravers and other handicraftsmen

[1] I. G. Anhilwāra Pattan, lat. 23° 51′ 30″ N., long. 72° 10′ 30″ E. on the Saraswati, one of the oldest and most renowned towns of Gujarāt.

[2] The term *yuz* is employed in *Āin* 27 and 28 Vol. I, (Book II) for leopards generally including the hunting leopard, (F. Jubata), being used indifferently with the common name for the latter, *chītā.*

are countless. They inlay mother-o'-pearl with great skill and make beautiful boxes and inkstands. Stuffs worked with gold thread and of the kinds *Chirah, Fotah,*[1] *Jāmahwār, Khārā,* and velvets and brocades are here skilfully manufactured. Imitations of stuffs from Turkey, Europe, and Persia are also produced. They make likewise excellent swords and daggers of the kinds *Jamdhar*[2] and *Khapwah,* and bows and arrows. There is a brisk trade in jewelry and silver is imported from Turkey and Irāq.

At first *Pattan*[3] was the capital of the province, next *Champāner* and at the present day, *Ahmadābād.* The latter is a noble city in a high state of prosperity, situated on the banks of the *Sābarmatti.* It lies in latitude 25°.[4] For the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe it is almost unrivalled. It has two forts, outside of which are 360 quarters of a special kind which they call *Pura,*[5] in each of which all the requisites of a city are to be found. At the present time only 84 of these are flourishing. The city contains 1,000 stone mosques, each having two minarets and rare inscriptions. In the *Rasulābād Pura* is the tomb of *Shāh Aālam Bokhāri. Batwah*[6] is a village 3 *kos* from

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[1] See p. 52, (note II) Vol. II, Book III, and pp. 93—95 of Vol. I, B. I. *Chirah* is a parti-coloured cloth used for turbans. *Jāmawār,* is a kind of flowered woollen stuff, well known, *Khārā* an undulated silk cloth.

[2] See p. 110, Vol. I, Book I.

[3] Of successive dynasties of Rājput kings from 746 to 1194 A.D. *Champāner* was taken by Mahmud (Bigārah) of Ahmadābād after a siege, it is said, of 12 years and was made his capital and continued to be that of the Gujarāt kings till about 1560 A.D. I. G.

[4] Lat. 23° 1' 45" N., long. 72° 38' 30" E. The Emperor Aurangzeb had a different opinion of its climate and called it among other abusive epithets, Jahannumābād or the Abode of Hell. See Bayley, p. 91.

[5] A quarter or ward of a town, having its own gateway. The I. G. has *pol* and describes it as a block of houses varying in size from small courts of 5 or 10, to large quarters of the city containing as many as 10,000 inhabitants. The larger blocks are generally crossed by one main street with a gate at each end and subdivided into smaller blocks each with its separate gate branching off from the chief thoroughfare.

[6] The text has *Patwah,* the variant *Batwah* being relegated to the notes, but the best authorities concur in the latter reading. For Qutb-i-Aālam, see Bayley, p. 128, and Briggs' Cities of Gujarashtra, p. 292. Regarding the lithoxyle over the tomb, Briggs writes that one of the legends given him concerning it is that Qutb-i-Aālam on a journey to his masjid tripped against a stone and picking it up, said, "Can this be stone, wood or iron?" and the combination ensued. A visitor who had preceded Briggs on a visit to this place wrote to him as follows: "The size mentioned by Abul Fazl is correct. The stone is not now on the sepulchre but deposited in the chief Said's house. Great reverence is paid to it and on such occasions as visitors desire to see it, it is produced under a covering of brocade. It appears to be petrified wood, the barky part gives it the appearance of iron oxydised; that portion where it has been chipped by the hand of Akbar when he visited Batwa (according

Ahmadābād where are the tombs of *Qutb-i-Aālam* father of *Shāh Aālam,* and of other eminent personages. In the vicinity are fine gardens. Over the tomb is suspended a covering of about the measure of a çubit, partly of wood, partly of stone and a part also of iron, regarding which they relate wonderful stories. At a distance of three *kos* is the village of *Sarkhech* (Sarkhej) where repose *Shaikh Ahmad Khattu,*[1] *Sultān Ahmad* after whom *Ahmadābād* is named, and many other princes. Indigo of good quality is here grown and exported to Turkey and other countries.

Twelve *kos* from Ahmadābād is *Mahmudābād* a city founded by *Sultan Mahmud,* in which are beautiful buildings extending to an area of 4 *kos* square. The whole is surrounded by a wall and at every half *kos* is a pleasure house and a preserve in which deer and other kinds of game are at large.

The chief of *Idar* is a *Zamindār* named *Narāin Dās,* and of such austere life that he first feeds his cattle with corn and then picks up the grains from their dung and makes this his food, a sustenance held in much esteem by the Brāhmans. He is regarded as the head of the *Rāthor* tribe and has a following of 500 horse and 10,000 foot.

The ports of *Ghoga* and *Kambhāyat* (*Cambay*) are included in this (Gogo) *Sarkār.* The latter is a large city where merchants of divers kinds reside and wherein are fine buildings and much merchandise. Vessels sail from and trade to *Ghogah.* The cargoes are put into small ships called *Tawari* which transport them to *Kambhāyat.*

In *Kari* are fine oxen, a pair being worth 300 rupees, and according to their shapeliness, strength and speed fetching even a larger price.

Jhālāwār was formerly a separate principality containing 1,200 villages. Its length is 70 *kos* and its breadth 40. It furnished 10,000 horse and the same number of infantry. Now it possesses but 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot. Its ruler was subject to the king of Gujarāt. It formed four divisions, the inhabitants mostly of the *Jhāla* tribe of Rājputs.

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to the Abbot of the community) shews the fibre or vein of the wood; and upon the opposite side, where it seems to have been ground crosswise, it bears the appearance of stone."

[1] See Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarāt,* pp. 90 and 130. A description of these mausoleums will be found in Messrs. Hope and Fergusson's *"Architecture of Ahmedābād."* London Murray, 1866. Khattu is one of the towns in the Sarkār of Nāgor. Cf. Briggs' *Cities of Gujarashtra,* p. 275.

At the present day it is accounted a *Pargana* of Ahmadābād, and its villages and districts are summarized in the following table.

Great Jhālāwār contains *Birāmgāon* residence of the chief, *Halod, Wadhwān, Koha, Daran Gadra, Bijānā, Pātri* which has a salt-pit, *Sahālā, Baroda, Jhinjhuwārā, Sanjān,* (? Sanand), *Dhulhar, Mandal.*

Parganahs of *Machhukhantā* contain *Morbi, Rāmpur, Tankārā, Khanjariā, Malia, Kazor,* in the vicinity of which pearls are found, *Dhansar, Amrol* (Amreli).

Parganahs of Jāmbuji contain Jāmbu, Limri, Siāni.

Parganahs of *Chaubisi,* chief seat of the *Parmār* tribe contain *Morbi,* with 36 villages and *Chotilā* with 55 villages. Now *Morbi* with 7 districts is included in *Sorath.*

Pattan has two forts, one of stone and one of brick. It lies in long. 117° 10′, lat. 23° 30′. It produces fine oxen that will travel 50 *kos* in half a day. Good cotton cloths are here woven and are taken to distant parts as gifts of value.

Sidhpur is a town on the Sarsuti and a great place of pilgrimage.

Barnagar [Vadnagar] is a large and ancient city and containing 3,000 pagodas, near each of which is a tank; it is chiefly inhabited by Brāhmans.

Chāmpāner is a finely situated fort on a crag of great height[1]; the approach to it for two *kos* and a half is extremely difficult. Gates have been posted at intervals. At one place a cutting about 60 yards long has been made across which planks are laid which can be removed when necessity arises. Fine fruits abound.

Surat is a celebrated port. The river *Tapti* runs by it and at a distance of 7 *kos* thence, falls into the sea.

Rānder on the opposite side of the *Tapti* is a port dependent on *Surat*; it was formerly a large city. The ports of *Khandewi* and *Balsār* also are a part of the Surat division. Numerous fruits abound especially the pine apple, and oils of all kinds and rare perfumes are obtainable. The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pāzend, and erect funeral structures. Thus through the wide tolerance of His Majesty every sect enjoys freedom. Through the negligence of the ministers of state and the commanders of the frontier pro-

[1] Tieffenthaler states that the fortress on the summit of the hill is called *Pauagarh* and the town at its foot Chāmpāner.

vinces, many of these *Sarkārs* are in the possession of European nations, such as *Daman*, *Sanjān*,[1] *Tārāpur*, *Māhim* and *Base* (Bassein) that are both cities and ports.

Bharoj (Broach) has a fine fort. The *Narbada* flows past it in its course to the ocean. It is accounted a maritime town of first rate importance, and the ports of *Kāwi*, *Ghandhār*, *Bhābhut and Bhankorā* [Bhakora] are its dependencies.

Near the town of *Hānsot* is a game preserve 8 *kos* in length by 4 in breadth, full of deer and other animals. The cover is rich and fresh with verdure, being situated on the banks of the *Narbada* and is perfectly level.

The *Sarkār* of *Sorath*[2] was an independent territory, having a force of 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry, the ruling tribe being *Ghelot*. Its length from the port of *Ghogo* (Gogo) to that of *Arāmdāe*[3] is 125 *kos*; its breadth from *Sardhar* (? *Sadra*, n. of Ahmadabad) to the seaport of *Diu*, 72 kos. On the east it is bounded by *Ahmadābād*; on the north by the State of Kachh (Cutch); on the south and west by the (Indian) Ocean. Its climate is healthy, its fruits and flowers numerous and grapes and melons grow here. This territory is divided into 9 districts each inhabited by a different tribe, as follows :—

Parganahs of new Sorath.

Junahgarh with suburban district, *Sultānpur*, *Barwa* [Bantva], *Hānsāwar*, *Chaura Rāmpur*, *Kandolnā*, *Hast Jati*, *Und*, *Bagsarā*, *Mahandrā* [Mandurda], *Bhāntror* [Ghantwar], and others.

Parganahs of old Sorath, called Nāghar.

Pattan Somnāth, *Aunah*, *Delwārah*, *Manglor*, *Korinār*, *Mul Mahādeo*, *Chorwār*, *Diu*, &c.

Parganahs of Gohelwārah.

Lāthi, *Luliyānah*, *Bhimpur*, *Jasdhom*, *Māndwi*, *Birāi*, *Sehor*.

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[1] A small village in Thānā (Tanna) Dist., where the Parsis first landed in India, known to the Portuguese and long after their time as St. John. I. G.

[2] The old name for Kāthiawār, or Saurāshtra and Prakritised in that of Sorath which is to this day the name of a large district 100 miles in length in the south-west.

[3] *Aramda*, near port Okha, n. of Jagat Dwarka.

Parganahs of Wālā.

Mahwah, Talājā, Pālitānah, &c.

Parganahs of Bādhelah.

Jagat (called Dwārkā), *Arāmdāe, Dhārhi* (? Sankudhār).

Parganahs of Barrā. (Berda ?)

Barrā, Gumli, &c.

Parganahs of the Bāghela[1] *tribe.*

Sordhār, Gondal, Rāyet, Dhānak, &c.
Parganahs of the Wāji in the uncultivated tracts.
Jhānjhmer.

Parganahs of the Timbel tribe.

Not assigned in any of the MSS.

The first district known as New *Sorath* had remained unexplored on account of the impenetrable nature of the forests and the intricate windings of the mountains. A recluse by chance found his way into it and through him a knowledge of it was gained. Here is the celebrated stone fortress of *Junahgarh* which Sultān Māhmud,[2] I, captured by force of arms and at the foot of it built another fort of stone. At a distance of 8 *kos* is the fort of *Osam* on the summit of a hill; it has now fallen into decay, but is worthy of restoration. There is also another stronghold on the summit of the hill of *Girnār* in which are many springs, a place of worship of the *Jains*. Adjacent is the port of *Kondi Kolidyā,*[3] which derives its name from two villages at a distance of one *kos* from it. In the rear of *Junahgarh* is an island called *Siālkokah* 4 kos in length by 4 in breadth,

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[1] The I. G. (I. 550) calls this clan Wāghelā tribe of Rājputs, a remnant of the Solānki race who fled from Anhilwārah when that kingdom was destroyed by Alā u'd din, in A.D. 1297.

[2] Bigarah of Gujarāt. One derivation of this name is its supposed meaning of two forts (garh) because Mahmud's army conquered on one day Chāmpāner and Junahgarh, Vol. I, p. 506, n. According to T. Junahgarh signifies the ancient fort, because it was long concealed in the dense forest and discovered by a wood cutter. The legend runs that 1500 years elapsed from its discovery to the time of Māndalik from whom Mahmud wrested the fortress. See Bayley's Hist. of Gujarāt, pp. 161—182, for the derivation of the name.

[3] *Var.* and G. Kondi or Gondilakiyāt. [Can it be *Kodinar?*]

adjacent to which is a forest, 3 *kos* square, where wild fruits grow and where there is a settlement of *Kolis*. This tract is called *Gir*. Near the village of *Tunkagosha,*[1] the river *Bhādar* falls into the ocean. Its fish are so delicate that they melt when exposed to the sun. Good camels are here obtainable and a breed of horses somewhat larger than the Gunth.

In the second district is *Pattan*, a city on the seashore possessing a stone fort. This they call *Pattan Somnāth*. It is both a capacious harbour and a town having nine[2] stone towers on the plain, within an area of three *kos* on the seashore. Good swords are made here, there being a well in the vicinity the water of which gives them a keen edge.

The ports of *Manglor,*[3] *Diu, Purbandar, Korinār, Ahmadpur* and *Muzaffarābād* are about this coast. A spring of the Sarsuti (Saraswati[4]) rises near *Somnāth*. The Brahmanical shrines are numerous, but among these *Somnāth, Parānchi,* and *Korinār* are accounted among the most sacred. Between the rivers *Haran* and *Sarsuti* about 4,000 years ago, 560,000,000 of the *Yadu* race while engaged in sport and merriment, fell to fighting and all of them perished in that field of death, and wonderful are the legends that they relate. Two and a half *kos* from *Pattan Somnāth* is *Bhāl ka Tirth*[5] (or the shrine of the Arrow). In this place an arrow struck Sri Kishn and buried itself under

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[1] A note says *Tunkragosā,* in the maps. There are two rivers of the name of Bhādar, one rises in the Māndav hills and flowing S. W. falls into the sea at Nawi-Bandar after a course of 115 miles. Another from the same hills, flowing E. falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The Kolis are a predatory tribe and their distribution is not confined to a single province. They were spread over the country between Cambay and Ahmadābād and the well-wooded country afforded them a refuge from attack.

[2] Gladwin has turned these words into a name which mistranslation I notice as it has been adopted by Count von Noer in his monograph on Akbar, p. 98. (Mrs. Beveridge's Trans.). The Diwān of Junagarh, Haridās Viharidās, has courteously given me the benefit of his local knowledge. The new temple and the ruins of the old are within the fort which was inhabited chiefly by the attendants of the shrine, the population living in the environs forming the town. Pattan is said to have had three walls and hence named *Trigadhi*. The length of the present walls covers nearly two miles. The fort had or has 10 towers or bastions of which 8 are existing and two are in ruins.

[3] The I. G. gives Mangrol. The text unites Diu and Purbandar (elsewhere Porbandar) in one name, as Somnāth is called Deo Pattan, but it is probable that the port of Diu was intended by Abul Fazl.

[4] The river rises in Mount Abu and enters the Runn of Cutch, though a part of its course near Sidhpur and Patan towns, is said to be subterranean.

[5] Apparently the *Bhāt Kund* of the I. G. Yudhisthira after the slaughter of the 56 tribes of the Yadu race on the field of Kurukshetra and the death of Duryodhana, in grief at the loss of so many kinsmen, placed Parikshita on the throne of Indraprastha, and retired with Krishna and Baldeo to Dwarka. They were attacked by the Bhils and Krishna was slain. Baldeo founded the city of Patalibotra or Patna.

a *pipal* tree on the banks of the *Sarsuti*. This they call *Pipal sir,* and both these spots are held in great veneration. An extraordinary event occurs at the town of *Mul Mahādeo* where there is a temple dedicated to Siva. Every year on a certain day before the rainy season, a bird called *Mukh*[1] appears. It is somewhat smaller than a pigeon, with a coarser beak and pied in colour. It alights on the temple, disports itself for a while, and then rolls over and dies. On this day, the people of the city assemble and burn various kinds of perfume and from the proportions of black and white in the plumage of the bird, they calculate the extent of the coming rainfall, the black portending rain, the white, drought. In this tract, there are three crops of *jowar* annually. At *Unah* there are two reservoirs, one of which is called *Jamna,* the other *Ganga*. The water bubbles up and forms a stream and the fish of these two springs have three eyes, the third eye being in the forehead.

Between *Manglor* and *Chārāwār* is a tract into which the sea enters. On a certain day of the year the water is sweet. It is related that in ancient times a certain person was in need of Ganges water. A recluse made a sign to the expanse and sweet water came forth. Ever since, upon that day this wonder is repeated to the astonishment of all.

In both of these districts the *Ghelot* tribe of Rājputs prevail and the ruling power in this country is in their hands. At the present time the force (of the first district) consists of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. There is also a settlement of Ahirs called *Bābriyas*.[2] The force (of the second district) is 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot.

In the third district at the foot of the *Satrunjah* (Satrunjaya) hill,[3] is a large fort and on its summit, the fort of *Pālithānah*. Though in ruins, it deserves restoration. It is in great veneration with the *Jains*. The port of *Ghoga* (Gogo) is a dependency of this district. The island of *Biram* (Perim) was formerly the residence of the governor; it is 9 *kos* square and is a low rocky island in

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[1] Or *Makh*. In a work called *Haqiqat-i-Hindustān,* the word is *Sakh* or *Sukh*. See Bayley, p. 197, who records this event and places it in the village of Madhopur.

[2] The name of one of the old territorial *prants* or districts into which Kāthiawār was divided, was called Bābriawār, a hilly tract on the S.E.

[3] The hill is sacred to Adināth the deified priest of the Jains. The description of Pālitāna in the I. G. taken from Mr. Burgess' "Notes of a visit to Satrunjaya Hill," gives an interesting sketch of this temple hill. Perim (the Baiones of the *Periplus*) is in the Gulf of Cambay, 8 miles S. of Gogo.

the midst of the sea. The *Zamindār* is of the *Gohel*[1] tribe. This district possesses 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot.

In the fourth district, are the ports of *Mohwah* and *Talājā*, inhabited by the *Wali* clan. The local force consists of 300 men and 500 foot.

In the fifth district is *Jagat*, called also *Dwārkā*. *Sri Krishna* came hither from Mathura (Muttra) and here died. It is a great Brahmanical place of worship. The island of *Sankudhār* [Bait] 4 *kos* square is reckoned within this district. Near *Arāmdāe* is an island 70 *kos* in length and breadth. An area of half a *kos* of this land is for the most part stony and if an excavation is made salt-water pours in on all sides. *Malik Ayāz*[2] *Khās Khel*, of Sultān Mahmud I of Gujerāt, had, one-fourth of it dug up. The port of *Arāmdāe* is superior to most of its class. The inhabitants are of the *Bādhel* tribe. It musters 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the sixth district *Barra*,[3] the country is so hilly, the forests so impenetrable and the defiles so extensive that it is impassable for troops. The *Jaitwah* clan inhabit it. It furnishes 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the seventh district are the *Baghelahs*. It furnishes 200 horse and the same number of foot. The *Kāthis*[4] are numerous in this tract; they are of the *Ahir* caste and are skilful in the management of horses. The military force is 6,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry. They are said by some to be of Arabian origin. Cunning but hospitable, they will eat of the food of people of every caste, and are a handsome race. When any *Jagirdar* comes amongst them they make it a condition that there shall be no account

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[1] The Gohels came from the north in the 13th century, and retreating before the tide of Muhammadan conquest conquered for themselves new seats in the decadence of Anhilwāra. They are now in E. Kāthiawār.

[2] See Bayley's Hist. of Gujarāt, p. 233 et seq. Khās Khel represents the position of a royal equerry combined with high command. Ferishta calls him the *ghulām-i-khās* or confidential attendant of Mahmud. He was premier noble (Amir u'l Umarā) and commander in chief of the army, fought and defeated the Portuguese fleet at Chaul and sank the admiral's flagship valued at a *kror* of rupees. (A.H. 913—A.D. 1507).

[3] I have no doubt that this is Bardā (or Jaitwār) of the I. G.; a division of Kāthiawār lying between 21° 11′ and 21° 57′ N. lat., and 69° 30′ and 70° 7′ E. long., bounded N. and N.-E. by Hallār; E. by Sorath, and S.-W. by the Arabian Sea. The Barda hills are from 12 to 18 miles distant from the coast and formed a favourite refuge for outlaws.

[4] The name of Kāthiawār, was formerly given to a tract to the E. of the centre of the peninsula; from having been overrun by the Kāthis who entered from Cutch in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was extended to the whole country by the Mahrattas who had come into contact with them in their forays.

taken of the incontinence of any of their people. In the vicinity of the *Kāthis* on the banks of the river *Dondi*, there is a sept of *Ahirs* called *Porechas*. Their force is 3,000 horse and the same number of foot. They are perpetually at feud with the *Jāms*.[1]

In the eighth district Jhānjhmer is a maritime port. The *Wāji* tribe prevail. There are 200 horse and 2,000 foot.

In the ninth district is the Chāran tribe. Mahadeva formed a man from the sweat of his brow and gave him the charge of his own bull. He spoke in rhythmic sentences and sang the divine praises and revealed the past and the future. His descendants are known by his name. They chiefly recite panegyrics and genealogies and in battle chant deeds of valour and animate the warriors and some of them reveal future events. There are few of the nobles of Hindustān who have not some of these in their retinue. This district furnishes 500 horse and 4,000 foot. The tribe called *Bhāt* resemble this caste in their panegyrics, their powers, their battle-chants, and genealogical recitations, and although in some of these respects they surpass them yet the *Chārans* are better swordsmen. Some pretend that the *Chārans* were called into life by the mere volition of the divinity, and the *Bhāts* from *Mahādeva*.

Between *Jhālwāra* in the *Sarkār* of *Ahmadābād*, and *Pattan* and *Sorath* is a low-lying tract, 90 *kos* in length by 7 to 30 in breadth, called the *Ran*[2] (the Runn). Before the rainy season, the sea rises and covers this area and falls as the rains cease. A considerable part dries up and is covered with salt, the duties of which are collected in the *pargana* of *Jhālwāra*. *Ahmadābād* lies to the east of this tract. On the west is a large separate territory called *Kachchh* (Cutch) 250 *kos* in length by 100 *kos* in breadth. *Sind* lies to the

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[1] The Jāreja Rājputs, to which branch the Rao of Cutch belongs, are descended from the Summa (Sama!) tribe and came originally from the north. They are said to have emigrated from Sind about the 15th century under the leaderahip of Jā Lākha, son of Jāra from whom the tribe derive their name. Till 1540 the Jāms ruled over Cutch in three branches. About that year Khengār succeeded in making himself head of the tribe and master of the province. His uncle Jām Rāwal fled to Kāthiawār and founded the present reigning house of Nawanagar, the rulers of which are still called Jāms. See Jām under the account of Sind.

[2] The word in Hindi signifies a waste or wilderness. There are two, the northern or larger Runn, 150 by 80 miles has an area of about 7,000 square miles. The eastern or smaller Runn, 70 miles from E. to W., covers an area of 2,000 square miles. Except a stray bird, a herd of wild asses, or an occasional caravan, no sign of life breaks the desert loneliness. *I. G.*

west of Cutch. The physical aspect of the country is barren and sandy. There is an excellent breed of horses believed to be of Arabian race, and there are good camels and goats. The chief of this country is of the *Yadu*[1] race and his tribe is now known as *Jārejas*. The military force of this clan is 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. The men are handsome, tall in stature and wear long beards. The residence of the chief is *Bhuj*, which has two strong forts *Jhārah* and *Kantkot*. On the Gujarāt side towards the south is a *Zamindār* of note whom they call *Jām*, a relative of the ruler of the above-mentioned state. Sixty years ago, Jām Rāwal, after a war of two months, was driven out of the country, and settled in *Sorath* between the territories of the *Jaitwah, Bādel, Chāran,* and *Tumbel* tribes. He posssessed himself of other parts and founded the city of *Nawanagar* and his country received the name of *Little Cutch*. *Sattarsāl* the present Rājah, is his grandson. There are many towns and the agricultural area is extensive. The residence of the chief is at *Nawanagar* and his force consists of 7,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry. The camels and goats are of good breeds. For a considerable period the prime ministers of these two states have been of the Muhammadan religion.

In the vicinity of *Morā* and *Mangrej* is a state called *Pāl*[2] through which runs the river *Mahendri* towards the Gujarāt side. It has a separate ruler who resides at *Dungarpur*. On the Mālwa side is Bānswāra and that too has a separate chief. Each of them has a force of 5,000 horse

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[1] The lunar race established by the Scythian Budh, expanded into fifty-six branches and filled nearly the whole of northern India. Yadu 4th in descent from Budh gave his name to the royal line which closed in Krishna and Balrāma. While the solar race was confined to a narrow strip of land between the mountains and the Ganges, the Yadus had spread over the whole country. Yadu, says Elliot, (Races of the N.-W. P., Vol. I, 128) is the patronymic of all the descendants of Buddha, the ancestor of the Lunar race, of which the Bhatti and the Jāreja are now the most conspicuous, but the title of *Jādon* is now exclusively applied to that tribe which appears never to have strayed far from the limits of the ancient Suraseni, and we consequently find them in large numbers in that neighbourhood. The tract south of the Chambal called after them Yaduvati is in the possession of the Gwalior Mahrattas and the state of Kirauli on the Chambal is now their chief independent possession.

[2] *Pāk* in the text, with the emendation *Pāl* by the Editor. There are two of the name, one within Māhi Kānta on its N. E. frontier. The other one of the petty states in Hallār, Kathiawār. The former must here be meant, as Dungarpur lies in lat. 23° 52′ N., long. 73° 49′ E. It is now a separate native state. The early history of the ruling family is not known with certainty; they paid tribute to the Mughal Empire and did military service, and on the fall of the Empire became tributary to the Mahrattas. I. G. The name *Pāl* says Bayley, seems to have been given to a congeries of petty hill states of which the rulers were Hindus. They appear to have included Dungārpur, Bijanagar and others.

and 10,000 foot, and both are of the *Sisodia* clan. The rulers were of the Rānā's family, but for some time past it has been otherwise.

Adjoining the *Sarkār* of Pattan is a state, the chief town of which is *Sirohi* and which possesses a force of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot. On the summit of a hill is the strong fortress of *Abugarh* (Mount *Ābu*) about which are 12 flourishing villages. Pasturage is plentiful.

There is also a territory having *Nandurbār* on the east, *Mandu* on the north, *Nandod* on the south and *Chāmpāner* on the west. Its length is 60 *kos*, and its breadth 40. The chief is a Chauhān and his residence is the town of *Āli Mohān*. Wild elephants are numerous. The force consists of 600 horse and 15,000 foot.

Between *Surat* and *Nandurbār* is a mountainous but flourishing tract called *Baglāna*, the chief of which is a *Rathor*, commanding 3,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. Fine peaches, apples, grapes, pineapples, pomegranates, and oranges grow here. It possesses seven remarkable forts, among which are *Mulher*[1] and *Salher*.

Between the *Sarkārs* of Nandod and Nandurbār is a hilly district 60 *kos* in length by 40 in breadth, which the *Gohel* tribe of Rājputs inhabit. At the present day a Brāhman named *Tewāri* has the management of affairs, the titular Rajah being of no account. He resides at *Rājpipla* or *Khulu*, and has a force of 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot. The water of this tract is very unwholesome. Rice and honey of the finest quality are here produced.

This *Subah* embraces 9 *Sarkārs* and 198 *Parganahs*, of which 13 are ports. The revenue is 43 *krors*, 68 *lakhs*, 22,301 *dāms* (Rs. 10,920,557-8-0) and one *lakh*, 62,028¾ *Mahmudis*[2] as port dues.

The measured land (except Sorath which is paid in money by estimate) is 1 *kror*, 60 *lakhs*, 36,377 *bighas*, 3 *biswas*, out of which 4 *lakhs*, 20,274 *dāms* are *Suyurghāl*. The local force is 12,440 cavalry, and 61,100 infantry.

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[1] Both these lie in the Navasari (Nosari) district of the Baroda territory, the latter in the S. E. corner. Songarh and Rupgarh are two other forts. The former 43 miles E. of Surat, and Rupgarh 10 miles S. of Songarh. The hills must refer to the Rājpipla range, there being no other in the whole territory.

[2] Mr. E. Thomas (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III, 3rd series) quotes Sir T. Herbert as saying about 1676 A.D. "A mahmudi is twelve pence, a rupee two shillings and three pence." See Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, p. 16. The relative value of coin varied according to time and locality. The Changezi Mahmudi is variously valued at half and two-thirds of a rupee and at half a crown, French money. *Ibid*, pp. 12 and 16.

Sarkār of Ahmadābād.

Containing 28 *Mahals.* 8,024,153 *Bighas.* Revenue 208,306,994 *Dāms. Suyurghāl* 6,511,441 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 4,120. Infantry 20,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
City of Ahmadābād ...	...	15,000,078	144,680	100	300	
Suburb. dist. of Ahmadābād	370,087	23,999,371	4201,783	...	...	
Rurdhu Matar (*mis.* Arhar M.) on the river Baroli	145,384	9,662,753	160,938	100	200	Chauhān.
Ahmadnagar has a stone fort faced with *chunam*	54,370	1,770,912	50,774	500	5,000	Solanki.
Idar, [revenue by estimate of crops]	...	1,616,000	...	1000	5,000	Garāsiah[1]
Bahiel	375,675	6,988,920	...	100	200	Rājput.
Bārah Sewah [Bāla Sinor]	84.960	2,814,124	5.608	50	100	Bhodia Rājput, Lodiah
Birpur [? Pithapur] has a stone fort on the Mahendri	173,385	1,778,300	...	300	600	Rājput, Kharbā and Bonah.
Paplod [Palod]	39,930	1,493,249	...	50	100	Rājput.
Parāntij	159,273	2,076,574	...	100	200	Ol.
Bandar Solah [?Bhadarwa] (revenue in money) ...	...	600,000	...	...	...	
Petlād	...	771,960	128,990	...	...	
Thāmanah [? Thawad] (rev. in money) ...	...	600,000	...	...	...	
Chhala-Babra, has a brick fort, somewhat dilapidated, saltpetre obtained here	43,283	34,908,220	232,860	200	10,000	Koli.
	579,877	4,825 392	5,627	50	200	Jhālāwār.
Dholqa, the Sābarmati flows adjacent	834,606	1,650,000	188,160	50	100	Ponwār.
Dhandhok, has a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	403,523	113077044[2]	...	500	4,000	Do.
Sirnāl	80,646	2,528 632	...	100	300	Garāsiah, Mehtar.
Kari	936,837	30,125,778[3]	394,963	300	1,000	Ol. etc.
Kambhāyat	336,813	22,147,986	160,405	100	200	Rājput, Bārah.
Kapadbhanj, a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	...	80,125,778	27.309	100	500	Koli.
Mandwa	...	22,147,978	301,320	50	500	Do.
Modāsa, has a brick fort	507,370	423,510	16,062	100	200	Do.
Mahmudābād, has a temple to Mahādeva ...	45,590	1,748,080	160,088	...	...	Chauhān.
Masaudābād, has a brick fort	213,805	1,400,000	...	...	...	Ol (Koli)
Mangrej, has a masonry fort of *chunam* ...	76,629	121,762	...	100	300	Chauhān.
Nāriād	202,062	8,103,098	49,478	entered under Siruāl		Garāsiah.
Hasol	200,020	752,202	...	20	100	Koli.

[1] The Rājputs are here divided into two classes. (1) Garāsiahs or landowners (see Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, p. 98, for the derivation of this term), and (2) Cultivators. The former live a life of idleness on their lands and are greatly given to opium. *I. G.*

Sarkār of Pattan, north.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. 38,500,015 *Bighas*. Revenue 600.325,099 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 210,627 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 715. Infantry 6,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Pattan, has two forts ...	...	957,462	143,862	150	3,000	Rājput, Koli, Kumbi.
Bijāpur	290,554	6,001,832	2,832	200	500	Koli.
Pāthanpur	...	528,611	3,600,000*	50	500	Do.
Badnagar, has a stone fort	37,600-13	1,844,324	1,749	under Bijapur		Do.
Visalnagar	13,281	674,348	...	20	100	Rājput, Jādun.
Therād, has a brick fort ..	240,052-11	4,000,000	...	50	200	Rājput, Bārhah.
Tervāda do. ...	294,516-17	2,130,000	...	50	1,000	Koli.
Suburb. dist. of Pattan ...	14,787-50	20,054,045	862,104	under Pattan		
Rādhan [-pur], has a brick fort	257,709-6	4,000,000	...	100	200	Koli.
Sami, has a shrine much venerated in Hindustan	107,298[2]	1,266,498	...	20	100	Do.
Santalpur	34,267	287,340	...	...	...	
Kherāla	101,946-17	4,000,000	...	...	..	
Kākrej	112,338	1,312,590	...	under Tehrār		
Munjpur	51,814-11	909,630	..	25	100	Do.
Morvāda	47,777	320,020	...	...	200	Do.
Disah, has a brick fort ..	288,270	1,600,000	...	50	200	Do.

* So the MSS, but I apprehend these figures should be reversed, the larger coming under revenue, as G. has it.

Sarkār of Nandod—north.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 541,817 *Bighas*, 16 *Biswas*. Revenue 8,797,596 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 11,328 *Dāms*.

	Biswas Bighas	Revenue D.		Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.
Amreli	15,548-16	148,620	Jamungāon ...	21,444	412,093
Avidhā	4,290	17,076	Kahāar ...	14,903	80,307
Barsāi, (*Suyurghāl* 11,328)	158,696	2,061,368	Marghadrah	15,028	62,328
Badāl [?Bhadli] ...	40,663	272,645	Māndun ...	5,402	16,000
Tilakwāda ...	55,859	1,595,525	Nāndod with suburb dist. ...	128,021	3,929,330
Tahwā [Tankhala] ...	73,263	165,500	Natrang ...	15,188	40,796

Sarkār of Baroda, south.

Containing 4 *Mahals*. 922,212 Bighas. Revenue 41,145,895 *Dāms*. *Suyurghal* 388,358 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 900. Infantry 5,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Baroda with sub. dist. has a brick fort	500,920	20,403,485	...	200	400	Ponwār, &c Rājput.
Bahādurpur, has a brick fort	1,680,920	6,243,280	...	500	5.000	Rājput.
Dabhoi, has a stone fort ...	167,090	9,252,550	4,562	500	500	Rājput, Bahrāh.
Sinor, the Narbada, in its course from the north, passes under the town ...	148,150	5,746,580	...	500	5,000	Rājput, ,following name illegible).

Sarkār of Broach, south.

Containing 14 *Mahals*. 349,771 *Bighas*. Revenue 21,845,663 *Dāms*. *Suyurghal* 141,820 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 990. Infantry 8,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Olpād	186,420	1,659,877	...	...	...	
Anklesar	138,376	558,010	...	...	...	
Atlesar [Amalsari] ...	90,333	307,737	...	50	280	Gwāliā.
Broach, has a brick fort, on the Narbada; here is a Hindu shrine ...	64,660	456,230	...	500	5,000	Rājput,
Tarkesar	8,752	5,651	...	...	...	
Chharmandvi	44,821	122,795	...	...	...	
Suburban dist. of Broach	52,975	7,022,690	64,516	...	...	
Debej Bārhā [Vagra] ...	42,664	1,174,540	...	...	...	
Kāri [Kareli]	177,939	4,275,000	12,650	20	300	Rājput, Barhāh.
Kala [Ghalha]	15,181	353,670	...	...	300	Rājput, Garāsiah.
Gandhār, a port frequented by vessels	...	240,000	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Broach, South—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Lorakh [?Luhara], on the seashore	31,760	1,287,230	...	...	...	
Maqbulābād, on the seashore. Salt here obtained	81,750	1,912,040	...	20	100	Rājput. Musalmān.
Hānsot, one of the ports of this district ...	77,560	2,439,158	...	400	3,000	Rājput Bāghelah.

Sarkār of Chāmpaner.

Containing 9 *Mahals.* 80,337 *Bighas.* 11 *Biswas.* Revenue 15,009,884 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl* 173,730 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 550. Infantry 1,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Arwārah	19,129	48,209	...	...	...	
Chāmpāner, with sub. dist. has two stone forts, one on a hill called Pāwah, and the second at its foot	159,590	1,429,649	173,730	500	1,000	
Chandāwārah	27,328-8	21,530	...	...	...	
Chaurāsi	107,713	2,215,275	...	...	...	
Dohad, has a stone fort ...	68,249	1,283,300	...	...	...	
Dhol [Derol]	32,014	172,992	...	...	...	
Dilāwarah	18,129	48,628	...	...	...	
Sonkherah	240,313	2,995,696	...	...	...	
Sānwes, has a strong stone fort	120,391-1	2 300,000	...	50	100	Rājput.

Sarkār of Surat.

Containing 31 *Mahals.* 1,312,815 *Bighas.* 16 *Biswas.* Revenue 19,035,180 *Dams.* *Suyurghāl* 182,370 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry 2,000. Infantry 5500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ambhel, has a stone fort	6.581	424,355	...	...	...	
Pārchol [=Parujan] ...	55,920	1,508,000	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Surat—Contd.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Balsār, on the sea ...	74,702	1,281,420	59,785	100	500	
Balesar	86,400	1,013,045	15,035	...	...	
Beāwarah, has a stone fort near Tapti	58,659	554,320	...	2000	5,000	Rājput.
Balwārah, has a stone fort, and a shrine with a hot spring [?Palsana] ...	41,650	478,620	...	...	...	
Bhesrot [Bhestan] ...	21,170	425,055	...	...	...	
Pāruera	54,460	277,475	...	...	...	
Bhutsar	12,075	146,230	...	...	...	
Bālor [?Kadod] ...	21,435	592,180	...	...	...	
Tilāri [Taori]	85,095	917,890	90,835	...	...	
Timbā	51,029-19	263,390	2,040	...	...	
Chikhli, on the sea, has an iron mine	337,613	389,320	...	...	...	
Dhamori, on the river Timi ? (Kim ?) ...	40,994-19	767,520	...	...	...	
Rander	5,528	63,692	13,092	...	...	
Surat with suburb. dist. has a stone fort ...	50,733	5,530,145	...	...	...	
Supā	37,594	73,151	8,720	...	...	
Sarbhun	64,127	601,257	...	...	...	
Khoblori [?Kumbharia] ...	4,024	026,760		...	...	
Ghandevi	4,524	835,330	7,810	...	...	
Kharka [Kharsawa], on the Timi	42.019	629,310	...	...	...	
Karodah [Kathodra] ...	000,704	383,240	24,550	...	...	
Kāmrej	68,044	328,205	...	...	...	
Kos [-amba], has a stone fort	9,771	228,390	...	...	... ...	
Lohari	5,928	85,280	...	...		
Maroli, on the sea ...	17,044	370,410	...	...	...	
Mahwah (Moha ?) on the sea	15,016	100,290	...	...	...	
Nāroli	1,620	65,220	...	...	...	
Nosari, with a manufactory of perfumed oil, found nowhere else ...	17,353	297,720	...	...	...	
Nariād, on the sea ...	7,290	130,700	...	...	...	

Sarkār of Godhrā.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 535,255 *Bighas*. Revenue 3,418,624 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 1,000. Infantry 5,000.

	Bigha	D.		Bigha	D.
Andhā [Aradrā]	17,877	184,935	Bera [Bariya] ...	37,318	257,202
Atlawara [?Atar Sunba] ..	46,704	63,460	Jadnagar* ...	46,690	120,660

* *Jadnagar*—either Jambughoda or Chandpur.

Sarkār of Godhrā—Contd.

	Bigha	D.		Bigha	D.
Jhālod [Halol] ...	92,409	794,654	Kohāna [Kadana]	20,858	785,360
Dhānbod [Dhanpur] ...	17,082		Marāl [Marwa]	46,755	525,975
Shehera ...	35,702	146,322	Mahadwārah	19,285	10,826
Godhra with sub. dist. ...	150,250	785,660			

Sarkār of Sorath (Kathiawad).

Containing 12 *Mahals,* of which 13 are ports. Revenue 63,437,366 *Dāms.* Cavalry 17,000. Infantry 365,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Una	7,620,388	Dharwāi [Dholarwa] ...	59,792
Aivej	780,500	Dhāntror	252,048
Amreli	1,784,160	Dhāri	644,270
Apletah	1.214,592	Rānpur	16.127
Pattan Deo [Somnath] ...	4,453,912	Rālgan	113,280
Bānwāra [?Wadhwan] ...	2,049,340	Rāmot	28,320
Belkhā	140,000	Sivor	42,480
Bālsar	509,760	Sarii	4,936
Beri [? Baori]	145,600	Sultānpur	424,800
Barwa [? Baroda] ...	50,664	Canadhar	623,040
Bandah	84,960	Korinār	4,538,560
Bāndor [Wanod] ..	14,060	Ghogah (Cogo), exclusive of port	
Bhimrād	28,320	Kianābanāerā	42,480
Pālitana	240,592	Kathar	127,480
Bagsra [? Digsar] ...	56,346	Garidhari	598,704
Barar	734,790	Gondal	56,640
Barwārā [? Wasawad] ...	74,792	Kotiānā (Katiana) ...	1,797,256
Bādli	14,160	Kandolnā	198,432
Talāja	2,435,520	Luliānā	1,423,080
Chokh [Charkha] ...	453.120	Lemorā Batwā	487.576
Jaitpur		Lāthi	296,152
Jagat [Dwarka] ..	803,200	Malikpur	995.048
Chorwād (Chavadwa) ...	956,960	Mohwah, (Mowa) ...	2,051,136
Chaurā	97,288	Mandwi	127,440
Jetwad	1,071,660	Manglor	16,689,472
Jasdhon (Jasdān ..	98,560	Medarah	2,206,160
Suburban dist. of Sorath	932,000	Morbi	2,603,326
Daulatābād	357,424	Miānah	14,106
Dāng	4,410	Nāgsari	755,376
Dungar	760,400	Hatasni (?)	1,612,592

Port duties.

	Revenue Mahmudis		Revenue Mahmudis
Port of Manglor ...	27,000	Port of Mohwah (Mowa)	1,000
„ Pattan Deo ...	25,000	„ Meykor ? ...	3,000
„ Korinār ...	1,000	„ Dungar ...	1,000
„ Nāgsari ...	10,000	„ Talājā, 4 *Mahals*	7,000
„ Porbandar ...	27,228	„ Una	15,000

Princes of Gujarāt.

Seven princes reigned in succession 196 years.

	Years.
Bana-rāj Chauhan[1]	60
Jog Rāj	35
Bhimrāj	52
Bhor	29
Bahr Singh	25
Ratnādat (*var.* Rashādat)	15
Sāmant	7

* *Sorath* corresponds to mod. Junagad. The following emendations are suggested from Hamilton's *E. I. Gazetteer* and the Survey of India *Atlas* : Dhantror (=Dhamnagar), Dhari (=Darwa), Rālgaon (=Ranigaon), Siyor (=Sihor), Sarii (=Sarya), Korinar (=Kauri Nagar, 10 m. N. of Diu point), Kathar (=Kantharia), Kandolna (=Kadorna), Luliana (=Lilaola), Ura =Una-Delwara).—*J. Sarkar.*

[1] The following table is from the *U. T.* taken from the *Ain-i-Akbari.* and collated with the Agni Purāna of Wilford.

A.D.
696. Saila Deva, living in retirement at Ujjain found and educated.
745. (S. 802) Banarāja, son of Samanta Sinh (Chohān) who founded Anhalpur, called after Anala Cohān.
806. Jagarāja
841. Bhira Rājā, (Bhunda Deva. Wilford).
866. Bheur.
895. Behe Sinh.
920. Reshadat, (Raja Adity W.).
935. Samanta, (dau. married son of Delhi Raja). The total of years of reigns in the A. A. makes 223 instead of 196. G. and T. give Bhimrāj 25 instead of 42, and thus correct the error.

Ten princes of the Solanki race reigned 224 years.[1]

	Yrs.	Ms.
Mulrāj Solanki	56	0
Chāmand	13	0
Balabha	0	6
Durlabha, his nephew	11	6
Bhim, his nephew	42	0
Karan	31	0
Jai Singh, called also Sudhrāj	50	0
Kumārpāl, grandson of his uncle	23	0
Ajaipal, his nephew	8	0
Lakhmul	8	0

Six princes of the Bāghelah tribe reigned 126 years.[2]

	Yrs.	Ms.	Ds.
Hardmul Bāghelah	12	5	0
Baldeva	34	6	10
Bhim, his nephew	42	0	0
Arjun Deva	10	0	0
Sārang Deva	21	0	0
Karan	6	10	15

[1] The totals give only 238 years. The *U. T.* runs as follows :—

A.D.
910. Mula Rāja, usurped the throne.
1025. Chāmund, invaded by Sultan Mahmud (Samanta. W).
1038. Vallabha (ancient line restored).
1039. Durlabha (Dabisalima Ferishta) usurped the throne.
1050. Bhima Rāja.
Kaladeva (Karan. A. A.) Carna Rajendra or Visaladeva, (W.) who became paramount sovereign of Delhi.
1094. Siddha or Jayasimha, an usurper Kumārapal, poisoned (by Ajayapala, son of Jayasimha).

[2] The *U. T.* give the following :—

The Bhāghela tribe.

Mula (Lakhmul. A. A. Lakhan Kaya. W.) without issue.
Birdmul } Baluca—Mula, W. of Bhāghela tribe.
Beildeva }
A.D
1209. W. Bhima Deva. or Bala Bhima Deva, same as last W.
1250. Arjun Deva, }
1260. Saranga Deva, } A. A.
1281. Karan }
Karna the Gohila fled to the Deccan when in the year 1309 Gujarāt was annexed to Delhi by Alā ud din.

Fourteen (Muhammadan) princes* reigned about 160 years.

A.D.		Yrs.	Ms.	Ds.
1391.	Sultān Muzaffar Shāh, ...	3	8	16
1411.	Sultān Ahmad, I, his grandson (builds Ahmadābād and Ahmadnagar), ...	32	6	20
1443.	Mahammad Shāh, his son, ...	7	9	4
1451.	Qutb ud din Ahmad Shāh (opposes Malwa King and Chitor Raja Kombha), ...	7	0	13
1459.	Dāud Shāh, his uncle, (deposed in favour of)	0	0	7
1459.	Mahmud Shāh I, son of Muhammad Shāh (Begarrā : two expeditions to Deccan), ...	55	1	4
1511.	Sultān Muzaffar, his son, (war with Rājā Sangrām), ...	14	9	0
1526.	Sultan Sikandar, his son, (assassinated), ...	0	10	16
1526.	Sultan Nasir Khān, his brother, (Mahmud Shāh II, displaced by), ...	0	4	0
1526.	Sultan Bahādur, son of Sultān Muzaffar, (invades Mālwa : murdered by Portuguese), ...	11	9	0
1536.	Muhammad Shāh, sister's son, (Fāruqi of Mālwa), ...	0	9	0
1536.	Sultān Mahmud, grandson of Muzaffar, ...	18	2 some days.	
1553.	Sultān Ahmad (II) a descendant of Sultān Ahmad, (spurious heir set up by ministers), ...	8	0	0

* List of Gujrat Muslim rulers :

Muzaffar I	A.H. 798/1396 A.D.
Ahmad I	814/1411
Md. I. Karim	846/1442
Qutbuddin	855/1451
Dāud	862/1458
Mahmud I	862/1458
Muzaffar II	917/1511
Sikandar	932/1526
Mahmud II	932/1526
Bahādur	932/1526
Muhammad II	943/1537
Muhammad III	943/1537
Ahmad II	961/1554
Muzaffar III	969-980/1562-1572

A.D.		Yrs. Ms. Ds.
1561.	Sultān Muzaffar III, (Habbu, a supposititious son of Mahmud), ...	12 & odd.
1583.	Gujarāt becomes a province of Akbar's Empire.	

The Hindu chronicles record that in the year 802 of Bikramājit, corresponding with A.H. 154 *Sarāj* kindled the torch of independence and Gujarāt became a separate state. Rājā Sri Bhor Deva ruler of Kanauj put to death one of his dependants, named Sāmant Singh for his evil disposition, disloyalty and disorderly conduct, and seized his possessions. His wife was pregnant at the time, and urged by distress, she fled to Gujarāt and in an uninhabited waste gave birth to an infant. It happened that a Jain devotee named Saila Deva passing that way took compassion on the child and committed it to the charge of one of his disciples who took it to Rādhanpur, and brought it up with tender solicitude. When he grew to manhood, associating with wicked reprobates, he fell to outrage and highway robbery and a gang of free-booters was formed. He plundered the Gujarāt treasure on its way to Kanauj, and through the good fortune that attended him, he was joined by a grain merchant[1] called Chāmpā. Wisdom guided his sword and from works of evil he inclined to deeds of goodness till in the fiftieth year of his age, he acquired the sovereignty of the state, and founded Pattan. It is said that he long deliberated regarding the site of his capital and was diligent in search of a suitable place. A cowherd called Anhil informed him that he knew an excellent site which he would show on condition that the king would call the city after his name. His offer being accepted, he directed them to a wooded spot where a hare, he narrated, had grappled with a dog and by sheer strength of limb had got away. The Rājā founded the city there and named it Anhilpur. Astrologers have predicted that after the lapse of 2,500 years, 7 months, 9 days, and 44 *gharis*, it shall be in ruins. Through the corruption of language and syllabic change it came to be called Nahrwālah, but as in the tongue of that country 'chosen' is rendered 'Pattan,' it became universally distinguished by that name.

Rājā Sāmant Singh gave his daughter in marriage to Sri Dandak Solanki, a descendant of the Delhi princes.

[1] A trade in favour, apparently, with Gujarāt kings. One was the intimate friend and counsellor of Sultān Muhammad. See Bayley, pp. 132 and 188.

She died when on the point of giving birth, but a son was by a surgical operation taken from her womb. The moon at the time was in the sixteenth[1] mansion termed by the Hindus *Mul,* and hence he was named *Mulrāj.* Rājā Sāmant Singh adopted him as his own son and watched over his education. When he grew up, he entered into a conspiracy with some evil-disposed persons. The Rājā in a fit of drunkenness abdicated in his favour, but on becoming sober recalled his promise which so infuriated this miscreant that he slew his benefactor and assumed the sovereignty. During the reign of Rājā Chāmand A.H. 416 or 1064 of the era of Bikramājit,[2] Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni conquered this country, but on leaving, he found no fitter person on whom he might confer the government than a descendant of the royal line, and having arranged for the annual payment of a tribute, he returned by way of Sind. What is remarkable is that at the desire of this prince he carried with him captive another scion of the same family. After a time, either through fear or foresight, the captive's restoration was solicited by the same prince who went out to meet him as he approached his territory in order that intriguers might not secure his favour. On the day that they were to meet, the Rājā fell asleep for a short space under a tree, when an animal of prey tore out an eye. At that time a blind man being incapacitated from reigning, the ungrateful soldiers substituted the captive prince in his place and placed the Rājā in confinement.[3]

Kumārpāl Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement, but when the measure of Jai Singh's days became full, he came forth from the wastes of disappointed ambition and seated himself on the throne and considerably enlarged his dominions. Ajaipāl wickedly poisoned his sovereign and for a fleeting gratification has acquired eternal abhorrence.

Lakhmul having no issue, the worthiest representative of the Baghelah tribe was chosen as sovereign.

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[1] Variously taken as the 17th, 19th and 24th lunar asterism, containing 11 stars, apparently those in the tail of Scorpio and said to be unlucky. In the dissertation on Astronomy that follows in a subsequent book, Mul is counted as the 19th mansion.

[2] 1064 A.B. is equivalent to A.D. 1007 and A.H. 416 to A.D. 1025. It was in Sept. 1024 A.D. that Mahmud set out from Ghazni in his expedition against Somnāth.

[3] The story is related at greater length from the *Mirat i Ahmadi* in Bayley's Hist of Gujarāt, pp. 29-34 and its probability defended in a discursive note.

During the reign of Karan, the troops of Sultān Alā u'd din overran Gujarāt. Karan, defeated in the field, fled to the Deccan. Although previous to this time Muizz u'd din Sām[1] and Qutb u'd din Eibak had made expeditions into the country, it was not until the reign of Alā u'd din that it was formally annexed to Delhi.

In the reign of Muhammad, son of Firuz Shāh, Nizām Mustakhrāj, called also Rāsti Khān,[2] was appointed to the government of Gujarāt, but his injustice becoming oppressive, he was removed and the viceroyalty was conferred on Zafar Khān son of Wajih u'l Mulk Tānk. The former governor disloyally rebelling, was killed in the field. The events of this time may be gathered from the history of the Delhi sovereigns. His son Tātār Khān was a man of base character and in whom wickedness was ingrained. At this period after the death of Sultān Muhammad when the throne of Delhi devolved on Sultān Mahmud, considerable anarchy prevailed. Zafar Khān withdrew from affairs and Tātār Khān assumed the royal state and marched against Delhi, but was poisoned at the instigation of his father[3] who coming forth from his retirement had the *Khutbah* read and the coin struck in his own name, and was proclaimed under the title of Sultān Muzaffar. (1407.) Gujarāt thus became an independent kingdom and the government of the province was established in the *Tānk* family. The father of Zafar, Wajih u'l Mulk had been a Brahman and was converted to Islām. Ahmad the son of Tātār Khān conspired against the life of his grandfather and took possession of the throne thus garnering eternal perdition. Ahmadābād was founded by him. With deep design and meditated hypocrisy he withdrew himself from all worldly pageantries till at a festival when all suspicion was laid asleep in the midst of universal enjoyment, he put to death twelve of his uncles. Subsequently he applied himself with earnestness to the

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[1] Otherwise Shahāb ud din Ghori.

[2] Malik Mufarrah Sultāni, who afterwards obtained the title of Farhat ul Mulk Rāsti Khān. Zafar Khān was appointed to succeed him on the 2nd Rabia I, 793 A.H. (21st Feb. 1931) (Bayley *Hist. of Guj.*), p. 58. Wajih ul Mulk was a Hindu called Sadhāran, converted to Islam and belonged, says the *Mirat i Sikandari*, to the Tānk caste, an outcast branch of the Khatris. One of them was expelled for his use of strong drinks and the name is said in Hindi to signify an outcast. The derivation is asserted to rest on some form of the Sanskrit *tyāga*, meaning separation, divorce. See Bayley's note. *Ibid*, p. 67. Baber calls the race *Tang*. *Memoirs*, Erskine, p. 311.

[3] It is commonly believed, says the *Mirat i Sikandari* that Tātār Khān placed his father in confinement and seated himself on the throne under title of Mhd. Shāh, whence the reprisal. *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

duties of his government and was filled with continual remorse, and to his last breath set himself to a just and capable administration of the state.

When Dāud Khān was deposed on account of his incapacity, Fath Khān son of Muhammad Shāh was raised to the throne and was proclaimed as Sultān Mahmud (I). He distinguished himself by his recognition of merit[1] and by his justice, and girt himself with the fence of munificence and liberality. Malik Shabān who held the title of Imād u'l Mulk was of the utmost service to him.[2] In the beginning of his reign some of the wealthy favourites conspired against the life of their lord and in the first instance plotted the overthrow of this judicious and sincere counsellor. Like intriguers as they were, they conveyed false allegations to the king, and as the worldly-minded are suspicious of each other, he imprisoned this peerless denizen of the world of faith and purposed putting him to death. He was on the point of being condemned when Malik Abdu'llah the superintendent of the elephants who had the royal ear, revealed the innocence of his faithful minister and the designs of the conspirators. The king skilfully contrived his escape and, the veil of their pretence being rent asunder, the miscreants took to arms. The royal guard and the slaves together with the officers in charge of the elephants made a stand against them, and the elephants themselves proved of service in chastising the rebels. Disgracefully routed, these disloyal subjects met with just retribution.. At Mahmud's death, his son Muzaffar Shāh, with the assistance of the nobles, ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Muzaffar (II). His reign was beneficent. Shāh Ismail of the Sufi dynasty of Persia sent him as presents the choicest goods of Irāq[3] and he in turn courteously reciprocated his acknowledgments. On his decease, his son succeeded him under the title of Sultān Sikandar. In a short time he was wickedly done to death by Imād u'l Mulk who raised his brother Nasir Khān to the throne. The nobles plotted to

[1] And likewise by his enormous appetite. His daily allowance of food was one *man Gujarāt* weight (equal to 15 Bahloli *seers*). He put aside 5 *seers* of boiled rice and before going to sleep, placed half on one side of his couch and half on the other, so that on whichever side he awoke, he might find something to eat. This was followed in the morning by a cup of honey, a cup of butter and 100 to 150 plaintains. After this, Abul Fazl's appetite sinks into insignificance. *His* allowance was 22 *seers* daily.

[2] The whole account will be found in Bayley under this monarch's reign. The reader is referred to that work for details of this historical synopsis.

[3] A turquoise cup of great value, a chest full fo jewels, many valuable tissues and 30 Persian horses. Bayley, p. 244.

displace him. The king appealed for succour to His Majesty Bāber and engaged to surrender to him the port of *Dib* (Diu) with its dependencies and several *krors* of *tankahs*, if he would advance in aid with his victorious troops. On account of his former ungrateful conduct, his offer was refused.[1] At this juncture, Bāhadur the son of Sultān Muzaffar came from Delhi at the invitation of the Bābriyas[2] and the nobles joined his standard. During his father's reign he was unable to remain at court through the envy borne towards him by his brother (Sikandar). He, therefore, betook himself to Sultān Ibrahim Lodi at Delhi and was received with favour. The nobles of Jaunpur invited him to be their king, and his intentions were inclined that way, when at this time his partisans wrote to him from Gujarat and entreated his acceptance of the throne. He willingly set out for the capital and being successful, he made his administration prosperous by his justice and liberality. Carried away by the intoxication of worldly success, he imprudently engaged in a war with Humayun, and being defeated, sullenly withdrew in discomfiture.[3]

At his death, Mirān Muhammad ruler of Khāndesh, his nephew, whom during his lifetime he had constituted his heir, was in his absence proclaimed in the *khutbah* by the nobles, but died shortly before reaching Gujarāt. Mahmud, grandson of Sultān Muzaffar, who was then in confinement, succeeded him. A miscreant called Burhān with some of his adherents put him to death[4] and under pretence of

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[1] Ferishta says (Bayley, p. 319) that this letter never reached Bāber, the Rājah of Dungarpur having intercepted it.

[2] See Bayley, p. 35, n., and for his adventures after leaving Gujarāt, p. 321 *et seq.*

[3] Baber says of him that he acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation by putting to death Imād Mulk who had strangled his brother Sikandar, but besides this, he slew a number of his father's amirs and gave proof of a blood-thirsty and ungovernable nature.

[4] Bayley, p. 445, *et seq.* Burhān who had been a low favourite of the king, poisoned and stabbed his master and sallied forth from the palace in the pomp of royalty when he was met and slain by Shirwan Khān Bhatti, adopted son of Afzal one of the murdered nobles. Ferishta's account is that on the death of the king becoming known, Itimād Khān with Changiz Khan, Ulug Khān, Habshi and others, came out to oppose him. Burhān was thrown at the first charge and killed by Shirwān Khān. His feet were tied to a rope and he was dragged throughout the city. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* gives the name of Razi ul Mulk to one of the nobles who was sent to bring the new king, Ahmad, to the capital, but Ferishta expressly states that this descendant of Ahmad Shāh was named Razi ul Mulk and was raised to the throne as Ahmad Shāh II. He continues, that disgusted with his nominal sovereignty, after a 5 years' tutelage he took refuge with Mirān Mubārak Shāh one of the principal nobles on whose death in the field, an accommodation was again effected with Itimād Khān, but having expressed himself too openly as desirous of death of that minister, he himself was found dead the next day,

establishing a rightful succession, massacred twelve of the nobles. Itimād Khān prudently absented himself on the occasion, and next morning collecting his followers, attacked him and put him to the death he deserved. He then set up one Razi u'l Mulk by name a descendant of Sultān Ahmad, I, under the title of Sultān Ahmad (II) as a nominal sovereign and took the government into his own hands. But when the boy grew to manhood, he altered his purpose and carrying him to the house of one of his adherents, he slew him and then leading some unknown minor by the hand, swore upon oath that he was the son of the last Sultān Mahmud (II). By fraudful allegations, he bestowed on him the sovereign authority and giving him the title of Sultān Muzaffar, he himself assumed the reins of power, until his present Majesty threw the shadow of justice over the province and annexed this prosperous country to the imperial dominions.

May it ever be adorned with perpetuity and high and low enjoy unfading blessings.

near the river opposite the house of Wajih ul Mulk and it was given out that, caught in a love intrigue in that nobleman's house, he had been unwittingly slain. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* tells the story more in detail. On his death, Itimād Khān produced a boy (not named in Ferishta nor, I think, in the *Mirat*) whom he swore to be the son of Mahmud Shāh II, his mother's pregnancy not having been discovered till the 5th month when too late to check it. For Mahmud had unnaturally interdicted the fertility of his wives to avoid a disputed throne. The nobles accepted or feared to oppose the pretension, and the boy was placed under the control of Itimad Khān. The subsequent history may be read in Ferishta, or in Brigg's free but generally faithful rendering, but the events of his worthless life—it cannot be called a reign—are lost in the contests of the nobles for their share of short-lived power till the incorporation of the kingdom with the empire on the 24th Rajab A.H. 890 (Nov. 20th, 1572). Bayley's translation concludes with the death of Mahmud Shāh IV, but his original continues the history of Gujarāt to 1001 A.H. (1592-3) and the death by his own hand of the last of its sovereigns.

SUBAH OF AJMER

It is situated in the second climate. Its length from the village of Pokhar (*Bhakar*—Pushkar) and dependencies of *Amber* to Bikaner and *Jaisalmir* is 168 *kos*. Its breadth from the extreme limits of the *Sarkār* of *Ajmer* to *Bānswārah* is 150 *kos*. To the east lies *Agra*: to the north the dependencies of *Delhi*: to the south *Gujarāt*: to the west *Dipālpur* and *Multān*. The soil is sandy, and water obtainable only at great depth, whence the crops are dependent on rain. The winter is temperate, but the summer intensely hot. The spring harvest is inconsiderable. *Jowāri, Lahdarah* and *Moth* are the most abundant crops. A seventh or an eighth of the produce is paid as revenue, and very little in money. The people dwell in tent-shaped bamboo huts. To the south are the (Aravalli) mountains of which the passes are difficult to traverse.

This Subah is formed of *Mewār, Marwār* and *Hadauti*.[1] The former possesses 10,000 (troops) and the whole of the *Sarkār* of *Chitor* is dependent on it. Its length is 40 *kos* by 30 in breadth. It has three famous fortresses, *Chitor* the residence of the governor, *Kombhalmer*[2] and *Māndal*. In the village of *Jāwar*,[3] one of the dependencies of *Chainpur* is a zinc mine. In *Chainpur* and other dependencies of *Māndal* are copper mines, which are extremely profitable.

The chief of the state was formerly called *Rāwal*, but for a long time past has been known as *Rānā*.[4] He is of the Ghelot clan and pretends a descent from Noshirwān the Just.[5] An ancestor of this family through the vicissitudes of fortune came to Berār and was distinguished as the chief of *Narnālah*. About eight hundred years previous to the present time, *Narnālah* was taken by an enemy and many were slain. One *Bāpā*, a child, was carried by his mother

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[1] Harowtee or Hārāoti, a tract formed of the territory of Kotah and Bundi, and named after a dominant tribe of Rājputs.

[2] Komulmir is a pass that runs through a series of rugged ravines in the Aravalli ranges and is defended by a fortress. In art. Udaipur, it is spelt Kumalmer.

[3] *Jāwar*, 24 miles S. of Udaipur, is said to have possessed zinc mines now unworked.

[4] The foundation of the Ghelot dynasty in Rājputāna was effected by Bappa Rawal who is said to have established himself in Chitor and Mewār in 728 A.D. *I. G.*

[5] It is asserted that a daughter of Noshirwān, whose queen was a daughter of Maurice of Constantinople married into the Udaipur royal family.

from this scene of desolation to *Mewār*, and found refuge with *Rājah Mandalik*,[1] a *Bhil*. When he grew up to man's estate he followed the pursuit of a shepherd and was devoted to hunting in which his daring was so conspicuous that he became in favour with the Rājā and a trusted minister of state. On the death of the Rājā, his four nephews disputed the succession, but they eventually decided to resign their pretensions in favour of *Bāpā* and to acknowledge his authority. *Bāpā*, however, declined their offer. It happened one day that the finger of one of these four brothers began to bleed, and he drew with the blood the ceremonial mark of installation on the forehead of Bāpā, and the others concurred in accepting his elevation. He then assumed the sovereignty. To this day the custom continues of making with human blood this sign of investiture on any *Rāna* who succeeds to the throne. The ungrateful monarch put the four brothers to death. On a former occasion while passing through the wilds, mistaking one *Marich* [Rishi], a hermit, for a wild animal, he fitted an arrow to his bow. The hermit intuitively prescient of this action through his purity of heart, made himself known, and the Rājā repentantly excused himself and humbly visited him with assiduity. The hermit one day predicted his elevation, and marvellous tales are told regarding him. Having made his head quarters at *Sisodā*, the tribe is called *Sisodiah* and as a Brāhman, at the beginning of their history nurtured their house, they are accounted as belonging to this caste.

When *Rāwal Rattan Si* died, a relative named *Arsi* was raised to the throne and entitled Rānā from whom the present *Rāna Umrā* is tenth in descent, thus; *Hamir, Kaitā, Lākha, Mokul, Kombhā, Rāemal, Sangā, Udai Singh, Partāb, Umrā.*

Ancient chronicles record that Sultān Alā ud din Khilji king of Delhi had heard that *Rāwal Rattan Si* prince of *Mewār* possessed a most beautiful wife. He sent to demand her and was refused, upon which he led an army to enforce compliance and laid siege to *Chitor*. After a long persistence in beleaguering the place in vain, he had recourse to artifice and proposed terms of peace and friendship. The Rājā readily acquiesced and invited him to an entertainment. The Sultān entered the fort with his chosen followers and the meeting took place amid festivity and mirth, and finding

[1] Rao Mandalik says Bayley (*Hist. of Gujarāt*) is the title assumed by all the chiefs of Girnār.

his opportunity he seized the Rājā and carried him off. It is said that the Sultān's retinue consisted of a hundred men and 300 picked soldiers dressed as attendants. Before the Rājā's troops could assemble he was hurried away to the camp amidst the wailing of his people. The king kept the Rājā in close confinement with a view to extort compliance with his desire. The faithful ministers of the Rājā implored the king not to injure him and promised to deliver up to him not only the object of his love but other suitable partners of his harem. They also sent a forged letter purporting to come from the virtuous queen and lulled his suspicions to sleep. The king was delighted and not only refrained from personal violence but treated the Rājā with cordiality. It is related that 700 of the choicest troops dressed as women were placed in litters and set out for the king's camp and it was given out that the Rāni with a large number of her attendants was on the way to the royal pavilion. When they approached the camp, word was sent that the Rāni wished to have an interview with the Rājā previous to entering the king's quarters. Lapped in his illusive dream of security the king granted the interview, during which the soldiers seizing the opportunity, threw off their disguise and bore off their prince. Time after time the Rājputs stood to face their pursuers fighting manfully and many were slain before the Rājā had gone far. At length the Chauhāns, *Gaurā* and *Bādal* made a stand fighting to the death enabling the Rāwal to reach Chitor in safety amidst universal acclamation. The king having endured great hardships during the siege and finding it to no purpose, returned to Delhi. After an interval, he set his heart again on the same project but returned discomfited. The Rāwal wearied with these assaults, conceived that an interview with the king might result in an alliance and that he would thus escape this state of continual strife. Guided by a traitor he met the king at a place 7 *kos* from *Chitor* where he was basely slain. His relative *Arsi*, after this fatal event, was raised to the throne. The Sultān returned to the siege of *Chitor* and captured it. The Rājā was slain fighting and all the women voluntarily perished by fire.

Hamir his son betook himself to the adjacent mountains. *Sultān Muhammad Khuni*[1] made over the govern-

[1] "The murderer," the special title to fame of Muhammad Tuglak, but this monopoly of the epithet is scarcely fair to many other members of the royal houses of Delhi.

ment of Chitor to Māldeva Chauhān ruler of Jālor. As this prince was unable to bring the province into order, he summoned *Hamir,* made him his son-in-law, and through his means restored its prosperity. At his death, Hamir made away with his sons and raised the standard of independence.

The present local militia consists of 16,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, but Mewār formerly controlled much more extensive territories, so much so that Rājah Sanka (Sanga) possessed a force of 180,000 cavalry and a numerous infantry.

Mārwār is 100 *kos* in length by 60 in breadth, and it comprises the *Sarkārs* of *Ajmer, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Nāgor,* and *Bikaner.* It has long been the head quarters of the Rāthor tribe. When Muizz ud din Sām had terminated his campaign against *Pithurā* (Prithwi Rājā, A.D. 1191-93), he resolved to turn his arms against *Jaichand* king of *Kanauj.* The Rājah in his flight was drowned in the Ganges.[1]. His brother's son Siha, who resided in *Shamsābād* was slain with a large number of troops. His three sons *Sutik, Ashwatthama* and *Aj* set out for Gujarāt, and on their way rested at *Pāli* near *Sojhat.* In this city dwelt a number of Brāhmans who were much molested by the *Minah* tribe, some of whom at this period made a raid on the town. The exiles came out, attacked them valorously, and put them to flight. The Brāhmans gave them great honour and treated them with every consideration and thus alleviated in some degree their distress of heart. As they acquired the means of worldly success they grew bolder and seized *Kher* [Kumbher] from the *Gohel* tribe and thus advanced their condition. *Sutik* independently wrested *Edar* from the *Minahs,* and *Aj* setting out for *Baglānah,* took that district by force from the *Kolis.* From that time their descendants have inhabited the country. The descendants of *Ashwatthamā* who remained in *Mārwār* gradually gained credit till eventually *Maldeva* his sixteenth descendant waxed so powerful, that Sher Khān nearly lost his life in his campaign against him.[2]

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[1] Other accounts assert that he was slain by an arrow from the bow of Qutb-uddin the favorite general of the Muhammad Ghori, and the founder of the Dynasty of the Slave Kings. It is historical that his body was found and recognised by his false teeth, "a circumstance," says Elphinstone in the solitary instance of humour in his solemn history, "which throws grave light on the state of manners." One result of this defeat was the retreat of the greater part of the Rahtor clan from Kanauj to Mārwār.

[2] Sher invaded Mārwār in A.D. 1544 and his camp was surprised by an atttack of 12,000 Rājputs who so nearly put an end to his campaigning that he declared he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet,

This territory contains many forts, but the most important are *Ajmer, Jodhpur, Bikāner, Jaisalmir, Amarkot, Abugarh* and *Jālor*.

Hādāoti is called also the *Sarkār* of Nāgor. It is inhabited by the *Hādā* (Hara) tribe.

This *Subah* comprises 7 *Sarkārs* and 197 *parganahs*. The measured land is 2 *Krors*, 14 *lakhs*, 35,941 *bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. The revenue in money is 28 *krors* 84 *lakhs*, 1,557 *dāms*, (Rs. 7,210,308-14-9) of which 23 *lakhs*, 26,336 *dāms* (Rs. 51,158-6-5) are Suyurghal. The local force is 86,500 cavalry, 347,000 infantry.

Sarkār of Ajmer.

Containing 28 *Parganahs, 5,605,487 Bighas.* Revenue in money, 62,183,390 Dāms. *Suyurghāl* 1,475,714 *Dāms.* Tribes, *Kachhwāhah, Afghān, Chauhān.*

	Bighas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.
Ajmer with dist. its fort on a hill, one of	795,335	6,214,731	D.
the most important in India	1,135,095	12,256,297	802,440
Amber, has stone fort on a hill ...	179,573	1,755,960	...
Arāin	279-295	2,200,000	...
Parbat [-sar]	90,488	486,161	...
Phāgi	349,774	1,400,000	...
Bhināi	68,712	271,256	...
Bharāna [Baghera]	168,712	749,733	. .
Bawāl [? Borach]	81,914-11	600,000	...
Bāhal [Barl]	15,522	435,664	15,674
Bāndar Sindri	24,220	270,000	
Bharondā	351,779-12	3,300,090	...
Tusinā [? Tilonia]	138,718	241,442	...
Jobner	27,092-18	501,844	...
Jhāk	49,065	1,200,000	...
Deogāon [Baghera]	76,548	692,512	...
Koshanpur [? Kishanpur]	194,064	9,649,947	277,537
Sāmbhar, has a stone fort	245,136	1,616,825	...
Sarwār, has a brick fort	72,098	1,270,000	16,027
Sithlā [Setholao]	147,923	1,860,016	...
Kekri	50,640	1,808,000	...
Kherwah	71,356	7,020,347	...
Mārot	252,371	5,756,402	...
Muzābād	251,973	1,459,577	...
Masaudābād [Masuda]	14,361	1,587,990	...
Narāina	266,614	2,660,159	260,100
Harsuli, has a brisk fort	163,273	1,200,926	926

Sarkār of Chitor.

Containing 26 *Parganahs,* 1,678,800 *Bighas,* 17 *Biswas.* Revenue, 30,047,649 *Dāms. Suyurghāl,* 360,737 *Dāms.* Tribes, Rājput Sesodia, Cavalry, 22,000 Infantry, 82,000.

	Bighas	Revenue D	Suyurghāl D.
Islāmpur, known as Rāmpura ...	101,526	7,000,000	...
Udaipur, here a large lake about 16 *Kos* in circumference; by its means wheat crops are grown	...	1,120,000 in money	...

Sarkār of Chitor—contd.

	Bighas	Revenue	Suyurghāl D.
Uparmāl	27,805	280,000	...
Arnod	44,720	2^0,000	...
Islāmpur, known as Mohan	...	126,600 in money	...
Badnor, has a stone fort	113,265	4,311,551	59,815
Phuliā do.	257,481	2,843,470	43,470
Banerā	58,038	3,296,200	244,000
Pur	199,209	2,601,041	13,452
Bhainsror, has a stone fort	...	1,200,000	...
Bāgor (Bāgol)	1,744-17	39,550	...
Begun	234,804	1,175,729	...
Barsi [? Patti] Hājipur, has a stone fort	35,098	1,375,000	...
Chitor, with sub. dist 2 mahals, has a stone fort, and is a frontier of Hindustān proper	451,118	800,000	...
Jiran	39,218	1,085,250	...
Sānwārghāti	...	470,294	...
Sādri, has a stone fort	5,991	400,020	...
Sembal [?Sanwad] with the cultivated tracts	...	100,000 in money	...
Kosiānah [? Gosunda]	52,713	263,812	...
Māndalgarh, has a stone fort on a hill ...	...	3,384,750 in money	...
Māndal has a brick fort	13,848	447,090	...
Mandāriyā [Madri]	...	160,000 in money	...
Nimach &c. 3 mahals	21,416	719,202	...

Sarkār of Rantambhor.

Containing 73 Mahals. 6,024,196 *Bighas*, 11 *Biswas*. Revenue, 89,824,576 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 181,134 *Dāms*. Rājput Hādā (Hara). Cavalry, 9,000. Infantry, 25,000.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.
Alanpur	18,481	1,562,239	20,209
Unārā	57,308	1,237,169	...
Atādā [?Etawa]	45,349	770,525	...
Āton	14,584	600,000	...

Sarkār of Rantambhor—contd.

	Bighas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.
Islampur [=Aligarh]	5,191	77,500	...
Amkhorah	...	160,000	...
Antardah	166,173	in money	...
Awān Bosamir	25,747	1,500,000	...
Bundi, has a stone fort on a hill ...	33,161	1,200,000	...
Baonli, has a stone fort	151,430	2,622,747	22,747
Baroda	267,326	4,571,000	...
Jarwāra	163,226	1,969,776	...
Pātan [Kesorai]	139,280	2,800,000	...
Bhadlāon	96,895	2,686,389	...
Baklānt	149,087	1,200,000	...
Palāita	29,302	1,400,000	...
Bhosor	40,677	600,000	...
Banahta	21,257	524,356	...
Bilona	31,615	456,479	...
Bijari	15,594	334,800	...
Bālākhatri	33,930	300,000	...
Bhori Bhāri (Bari Pahar)	16,845	110,000	...
Bārān	242,107	880,000	...
Tonk	502,402	7,500,000	...
Toda	443,028	5,859,006	...
Todri	400,768	5,456,840	...
Talād	32,509	423,288	...
Jetpur	23,014	928,500	...
Chātsu	516,525	7,536,829	...
Jhalāwa (Jhalāi)	13,180	500,000	...
Jhāin	37,753	475,000	...
Khilchipur	30,813	1,209,886	...
Dhari (? Darah)	97,861	1,800,000	...
	54,668	409,260	
Dablāna	...	733,400	9,260
		in money	
Rantambhor with sub. dist	371-19	156,795	
Rawanjna (Dungar)	49,745	430,354	1,505
Sheopur	494,070	5,041,306	6,292
Sārsop	36,636	1,058,876	...
Sahansāri	28,575	300,000	...
Kotā, has a stone fort on a hill, near which the Chambal flows	360,378	3,000,000	...
Khāndar, has a stone fort on a hill ...	90,246	400,000	...
Khankra	220,350	1,511,994	...
Kheri	35,443	528,178	11,994
Khātoli	2,389	200,000	26,744
Gendawar	6,930-12	188,095	...
Karor, has a stone fort on a hill ...	6,377	200,000	...
Lākheri do. ...	3,523	800,000	...
Londa	17,400	250,000	...
Loharwāra	20,334	250,000	...
Luāwad	3,678	125,000	...
Mau-maidana, 16 *Mahals*		4,100,000	...
Malārna	172,693	3,299,241	...
Mangrol	140,799	1,004,348	
Nawai	33,927	930,000	
Nāgar (Nāgor)	33,900	1,000,000	

Sarkār of Jodhpur.

Containing 22 *Mahals*. Revenue 14,528,750 *Dāms*. Tribe, Rāthor, Cavalry 15,000. Infantry, 50,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Asop has a brick fort ...	8,000,000	Jetāran, has a small fort on a hill	3,000,000
Indrāoti	8,000	Dunārā, has a stone fort	100,000
Phalodi, has a stone fort	640,000	Sojat, has a stone fort on a hill	2,812,750
Palpārah [Pipar]	1,463,000	Sāalmer do. ...	560,000
Bilara	314,000	Siwānā do. one of the most important strongholds in India ...	1,200,000
Pāli &c., 3 *Mahals*, has a small stone fort ...	250,000	Kherwā	220,000
Bahila	180,000	Khimwasar, has a stone fotr	172,000
Podhah has a stone fort	46,003	Gundoj do. ...	90,000
Bhadrārjun, has a stone fort on a plain ..	800,000	Mahewah	960,000
Jodhpur with sub, dist. has a stone fort on a hill	280,000		

Sarkār of Sirohi.

Containing 6 *Mahals*. Revenue 4,2,077,437 *Dāms*. Tribes, Rājput, Ghelot, Afghān. Cavalry, 8000. Infantry, 3,800.

	Revenue D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Tribe
Abugarh and Sirohi, 2 *Mahals*, the latter has a strong stone fort ...	12,000,000	3,000	15,000	Rājput.
Bānswārah, a delightful country; has a stone fort	8,000,000	1,500	20,000	Do.
Jālor, Sānchor, 2 *Mahals*; has a very strong stone fort ..	14,077,437	2,000	5,000	Afghān.
Dungarpur	8,000,000	1,000	2,000	Rājput Ghelot.

Sarkār of Nāgor.

Containing 31 *Mahals*. 8,037,450 *Bighas*, 14 *Biswas*. Revenue, 40,389,830 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 30,805 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 4,500. Infantry, 22,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Amarsar	849,809	7,029,370	...	4000	20,000	Kachhwāhah.
Indāna	262,302	1,313,006	479	...	...	

Sarkār of Nāgor—contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Bhadāna	544,340	2,271,960	70460	...	...	...
Baldu	87,947	570,000	...	...	...	..
Patoda	141,370	322,816	...	...	...	...
Baroda	2,620	220.363	...	...	...	...
Bārah Kāin	230,379	58,000	...	...	...	...
Jāel	293,069	955,273	3200	...	...	...
Jārodah	141,592	874,284	2147	...	...	...
Jakhara, surrounded by a waste of sand ..	...	137,757	...	...	...	...
Khārij Khattu, has a stone fort, and a quarry of white marble* ..	77,577	348,814	...	...	...	...
Didwāna, has a brick fort	36,581	4,586,828	15215	..	...	...
Dronpur	219,698	780,085	...	...	...	...
Rewāsā	801,117	1,995,824	...	...	...	...
Run	615,212	913,251	...	...	...	...
Rasulpur	114,985	704,306	...	...	...	...
Rahot	45,269	183,137	...	...	...	...
Sādela	153,032	1,262,930	...	...	...	...
Fatehpur Jhunjhunu, has a stone fort	152,200	1,233,222	...	500	2000	Qiyām Khāni.
Kāsli . ..	28,740	1,587,157	...	...	...	...
Khāela	114,955	558,560	..	...	...	...
Kuchera	270,490	466,890	...	...	...	...
Kolewa [Kolia]	12,748	352,305	...	...	..	...
Kumāri	469,881	435,604	8220	...	...	..
Kheran	26,033	57,160	...	...	...	..
Lādnu	149,760	780,842	4337	...	...	...
Merta, has a stone fort ..	2,114,773	7,701,522	45,433	...	...	...
Manoharnagar	129,895	2,903,386	..	...	...	...
Nokhā	83,096	380,756	...	...	...	..
Nāgor with sub. dist. has a brick fort	57,755-14	813,581	114,440	...	...	...

* *Khatu* is 38 miles s.e. of Nāgor.

Sarkār of Bikaner.

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Revenue 4,750,000 *Dāms*. Tribe, Bhāti. Cavalry, 12,000. Infantry, 50, 000.

	Tribe		Tribe
Bikampur	...	Bikaner	Rāthor.
Barsalpur	...	Jaisalmir	Bhāti.
Bāharmel (Barmer) ...	..	Chhotan	...
Pungal	...	Kotrā	...
Barkal	...	Dewādawar	...
Pokharan	...		

SUBAH OF DELHI.

It is in the third climate. Its length from *Palwal*[1] to *Ludhianah* on the bank of the *Satlej* is 165 *kos*. Its breadth from the *Sarkār* of *Rewāri* to the *Kumāon* hills is 140 *kos*, and again from *Hisār* to *Khizrābād* is 130 *kos*. On the east lies[2] the capital, Agra; on the north-east it marches with *Khairābād* in the *Subah* of *Oudh;* to the north are mountains; on the south the *Subahs* of *Agra* and *Ajmer;* on the west is Ludhiānah. The chief rivers are the *Ganges* and the *Jumna,* and both these take their rise in this *Subah.* There are besides numerous other streams, amongst them the *Ghaghar.* The mountains principally to the north. The climate is nearly temperate. Much of the land is subject to inundation and in some places there are three harvests. The fruits of Irān, Turān and Hindustān are here grown and abundant flowers of various kinds. Lofty buildings of stone and brick delight the eye and gladden the heart, and it is scarce equalled for the choice productions of every clime.

Delhi is one of the greatest cities of antiquity. It was first called *Indrapat* and is situated in long. 114° 38′, lat. 28° 15′. Although some consider it as the second climate, making the southern mountainous system begin from this region they are certainly mistaken as the latitude shows. Sultāns *Qutbuddin* (1206-10), and *Shamsuddin* (Altmish, 1210-35) resided in the citadel of Rajah *Pithura* (Prithwi). Sultān *Ghiyāsuddin Balban* erected another fort, intending it as a (royal) cemetery. He also built a handsome edifice in which if any criminal took sanctuary, he was absolved from retribution. *Muizz ud din Kai Kubād* (1286-9) founded another city on the banks of the *Jumna* called *Kelukhari*. *Amir Khusrau* in his poem the *'Qirānu's Sadaīn'*[3] eulogises this city and its palace. It is now the last resting-place of

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[1] A town of undoubted antiquity, supposed to figure in the earliest Aryan traditions under the name of *Apelava*, part of the Pāndava kingdom of Indraprāstha.

[2] The word *'Khāwar'* like *'Bākhtar'* is often misapplied and the two are interchangeably and incorrectly used for E. and W. alike. Abul Fazl, however, invariably uses *"Bakhtar"* for W. and *Khāwar* for E., though with a southing tendency, as may be seen from his delimitations of other provinces. Hence Agra is certainly E. of Delhi in longitude, but it is almost south of it. See Cunningham's explanation of the anomalous use of *'Khāwar'* and *'Dakkhin'* in his *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 94

[3] See *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1860, p. 225, and Elliot, iii, 524.

Humāyun where a new and splendid monument has been erected. Sultān *Alā ud din* (1295-1316) founded another city and fort called *Siri*. *Tughlaqābād* is a memorial of *Tughlaq Shāh* (1321-24). His son *Muhammad* (1324-51) founded another city and raised a lofty pile with a thousand columns of marble and constructed other noble edifices. *Sultān Firoz* (1351-88) gave his own name to a large town[1] which he founded and by a cutting from the *Jumna* brought its waters to flow by. He likewise built another palace at a distance of 3 *kos* from *Firozābād*, named *Jahānumā* (*the world-view*). Three subterranean passages were made wide enough to admit of his passing along in mounted procession with the ladies of his harem; that towards the river, 5 *jaribs* in length; the second towards the *Jahānumā*, 2 *kos*, and the third to old Delhi, 3 *kos*. Humāyun restored the citadel of *Indrapat* and named it *Dinpanāh* (*asylum of the faith*). Sher Khān destroyed the Delhi of *Alā ud din* and built a separate town. Although the monuments of these cities are themselves eloquent and teach us the highest moral lessons, yet even is this latest Delhi now for the most part in ruins. The cemeteries are, however, populous. *Khwājah Qutb ud din Ushi* lies here and *Shaikh Nizām ud din Aulia*, and *Shaikh Nasir ud din Mahmud*, the Lamp of Delhi, and *Malik Yār-i-Pirān*, and *Shaikh Salāh*, and *Mālik Kabir-i-Aulia*, and *Maulanā Muhammad*, and *Hāji Abdul Wahhāb* and *Shaikh Abdullah Quraishi*, and *Shaikh Shams Tark-i-Biyābāni*, and *Shaikh Shams-i-Autād* and *Amir Khusrau*[2] with many other servants of God instructed in Divine knowledge who in this spot repose in their last sleep. Here too lie Sultān *Shahāb ud din Ghori*, and *Sultān Shams ud din*, and *Nāsir ud din Ghāzi*, and *Ghiyās ud din*, and *Alā ud din* and *Qutb ud din*, and *Tughluq*, and *Muhammad Aādil*, and *Firoz* and *Bahlol*, and *Sikandar Lodi*. Many now living, likewise, have laid out pleasant spots and groves for their final resting-place—to the introspective a source of blissful ecstasy, to the wise an incentive to watchfulness.

In the hill of *Islāmābād* is a very deep spring called *Prabhās Kund* from which warm water continually bubbles up, and which is a great place of worship.

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[1] It is supposed to have occupied the ground between Humāyun's tomb and the Ridge. *I. G.*

[2] Of these personages the last is sufficiently famous. The second and third and last on the list will be found in Ferishta's lives of the saints at the close of his History. Also *Ency. Isl.*

Biswamitra Rikhesar [Rishishwar] made a deep excavation of three *bighas* of this hill and devoted it to purposes of worship, and to this day it testifies to the antiquity of this construction.

Badāon is conspicuous amongst ancient cities and a great many holy religious are there buried.

A part of the northern mountains of this *Subah* is called *Kumāon*. Here are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, orpiment and borax. Here also are found the musk-deer and the *Qutās* cow,[1] as well as silk-worms, hawks, falcons and game of various kinds, and honey in abundance and the species of horse called *Gut* (Gunt).

There is game in plenty in the *Sarkār* of Sambal (Sambhal), where the rhinoceros is found.[1] It is an animal like a small elephant, without a trunk, and having a horn on its snout with which it attacks animals. From its skin shields are made, and from the horn, finger-guards for bow-strings and the like. In the city of Sambal is a temple called *Hari Mandal* (the temple of Vishnu) belonging to a Brāhman, from among whose descendants the tenth avatār will appear in this spot. *Hānsi* is an ancient city, the resting-place of *Jamal* the successor of Shaikh Farid-i-Shakar-ganj.

Near the town of *Sahnah** is a hot spring on the summit of a hill, the peculiarity of which is undoubtedly due to a sulphur mine.

Hisār (Hissār) was founded by Sultan *Firoz* who brought the waters of the *Jumna* to it by means of a cutting. A holy devotee predicted his accession to the throne and at his request the canal was made. Strange to say, it enters a pool named *Bhadrā* near the town of *Sirsā*, and there loses itself. Wonderful stories are related regarding it. There are few rivers in this district, and wells have to be dug to a considerable depth.

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[1] Visvamitra is the name of a celebrated Kshatriya deriving his lineage from an ancestor Kusik of the lunar race : he was king of Kanyā-Kubjā or Kanauj. His famous quarrel with the rival sage Vasishtha to perform the great tribal sacrifice, runs through the Rig Veda and he succeeded in raising himself to the rank of a Brāhman by long and plainful austerities. According to the Rāmāyan he became the companion and counsellor of the young Ramachandra. He was the father of Sakuntalā by the nymph Menakā whom the gods, jealous of his increasing power, sent to seduce him from his passionless life

* *Sohna*, 15 miles S. of Gurgaon City.

Sahrind (Sirhind) is a city of note. Here are the gardens of *Hāfiz Rakhnah*, the delight of all beholders.

Thanesar is accounted one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage. The *Saraswati* flows near it for which the Hindus have great veneration. Near it is a lake called *Kurukshetra*,[2] which pilgrims from distant parts come to visit and where they bathe, and bestow charitable offerings. This was the scene of the war of the *Mahābhārat* which took place in the latter end of the *Dwāpar Yug*.

In the city of *Hastinapur* reigned *Rājā Bharat* who by his justice and consideration for his people gathered a fitting reward of happiness, and his virtues and good deeds confirmed for a long period the succession in his family, and fortune favoured son after son. The eighth in lineal descent from him was *Rājā Kuru* from whom *Kuru-Kshetra* received its appellation. After six intermediate progenitors, an heir was born named *Vichitravirya*,[3] who had two sons, one of whom was *Dhritarāshtra*. He was the father of 101 children, the eldest of whom was *Rājā Duryodhana*, and they are called the *Kauravas*. The other was *Pandu*. Although the first mentioned was the elder son yet on account of his blinduess, the succession fell to his brother who obtained the sovereignty. His sons are called the *Pāndavas*. They were five, namely, *Yudishtir, Bhimsen, Arjuna, Nakul and Sahadev*. On *Pāndu's* death the kingdom reverted to Dhritarashtra, but although the nominal sovereignty was his, the real power was possessed by *Duryodhana*. Since to crush their enemies is the way of the princes of the earth, *Duryodhana* was ever in fear of the *Pāndavas* and sought their destruction. When *Dhritarāshtra* observed the growing feud, he resolved to establish his nephews in the city of Vāranāvatra, and sent skilled artisans with instructions to build their residences. The

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[1] Genl. Cunningham says (p. 145) that the name of Sarhind or 'frontier of Hind' was popularly given to the city at an early period when it was the boundary town between the Hindus and the later Muhammadan kingdom of Ghazni and Lahore, but the name is probably much older as the astronomer Varāha Mihira mentions the *Sairindhas* immediately after the Kulutas or people of Kullu and just before Brahmapura which was the capital of the hill country N. of Hardwār.

[2] It is an oblong sheet of water, 3,546 feet in length by 1,900. During eclipses of the moon, the waters of all other tanks are believed to visit this, so that the bather is blessed by the concentrated virtues of all other ablutions. The right ankle of Durga is said to have fallen here on her being cut to pieces and her limbs scattered over the earth by Vishnu.

[3] He died childless, but at the request of his mother Satya-vati, the *Rishi Dwaipāyana* raised up three children to him, viz., Dhritarāshtra, Pāndu and Vidura. *Vishnu Purāna*.

workmen at the instigation of *Duryodhana* constructed a secret chamber of lac and pitch, in order that at a fitting opportunity the *Pāndavas* might be destroyed in a flaming conflagration. But whom the Lord defends by his protection, what avails against him the striving of the impotent? When the *Pāndavas* accepting their exile, settled in this spot, they became aware of the design. By chance a woman with five sons dwelt hard by. The *Pāndavas* set the house on fire and set out for the wilds with their mother, while their neighbours were consumed in the flames.

Duryodhana believing that the *Pāndavas* were destroyed, held a festival of rejoicing. The *Pāndavas* after many adventures came forth from the wilds to the inhabited country and settled in the city of *Kampilā* [Panchāl]. In a short time, the fame of their valour, skill and open-handed munificence filled the world, but none knew their name or lineage, till *Duryodhana* himself awaking from his dream of security suspected that the burning of the *Pāndavas* was a fable. After prosecuting inquiries, his suspicions were confirmed, upon which he had recourse to entreaty, and recalled them with protestations of friendship, hoping thus to secure his aim. He bestowed *Delhi* (Indraprastha) upon them with half his kingdom and retained *Hastinapur* with the other half. *Yudhishthira* by his prudence and good fortune aided by the divine favour rose to greatness and his administration advanced his power. The *Kauravas* flocked to his service, and in a short space he acquired universal sway. The other brothers likewise reduced many princes to their obedience. *Duryodhana* was beside himself at the sight of their sovereign splendour, and the pangs of envy drove him more distraught. With deceptive intent, he held a restival and invited the *Pāndavas* and proposed a game of *chaupar*, playing himself, with cogged dice. By this means he won all they possessed. The last stake was made on the condition that if the *Pāndavas* won, they should recover all that they had lost, but if otherwise, they were to quit the royal dominions and wander in the wilds for twelve years in the garb of mendicants after which they might return to civilised life for a year, and so conduct themselves that none should know them. If this last particular were infringed, they would have to pass a similar period of twelve years in the forests. Unsuspecting foul play, their uprightness brought them to ruin. Elated by the success of his device, *Duryodhana* was lulled into the slumber of a false

security while the *Pāndavas* under the divine direction accomplished their part of the agreement. *Duryodhan* now began to treat them with severity. Much altercation followed till the *Pāndavas* consented to accept five villages if peacefully surrendered to them. *Duryodhana* in his pride refused and rose in arms. The scene of the conflict was in the vicinity of *Kuru-kshetra*. But as the end of the fraudful is disaster, *Duryodhana*, and his companions were totally destroyed and *Yudhishthira* was victorious after eighteen days of successive engagements.

Towards the close of the *Dwāpar Yug*, 135 years before the beginning of the *Kali Yug*, and 4,831 years anterior to this the 40th of the Divine Era,* this event rose into fame and was left to posterity as a record of portentous warning.

It is said that in this mighty war, the army of the *Kauravas* consisted of 11 *achhauhini*, and that of the *Pandavas* of 7. An *achhauhini* consists of 21,870 men mounted on elephants, the same number in chariots, and 65,610 cavalry; and 109,350 infantry. Marvellous to relate but 12 individuals of both armies survived this war. Four of the army of *Duryodhana*, escaping with their lives took refuge with *Yudhishthira*, *viz.*, *Kripāchārya* Brahman who had been preceptor to both families and was renowned for wisdom and valour; *Ashwatthāmān* who was celebrated for the same qualities; *Kritvarmān* Yadu, a brave champion; and *Sanjaya* who, together with his reputation for wisdom, acquired renown as the charioteer of *Dhritarāshtra*. On the side of the Pandavas, eight survived,[1] *viz.*, the 5 brothers; *Satyaki Yadu* famous for his bravery and sagacity; *Yuyutsa* brother of *Duryodhana* by another mother, and *Krishna*. After this *Yudhishthira* reigned supreme for 36 years, and his happy destiny and virtuous disposition discovering to him the vanity of mundane things, he sought retirement and resolutely forsook a world that oppresses the weak. Together with his brethren he chose the path of renunciation and played the last stake of his life.

This great war has been related in the *Mahābhārata* with numerous episodes in a hundred thousand couplets, and has been translated into Persian by command of His Majesty under the title of *Razmnāma* (History of the War).

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* See p. 15 where it is stated that from the era of Rāja Yudhishthira to the 40th of Akbar's reign (A.H. 1003, commencing 5th Dec. 1594 and ending 25th November, 1595 A.D.) there had elapsed 4,696 years, making the commencement of the Kali Yuga 3,101 B.C. T[o] this period an addition of 135 brings the figure to 4,831.

It is set forth in eighteen *Parba* or books. The *first* part is an account of the *Kauravas* and *Pandavas* and a list of contents. The *second; Yudhishthira* sends his brethren to conquest—his supreme monarchy—the gambling feast held by the *Kauravas*, &c. *Third*, the departure of the *Pandavas* into the solitude of their exile and other events. *Fourth*, the coming of the *Pandavas* from the wilds to the city of *Virāta* and remaining unknown. *Fifth*, the *Pandavas* discover themselves; the mediation of *Krishna* and his rejection; the gathering at *Kura-kshetra* and disposition of the armies. *Sixth*, the opening of the combat, the wounding of *Bhishma*, the slaughter of many of the sons of Dhritarāshtra, and the events of the ten days' engagement. *Seventh*, the council of war held by *Duryodhana;* the appointment of *Drona* to the general command, his death and other events during five days. *Eighth*, description of the two days' battle; *Duryodhana* names *Karna* to the command, his exploits—the flight of *Yudhisthira* before him—the death of *Karna* at the hand of *Arjuna* on the second day. *Ninth, Shalya* is appointed general on account of his heroism—his death—*Duryodhana* conceals himself in a tank—his end and that of many champions. *Tenth*, the conclusion of the war, the coming of *Kritvarmān, Ashwatthāmān*, and *Kripāchārya* to *Duryodhana* on the field of battle while still breathing and his advice of a night attack &c. *Eleventh*, the lamentations of the women on both sides—Gāndhāri mother of *Duryodhana* curses *Krishna*. *Twelfth*, account of *Yudhishthira* after the victory—his desire to resign his kingdom. *Byās* and *Krishna* comfort him by their counsel. *Bhishma* delivers many admirable and instructive maxims setting forth the duties of sovereign administration. *Thirteenth*, the advice tendered by *Bhishma*. In my judgment, the 12th and 13th books should be comprised in one as they both contain the counsels of *Bhishma*, and the 9th divided into two, the one dealing with the episode of *Shalya* and the other with the death of *Duryodhana*. *Fourteenth*, the great horse-sacrifice (ashwa-medh). *Fifteenth*, the retirement to a hermitage of *Dhritarāstra, Gānahāri*, and *Kunti* mother of *Yudhishtira*. *Sixteenth*, the destruction of the *Yadu* tribe. *Seventeenth, Rāja Yudhishtira* retires with his brethren who all perish in a snow-drift. *Eighteenth, Yudhishtira* in his own body mounts to the upper world; the dissolution of the mortal remains of his brethren. The conclusion called *Haribans*, contains the history of the *Yadus*.

In this work, although there are numerous extravagant tales and fictions of the imagination, yet it affords many instructive moral observations, and is an ample record of felicitous experience.

This *Subah* contains 8 *Sarkārs* subdivided into 232 *parganahs**—the measured land consists of 2 *krors, 5 lakhs* and 46,816 *Bighas* 16 *Biswas*. The revenue is 60 *krors*, 16 *lakhs* 15,555 *Dāms* (Rs. 15,040,388-14) of which 3 *krors*, 30 *lakhs*, 75,7 9 are *Suyurghāl* (Rs. 8,26,893-7-7). The local force is 31,490 Cavalry, 242,310 Infantry.

* The eight Sarkārs comprise 232 *mahals*, if we omit the five unsettled *mahals* of Kumaon. The Suyurghāl total is incorrect, because by adding together the *Suyurghāl* for 7 Sarkārs only (that of Kumaon not being given), we get a totalof 3,31,75,437 *dāms*. [T. S.].

Sarkār of Delhi.

Contains 48 *Mahals,* 7,126,107 *Bighas,* 17 *Biswas.* Revenue 123,012,590 *Dāms. Suyurghāl* 10,990,260 *Dāms.* Castes various. Cavalry, 4,000. Infantry 23,980.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes.
Islāmābād Pākal, has a stone fort on a hill ..	970,67-19	1,779,407	31,462	50	1000	Rājput Sānd
Adhah [?Odhan] ..	14,912-8	513,081	45,420	20	200	Ahir
Pānipat, has a brick fort	568, 444	10,756,647	3,540,632	100	2000	Afghān, Gujar, Ranghar
Pālam	245,240	5,728,787	1,231,880	70	1000	Jat
Baran, has a brick fort on the *Kāli Nadi* ..	171,160	3,907,928	153,190	20	300	...
Bāghpat, on the Jumna, between two streams	200,515	3,582,868	180,159	20	200	[Brāhman Chauhān
Palwal,[1] has a brick fort and it stands on a mound	234,783	1,769,493	218,225	25	500	Rājput, Gujar
Barnāwah	145,000	1,379,125	50,789	25	200	Shaikhzādah
Pāth, has a brick fort	48.191	621,749	7,243	60	600	Tonwar (Tuar)
Beri Dobaldhan ..	119,002-19	1,404,225	...	40	800	Jat
Tilpat, has a brick fort	119,578	3,077,918	92,583	40	400	Brāhman, Rajput, Gujar
Tāndah Phugānah on the Jumna . ..	51,669	1,289,306	11,366	25	200	Afghān Jat
Tilbegampur	14,237-7	370,374	15,754	10	100	
Jhajhar	128,417	1,422,451	306,461	60	1000	
Harsia, has a stone fort in the village of Dhānah (*cor. Dhaulri*) built by Sultān Fīroz on the banks of the Hindan	87,923	3,605,428	376,079	50	300	Badgujar
Jewar	135,746	1,878,378	85,439	40	400	Rājput, Chhokar
Jhinjhānah	57,923-16	1,700,250	100,250	20	300	Jat
Chaprauli, stands between two streams ..	32,701-12	1,138,759	5,719	20	300	Do.
Jalālābād, stands between two streasm amid much forest ..	96,189	1,335,711	9,099	50	600	Do.
Jalālpur Barswat, much forest . ..	42,061-17	1,001,875	1,775	20	400	Do.

[1] ***Palwal.***—This mound stands to this day considerably above the surrounding level and consists entirely of ancient remains crumbling to decay. It is a town of undoubted antiquity and supposed to figure in the earliest Aryan traditions under the name of Apelava, part of the Pandava Kingdom of Indraprastha. ***Baran*** is the mod. Bulandshahar.

Sarkār of Delhi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
The old suburban district	128,417	1,422,451	306,460	10	40	Jat, Chauhān.
The new do. do. ..	36,447	3,635,315	595,984	25	300	Gujar, Jat, Ahir.
The metropolis of Delhi	971	736,406	18,783	135	1,500	...
Dasna between Ganges and Jumna	282,777	4,933,310	162,535	60	800	Ghelot (here some illegible words).
Dādri Tāhā	179,789	4,326,059	118,577	20	400	Afghān, Jat.
Dankaur, on the Jumna	128,523	1,016,682	4,840	20	200	Gujar.
Rohtak, has a brick fort	636,835	8,599,270	428,000	100	2,000	Jat.
Sonipat (Sonpat) has a brick fort	283,299	7,727,323	775,105	70	1,000	Afghān, Jat.
Safidun, has a brick fort	81,730	1,975,596	99,647	60	600	Rājput Ranghar, Jat.
Sikandarābād ..	66,907-15	1,259,190	17,844	50	400	Bhāti, Gujar etc.
Sarāwa, has a brick fort	42,387-12	1,583,899	31,914	40	300	
Santha	39,147-9	854,191	48,207	30	300	Chauhān.
Siyāna, between two streams	166,407-17	849,090	4,959	50	400	Taga.*
Shikarpur	52,139	2,111,996	780,305	70	200	Chauhān.
Karnāl, the stream Sānjauli flows below the town	540,444	5,678,242	207,999	50	800	Ranghar Chauhān.
Ganaur, has a brick fort	40,990-16	1,718,792	33,390	20	400	Tagā.
Garh Muktesar, has a brick fort on the Jumna, a Hindu place of pilgrimage ..	101,340-10	1,591,492	41,490	40	400	Rājput, Musalmān, Hindu.
Kutāna	91,706-13	1,423,779	892	20	150	Jat.
Kāndhla	68,934-5	1,374,430	37,930	20	30	Gujar.
Kāsna, on the Jumna	104,021-19	1,522,315	149,250	40	400	Do.
Kharkhanda ..	51,895-15	1,105,856	4,958	50	600	Afghān, Jat.
Gangeru Kherah, has a brick fort between two streams .	11,062-15	316,405	13,830	40	300	Sayyid.
Loni, has a brick fort between two streams	75,363	3,278,878	148,445	20	200	

* Sir H. Elliot has an interesting discussion on the Gaur *Tagas*, an important tribe of Brahmanical descent in the N.-W. of India extending over a great part of upper Rohilkhand, the upper Doāb and the Delhi territory. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes* should be consulted in elucidation of the doubtful readings of the text.

Sarkār of Delhi—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyur-Suyur-D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Mirath (Meerut) has a brick fort between two streams	610,422	4,391,996	331,096	100	300	Tagā, Ranghar, Chandrāl.
Māndāuthi, the autumn harvest abundant: near the town a tank which is never dry throughout the year	90,464	2,858,223	2,984	30	500	Jat.
Masaudābād, has an old brick fort ..	89,478	2,809,156	269,315	30	30	Do.
Hastināpur, on the Ganges: an ancient Hindu settlement ..	176,340	4,466,904	36,29:	20	300	Tagā.
Hāpur, on the Kāli Nadi between two streams	239,845	2,103,589	5,229	4	300	Do.

Sarkār of Badāon.

Containing 13 *Mahals*. 8,093,850 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. Revenue 34,817,063 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 457,181 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry 2,850. Infantry, 26,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ajāon [Rajwan] ..	82,467-17	1,862,867	...	600	3000	Chauhān.
Aonla	14,701	690.620	..	50	400	Kānwar [?Tuar]
Badāon with suburban district	658,320-5	7,357,571	287,986	50	5000	Shaikhzādah, Kāyath.
Bareli	661,227	12,507.434	91 320	1000	10,000	Rājput.
Barsar [? Paraur] ..	196,700	2,147,824	6,754	50	500	Kāyath.
Paund [Elliot Punar] ..	5,749	260,840	...	50	300	Kahor
Talhi (Balhati)	25,962	1,077,611	1,505	50	1000	Tagā, Brāhman.
Sahiswan	253,120	2,493,898	15,444	100	2000	
Sanās Mandah (E. Satāsi Mundiyā)	59,110	795,815	3,471	50	500	Tagā, Brāhman.

Sarkār of Badāon—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Suneyā	29,753	1,815,725	...	50	500	Ulus ?
Kānit [=Kānt]	55,584	2,439,369	48,444	300	2000	Bāchhal.
Kot Sālbāhan has a fort	227,500-8	1,219,165	...	50	500	Kanwār.
Golah	24,540	1,136,931	4,257	100	1000	Dewak, Bāchhal.

Sarkār of Kumāon.

Containing 21 *Mahals*. The revenue of 5 *Mahals* undetermined. 16 *Mahals*, in money. 40,437,700 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 3,000. Infantry, 50,000.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Audan [?Adon] ...	400,000	Jakrām	5,000,000
Bhuksi and Bhāksā, 2 Mahals	400,000	Jariyah	3,000,000
Bastwah	200,000	Jāwan	2,500,000
Pachotar	400,000	Chaulī, Sahajgar, Guzarpur, Dwārakhot [Kot Dwara]*	
Bhikan Diwār	200,000	Malwārah	
Bhakti	11,000,000	Malāchor, Sitachor, Kemus, 3 Mahals ...	
Bhuri, undetermined ...	...		
Ratilā [? Balila] ...	10,025,000		
Chanki [Chauki-ghal3 ...	400,000		

* Sahajgar is now *Jaspar*. Guzarpur is *Gadarpura;* Malwara may be *Talwara*.

Sarkār of Sambhal.

Containing 47 *Mahals*. 4,047,193 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue 66,941,431 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 2,892,394 *Dāms*. Castes various. Cavalry, 4,375. Infantry, 31,550. Elephants, 50.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Amrohah	820,654	6,342,000	993 358	1000	5000	50	Sayyid.
Aazampur	55,467	2,889,478	137,544	30	300	...	Tagā.
Islāmpur Bharu ..	66,096	1,370,640	12,133	100	200	...	Baishnavi.

Sarkār of Sambhal—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Ujhāri	125,221	697,609	2,788	20	300	...	Jat.
Akbarābād	53,790-14	640,264	27,860	50	200	...	
Islāmpur Dargu ..	11,217-10	429,675	675	20	200	...	
Islāmābād	25,261-10	346,348	6,394	50	500	...	Jat.
Bijnaur	60.362	3,855,465	18,154	60	500	...	Tagā, Brāhman.
Bachharāon	115,226-12	828,322	8,632	50	200	...	Tagā.
Biroi	15,027-12	150,000	...	25	100	...	Kohi
Bisārā	8,008-7	200,000	...	25	100	...	Khasia.
Chāndpur	87,278	431,011	259,959	50	200	...	Tagā, Jat, &c.
Jalālābād	49,398	1,470,072	12,263	25	100	..	Jat.
Chaupalah	1,016,199	1,840,812	...	100	500	...	Gaur.
Jhālā	26,795	237,809	84,916	50	400	...	Jat.
Jadwār	76,757-19	828,846	...	50	200	...	Badgujar.
Suburban district of Sambhal	206,450	3,822,448	148,739	100	500	...	Tagā, Brāhman &c.
Deorah	96,965	1,924,887	...	25	200	...	
Dhaka	130,158-16	670,364	6,487	25	200	...	Rahes.
Dabhārsi	82,692-11	280.306	..	25	200	...	
Dudilah	80,180-15	210,000	...	20	100	...	Kohi
Rājpur	189,390	700,000	...	50	400	...	Rājput.
Rājabpur	40,346-9	612,977	2.288	25	100	...	Kokar, Shaikhzādah
Sambhal, has a brick fort	42,400	850,958	63,404	50	400	...	Khokhar.
Seohārah	27,945	1,633,782	1,418	50	300	...	Tagā.
Sirsi	52,400-11	958,769	152,814	20	200	...	Sayyid, &c.
Sahanspur	54,844-10	941,804	1,088	50	400	...	Tagā.
Sursāwah	37,502	308,065	...	15	400	...	Kaurawah.
Sherkot	19,870	4,921,051	218,157	100	1000	...	
Shāhi	80,417	500,496	478	20	200	..	Gaur.
Kundarki	86,164	674.986	74,936	50	400	...	Kāyath.
Kiratpur	80,973	2,410,609	166,218	100	500	...	Tagā, Jat.
Kachh	29.868	1,248,995	5,765	20	200	...	
Gandāur	18.576-17	751,520	34,270	30	200	...	Tagā.
Kābar	83,232-7	566,339	16 019	50	400	...	Chauhān.
Ganaur	51,005-1	267,919	17,719	10	100	...	Musalmān.
Khānkari	31,546-7	200,000	...	10	100	...	
Lakhnor	246,440	2,499,208	82,983	1000	5000	...	Gaur.
Liswah	1,871	100,000	. .	10	100	...	
Mughalpur . ..	168,374	3,580,800	80.800	100	500	...	Tagā.
Majhaulah	142,461	1,737,556	6,970	400	8000	...	Badgujar.
Mandāwar	65,710	1,256,995	20,455	25	300	...	Bais.
Nagina	99,238	2,647,242	284,368	50	500	...	Ahir.

Sarkār of Sambhal—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Nahtaur, in this *parganah*, the mulberry grows in great perfection of size and sweetness—a span in length*	85,974-12	1,788,160	4,675	50	300	...	Tagā.
Neodhanah	209,620-10	904,675	...	100	500	...	Gaur.
Naroli	181,621	1,408,093	48,212	50	400	...	Badgujar.
Hatamnah	5,706-14	250,000	...	50	400	...	Kodar.

* Probably, according to Dr. King, the *Morus laevigata*, a long thin berry with a mawkish, sweet taste.

Sarkār of Sahāranpur.

Containing 36 *Mahals*. 3,530,370 *Bighas*, 3 *Biswas*. Revenue, 87,839,659 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 4,991,485 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,955. Infantry, 22,270.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Indri, has a brick fort near the Jumna ..	143,900-28	7,078,326	691,903	50	1000	...	Ranghar, Tagā.
Ambihta	17,784	324,560	...	20	300	...	Gujar, Aawān ?
Budhāna	155,633	3,698,041	131,780	40	300	...	Tagā, Jat.
Bidauli	111,226	3,115,125	1,400,255	...	...	...	Sayyid
Bhatkanjāwar ..	173,471	2,676,407	146,749	50	500	...	Tagā, Bārhah.
Bhogpur, has a brick fort on the Ganges, a Hindu place of worship	94,428	2,338,120	6,941	100	1000	...	Rājput
Purchapār	86,949	2,191,460	120,438	20	200	...	Sarir.
Bhunah	67,451	2,135,490	28,453	2000	7000	...	Sayyid.
Baghrā	50,390	1,918,196	74,840	20	200	...	Jat.
Bhanāth	49,288	1,321,440	8,650	20	200	...	Tagā.
Thānah Bhim ..	281,377	3,578,540	317,260	20	500	...	Rājput, Sadbār.

Sarkār of Sahāranpur—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Elephants	Castes
Tughlaqpur	81,856	222,277	128,853	20	30	...	Jat.
Jaurāsi	211,751	2,471,277	71,297	20	200	...	Bidar.
Jauli	45,653	1,310,057	152,396	...	...	...	Sayyid (Cavalry entered under Sarot).
Charthāwal	55,916	1,668,882	68,872	20	200	...	Tagā.
Suburban district of Sahāranpur, has a brick fort, cloths of the kinds *Khasa* and *Chautār* (Vol. I, p. 94) are here made in perfection	212 335-16	6,951,545	706,448	100	800	...	Afghān. Kulāl Tagā.
Deoband, has a brick fort	335 861	6,477,977	641,946	60	800	...	Gujar, Tagā.
Rāmpur	79,419	1,777,908	78.597	50	400	...	Sadbār, Tagā.
Rurki	2.768	1,628,860	8,361	25	200	...	Rājput, Sadbār, Tagā, Brāhman.
Rāepur Tātār ..	4,688-8	369,080	...	10	200	...	Tagā.
Sikri Bhukarheri ..	183,211	5,008,611	110,611	40	200	...	Jat.
Sarsāwah, has a brick fort	106,800	2,516,125	16,165	80	200	...	Tagā.
Sarot .. .	90,617	2,207,779	51.571	50	1000	...	Do.
Sardhana	113,780	1,590,006	43,842	30	800	...	Tagā, Ahir
Sambalherā . ..	31,963	1,011,078	11,078	...	...	...	Sayyid (Cav. entered under Bhona).
Soranpalri .. .	10,648	574,320	22 628	40	250	...	Jat.
Khatauli	104,747	8,624,588	190,919	40	800	...	Tagā, Kulāl
Khodi	25,618	2.514,673	58 906	50	400	...	Jat, Tagā.
Kairāna	71.245	2.025,238	223,579	20	200	..	Gujar.
Gango	52,137	2 029,032	322,516	800	2000	...	Turkomān.
Lakhnauti	79,694	1,796,058	76,602	300	2000	...	Do.
Muzaffarābād ..	81,305-15	4,074,064	71,399	20	200	...	Ranghar, Sander (?Pundir).
Manglaur, has a brick fort	60,987	2,850,311	197,216	40	800	...	Brāhman, Badgujar.
Malhaipur	81,010	2,244,070	23,077	100	500	...	Afghān, Tagā, Brāhman.
Nakor	65,612-10	1,887,070	26,104	40	800	..	Afghān, Brāhman.
Nānauta	29,224	724,150	18,684	40	800		Afghān.

Sarkār of Rewāri.

Containing 12 *Mahals*. 1,155,011 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. Revenue† * * *. Cavalry, ... *Suyurghāl*, 739,268 *Dāms*. ...,175. Infantry, 14,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
...wal	110,375	4,114,753	16,274	100	2001	Rājput, Ahir, Jat.
...ātaudhi	61,970	2,270,080	5,260	50	500	Do. Do.
...hoharah (E. Bhorah) ..	38,547	755,543	345	100	1000	Ahir.
...oru, has a brick fort ..	85,858	986,228	11,578	50	500	Musalmān, Khaildār (?)
...ewāri with sub. dist., has a brick fort	405,108	11,906,847	404,100	400	2000	Thathar, Ahir, Jat.
...atāi Jatāi	52,120	289,603	523	...	400	
...ot Qāsim Ali	80,410	3,357,930	110,330	25	400	Rājput, Ahir.
...elot	27,270-10	656,688	...	700	2000	Rājput, Thatar.
...hāna	15,264	421,440		50	500	Do. Do.
...hna, has a stone fort on a hill; here a hot spring and Hindu shrine	251,738	3,928,364	150,568	200	2000	Do. Do.
...urāna, has a stone fort on a hill	85,047	682,259	...	500	4000	Various.

† By deducting the revenues of the other 7 Sarkārs from the total revenue ... the Subah (given on p. 290), we get 35,222,658 *dāms* as the revenue of ...wāri. [J. S.]

*Sarkār of Hisār Firozah.**

Containing 27 *Mahals*. 3,114,497 *Bighas*. Revenue, ...,554,905 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,406,519 *Dāms*. Castes, ...rious. Cavalry, 6,875. Infantry, 60,800.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
...rowa (var. Agrohah). Game of all kinds abounds. Sport chiefly hawking	45,717	1,748,970	6,654	200	2000	Jātu, Jat.
...oni	19,537	857,357	160,038	100	1000	Gujar, Jat.

* Called after the Emperor Firoz Shāh Tughlaq who founded the town ...that name about 1354 A.D.

Sarkār of Hisār Firozah—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Atkhera, has a brick fort, and a Hindu temple called Govardhan. ..	82,991	1,576,200	...	200	2000	Jat, Tonwār.
Bhangiwāl	...	1,800,000	...	200	2000	Rājput, Rāthor, Jat, Punya (Jat).
Puniyān	...	1,200,000	...	150	8000	Jat, Punyan
Bhārangi	...	880,882	...	200	2000	Rāthor, Jat.
Barwāla	136,799	1,097,807	109,052	100	1500	Sayyid, Malikzādah, Bakkāl.
Bhatu	...	440,280	...	50	1000	Jat.
Barwā	6,254	64,680	...	25	300	Jātu, Jat.
Bhatner, has a brick fort	15,688	933,042	....	500	10,000	Rāthor, Rājput.
Tohānah, Do. ..	180,744	4,694,354	150,680	400	3000	Afghān, Lohāni.
Toshām	511,075	1,068,548	2,686	200	1000	Rāthor, Rājput, Jat.
Jind, 3 miles from the town in the village of Pandārah, is a Hindu temple	281,584	5,401,749	128,080	500	4000	Sālār, Rājput, Jātu.
Jamālpur, the Ghaggar flows through several villages here	142,455	4,277,261	81,461	700	400	Tonwar, Jat
Hisār (Hissār) with sub. dist. has 2 forts, one of brick, one of stone ..	176,512-18	4,039,895	183,879	500	2000	Jātu, Ranghar, Sowārān (Sheoram), Sāngwān.
Dhātarat, has a brick fort	29,207-18	976.087	45,556	100	2000	Jāt, Afghān.
Sirsā, Do. ..	258,855	4,361,868	168,104	500	5000	Junah (note Johiya).
Seorān	...	460,080	...	100	1000	Jat, Seorān (Sheoram).
Sidhmukh, soil mostly sand	..	171,872	...	50	100	Rājput, Rāthor, Jat.
Sewāni	48,512	76,750	...	100	1000	Rājput, Jātu
Shānzdah Dihāt (sixteen villages)	29,740	960,111	12,586	200	1500	Rājput, Tonwar.

Sarkār of Hisār Firozah—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Fathābād, has a brick fort	83,661	1,184,392	81,867	200	3000	Rājput, Rāthor, Gujar, Jat.
Gohāna	68,951	2,876,115	16,146	300	8000	Jat, Dādbalāsa Duhna ?
Khānda, here a large tank in which the Hindus think it auspicious and holy to bathe	19,438	1,119,364	47,978	100	2000	Jat, Gadi (var. Kari).
Muhim, has a brick fort ..	188,080	4,958,613	84,202	700	2000	Rājput, Tonwar, Jat.
Hānsi, has a brick fort ..	886,115	5,434,438	180,056	500	7000	Rājput, Multāni, Jātu, Jat.

Sarkār of Sirhind.

Containing 33 *Mahals*. 7,729,466 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. Revenue, 160,790,549 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 11,698,330. Castes, various. Cavalry, 9,225. Infantry, 55,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	ghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ambāla	154,769	4,198,094	321,488	100	1000	...
Banor	420,337	12,549,953	1,087,209	700	8000	Ranghar, Afghān.
Pāel, has a brick fort ..	525,932	7,322,260	162,267	200	2000	Ranghar, Jat.
Bhader	86,877	3,103,269	1,406,106	50	700	Jat, *Dāhsurati ?*
Bhatinda	...	3,125,000	...	400	2000	Bhatti.
Pāndri	34,190	686,870	47,152	20	300	Ranghar.
Thāra, has a brick fort on the Sutlej	273,866	7,850,809	2,869,841	1500	1,000	Munj (or Shaikh). Jat.

Sarkār of Sirhind—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Thānesar, has a brick fort	228,988-17	7,850,808	2,069,841	50	1500	Ranghar, Jat.
Chahat on the Ghaggar ..	158,739	750,994	49,860	650	1100	Afghān, Rājput.
Chark	68,688	1,538,090	21,619	20	800	Jat.
Khizrābād, has a brick fort	332,489	12,059,918	528,170	200	3000	Bhatti, Jat.
Dorāla	65,768	2,188,443	86,710	50	300	Ranghar.
Dhota	71,357	1,601,846	1,346	800	1500	Rājput.
Deorāna	12,389	580,985	17,385	20	200	Jat.
Rupar, has a brick fort ..	66,144	5,005,549	26,084	200	1000	Rājput &c.
Sirhind with sub. dist. has a brick fort	828,458	12,082,690	608,536	1700	2000	Rājput, Barāh, Khauri, Dādah (Dādu ?), Jat.
Samāna	904,261	12,822,270	782,000	700	2000	Barāh, Jat
Sunām, has a brick fort ..	988,562	7,007,696	7,696	500	2000	Ranghar.
Sadhuna, has a brick fort	34,861	4,298,064	278,265	400	5000	Chauhān, Ranghar.
Sultānpur Bārha	13,736	427,085	82,759	20	100	Do. Rājput.
Shāhābād	184,146	6,751,468	761,587	200	1500	Chauhān, Rājput, Brāhman.
Fathpur	50,931	684,370	15,440	25	400	Rājput, Pundir.
Karyāt Rāe Samu ..	28,099	1,220,090	5,374	40	900	Ranghar, Jat, Barāh, (var. Bārah).
Kaithal, has a brick fort: here Hindu shrines ..	918,025	10,688,630	309,146	200	8000	Rājput.
Guhrām, Do. ..	188,574	6,188,630	1,058,982	50	100	Ranghar, Jat, Khauri.
Ludhiāna, has a brick fort on the Sutlej ..	43,469	2,294,688	44,688	100	700	Awān,* Khauri, Ranghar.
Mustafābād	271,899	7,496,691	570,978	200	1000	Chauhān, Ranghar.
Masengan	204,877	7,058,259	626,690	200	1000	Jat.
Mansurpur	116,242	1,830,025	326,690	200	1000	Ranghar.
Māler	103,444	280,583	26,176	100	500	Munj.
Māchhiwāra, has a brick fort	17,272	250,556	250,552	100	500	Khauri, Wāh (var. Wārah)
Hāpari	93,756	1,145,118	...	80	300	Ranghar, Jat.

* See—Elliot, I, 113. Extract from Cunningham who gives the possession of Taxila to this people before Alexander's invasion.

Sovereigns of Delhi.

I.

Twenty princes reigned 437 years 1 month 28 days.*

	Ys.	M.	D.
Anangpāl, Tonwar	18	0	0
Bāsdeva	19	1	18
Ghangnu (var. Khanku, Kanakpāl Gangu)	21	3	28
Pirthimal (var. Pirthipāl)	19	6	19
Jaideva	20	7	28
Nirpāl (var. Hirpāl)	14	4	9
Adrah (var. Andiraj and 26-8-15) ...	26	7	11
Bichhrāj	21	2	13
Bik, (Anangpāl, Anakpāl)	22	3	16
Raghupāl	21	6	5
Nekpāl (Rekhpāl)	20	4	4
Gopāl	18	3	15
Sulakhan	25	2	2
Jaipāl	16	4	13
Kanwarpāl	29	9	11
Agnipāl	29	6	18
Bijaipāl (var. Tajpāl)	24	1	6
Mahipāl	25	2	13
Aknepāl [Anangpāl]	21	2	15
Prithiraj	22	3	16

II.

Seven princes reigned 94 years and 7 months.

	Ys.	M.	D.
Bildeva Chauhān	6	1	4
Amr Gangu	5	2	5
Khirpāl	20	1	5
Sumer	7	4	2
Jāhir	4	4	8
Nāgdeva	3	1	5
Pithaura (Prithwi Rāe)	49	5	1

* This number does not accord with the totals. It would be as unprofitable as it is hopeless to attempt to digest or reconcile the order, number and length of these reigns among various authorities, when dates are unknown or conjectural, the names of the princes disputed and their existence mythical. After this, the minute exactness of their duration of reigns would be ridiculous.

III.

Eleven princes of the Ghori dynasty reigned 96 years 6 months and 20 days.

A.H.	A.D.					
588	1192	Sultān	Muizzu'ddin Muhammad Sām Ghori ...	14	0	0
602	1206	,,	Qutbuddin Eibak ...	4	0	0
607	1210	,,	Ārām Sāh, his son ...	1	0	0
607	1210	,,	Shamsuddin Altmish ...	26	0	0
633	1235	,,	Ruknu'ddin Firoz Shāh, his son	0	6	28
634	1236	,,	Raziah, his sister ...	3	6	6
637	1239	,,	Muizzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh, his brother ...	2	1	15
640	1242	,,	Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh, his nephew ...	4	1	1
643	1245	,,	Nāsiru'ddin Mahmud Shāh, his uncle ...	19	3	0
664	1265	,,	Ghiyāsu'ddin Balban ...	20 and some months		
685	1286	,,	Muizzu'ddin Kaikubād, his grandson ...	3	Do.	

IV.

Thirteen princes of the Khilji dynasty reigned 129 years 10 months and 10 days.

A.H.	A.D.			Ys.	Md.	D.
688	1289	Sultan	Jalālu'ddin Khilji ...	7	some months	
695	1295	,,	Alāu'ddin Khilji, his nephew ...	20	some months	
716	1316	,,	Shahabu'ddin Omar, his son	0	3 some days	
717	1317	,,	Qutbu'ddin Mubārak Shāh his elder brother	14	4	0*

* All the MSS. concur in this glaring error, an evident slip of a copyist of 14 for 4. He was raised to the throne on the 7th Muharram A.H. 717 (22nd March 1317) and was killed 5th Rabii I, A.H. 721 (5th April 1321).

721	1321	,,	Nāsiru'ddin Khusrau Khān	0	6	0
721	1321	,,	Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlaq Shāh	4	some months	
725	1324	,,	Muhammad, his son ...	27	0	0
752	1351	,,	Firoz Shāh, son of his paternal uncle ...	38	some months	
790	1388	,,	Tughlaq Shāh, his grand-son	0	5	3
791	1389	,,	Abu Bakr Shāh, son of his paternal uncle ...	1	6	0
793	1391	,,	Muhammad Shāh, his paternal uncle ...	6	7	0†
796	1393	,,	Ala'uddin Sikandar, his son	0	1	11
796	1393	,,	Mahmud, his brother ...	20	2	0

V.

817	1414		Khizr Khān of the Sayyid Dynasty ...	7	2	2
824	1421		Mubārak Shāh	13	3	16
837	1433		Muhammad Shāh	10	some months	
850	1446		Sultān Alā'uddin Aālam Shāh	7	do	
854	1450	,,	Behlol Lodi ...	38	8	8
894	1488	,,	Sikandar, his son ...	28	5	0
923	1517	,,	Ibrahim, his son ...	7	some months	
		,,	Bābar	5	0	0
		,,	Humayun	9	8	1
947	1540	,,	Sher Khān Sur ...	5	0	0
952	1545	,,	Salim Khān, his son ...	8	and odd	
960	1552	,,	Mubāriz Khān Adali.			
961	1553	,,	Ibrahim	some months		
962	1554	,,	Sikandar		do.	
		,,	Humāyun	1	3	0

† Thus in all MSS., but Ferishta discovers the method of computation by dating this reign from the abdication of his father Firoz Shāh in his favour on the 6th Shabān 789 A.H. (21st August 1387) to his death on the 17th Rabii I 796 (20th January 1393) disregarding the two intermediate reigns.

In the year 429 of the era of Bikramājit (A.D. 372) Anangpāl[1] of the Tonwar tribe reigned with justice and founded Delhi. In the year 848 of the same luni-solar era (A.D. 791) in the vicinity of that renowned city, a hotly contested battle was fought between Prithirāj Tonwar and Bildeva Chauhān, and the sovereignty was transferred to this latter tribe. During the reign of Rājā Pithaura (Prithwi Rājā) Sultān Muizzu'ddin Sām made several incursions into Hindustān without any material success. The Hindu chronicles narrate that the Rājā engaged and defeated the Sultān in seven pitched battles. In the year 588 A.H. (A.D. 1192), an eighth engagement took place near Thānesar and the Rājā was taken prisoner. One hundred renowned champions (it is related) were among his special retainers. They were severally called *Sāmant*[2] and their extraordinary exploits cannot be expressed in language nor reconciled to experience or reason. It is said that at this battle none of these champions was present, and that the Rājā kept to his palace in selfish indulgence, passing his time in unseemly pleasure, heedless of the administration of the state and of the welfare of his troops.

The story runs that Rājā Jaichand Rathor, who held the supremacy of Hindustān was at this time ruling at Kanauj, and the other Rājās to some extent acknowledged his authority and he himself was so liberal-minded that many natives of Irān and Turān were engaged in his service. He announced his intention of celebrating the great sacrifice symbolic of paramount supremacy and set about its preparations. One of its conditions is that all menial service should be performed by princes alone, and that even the duties of the royal scullery and the kindling of fires are directly a part of their office. He likewise promised to bestow his beautiful daughter on the bravest of the assembled chivalry. Rājā Pithaura had resolved to attend the festival, but a chance speech of some courtier that while the Chauhān sovereignty existed, the great sacrifice could

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[1] Another name for Raya-Sena. Wilford says that he was called Anangpāla or befriended by love probably for his success in his amours, which he displayed by carrying off his brother's wife. Tieffenthaler calls him Rasena and credits him with the building of Delhi, which is confirmed by the *Agnipurāna*.

[2] I learn from Professor Cowell that the primary meaning attached to this term in the St. Petersburg Dict. is 'neighbour', and the second signification, 'vassal', in which sense it often occurs in Sanskrit poetry. Monier Williams defines it as "a neighbouring king—a feudatory or tributary prince" and adds a third meaning 'a leader, general, champion' which applies to the text.

not legitimately be performed by the Rathor chief, inflamed his ancestral pride and he held back. Rājā Jaichand proposed to lead an army against him, but his counsellors representing the duration of the war and the approach of the appointed assembly, dissuaded him from the enterprise. To carry out the integrity of the festival, a statue of Rājā Pithaura was made in gold and placed in the office of porter at the royal gates. Roused to indignation at this news, Rājā Pithaura set out in disguise accompanied by 500 picked warriors and suddenly appeared at the gathering and carrying off the image, he put a great number to the sword and hastily returned. The daughter of Jaichand, who was betrothed to another prince, hearing of this adventurous deed, fell in love with Pithaura and refused her suitor. Her father, wroth at her conduct, expelled her from her chamber in the palace and assigned her a separate dwelling. Pithaura, distracted at the news, returned with a determination to espouse her, and it was arranged that Chāndā a bard, a rival in skill of Babylonian* minstrelsy, should proceed to the court of Jaichand on the pretence of chanting his praises, while the Rājā himself with a body of chosen followers should accompany him as attendants. Love transformed the intention into act, and by this ingenious device and the spell of valour, he carried off his heart's desire, and after prodigies of bravery and heroism reached his own kingdom. The hundred *Sāmants* (above mentioned) accompanied him under various disguises. One after the other they covered his retreat and defeated their pursuers. Gobind Rāe Gehlot made the first stand and bravely fighting, fell. Seven thousand of the enemy sank engulfed in death before him. Next Narsingh Deva, Chāndā, Pundir, and Sārdul Solanki, and Pālhan Deva Kachhwāha with his two brothers, during the first day's action, after performing feats of astonishing heroism sold their lives dearly, and all these heroes perished in the retreat.

The Rājā, with the bard Chāndā and two of his brothers, brought his bride to Delhi amid the admiration of a wondering world.

Unfortunately the prince was all engrossed by his affection for his beautiful wife and neglected all other affairs.

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* The text here is corrupt, and the variants printed give no help. Jarrett made the above translation with the warning that he was not satisfied with it. I suggest the emendation—"Chand the bard, who was a clever confidant [of Prithvi Rāj]," *as damsāzān-i-māhir-ash ast.* [J. Sarkar.]

After a year had thus passed, Sultān Shahābu'ddin by reason of the above events, formed an alliance with Rājā Jaichand, and assembling an army, invaded the country and captured many places. But no one dared even to represent, not to say, remedy this state of affairs. At last, the principal nobles meeting together, introduced Chāndā through the seven gates of the palace, who entering the women's apartments, by his representations somewhat disturbed the Rājā's mind. But in the pride of his former victories, he marched to battle with but a small army. As his brave champions were now no more, his kingdom fallen from its ancient renown, and Jaichand his former ally, reversing his past policy, in league with the enemy, the Rājā in this contest was taken prisoner and carried by the Sultān to Ghazni, Chāndā in his fidelity and loyalty hastened to Ghazni, entered the Sultān's service and gained his favour. By his address, he discovered the Rājā and comforted him in his prison. He proposed that he should praise his dexterity with the bow to the Sultān who would desire to witness it, and that then he might use his opportunity. The proposal was carried out and the Rājā pierced the Sultān with an arrow. His retainers fell upon the Rājā and Chāndā and cut them to pieces.

The Persian historians give a different account and state that the Rājā was killed in battle.

Fate discloses many such events from its treasure-house of wonders. But where—and blessed is he—who will take warning thereby and act on the lesson?

When the Chauhān dynasty fell, the choicest portion of Hindustān passed into the hands of Sultān Muizzu'ddin Ghori. Leaving Malik Qutbu'ddin (Eibak) who was one of his slaves, at the village Guhrām, [Ghuram in Patiala] he himself returned to Ghazni, laying waste the hilly country on his northern march. Qutbuddin in the same year possessed himself of Delhi and many other places and followed up his successes with remarkable ability. On the death of Muizzu'ddin, Ghiyāsu'ddin Mahmud son of Ghiyasu'ddin Muhammad sent from Firozkoh (his capital) the umbrella and insignia of royalty to Malik Qutbu'ddin. Qutbu'ddin was enthroned at Lahore and exalted his reputation by his justice, munificence and valour. He lost his life while playing at *chaugan* [polo.]

The nobles raised his son Arām Shāh to the throne, but a strong faction set up Malik Altmish, who had been a

purchased slave, and was the son-in-law and adopted heir of Qutbu'ddin. Arām Shāh was defeated and retired into obscurity, and Altmish assumed the title of Shamsu'ddin. It is said that his father was chief of some of the Turkish tribes. His brethren and cousins distracted by envy, sold, like Joseph, this nursling of intelligence, into slavery. Through the vicissitudes of fortune, he had various changes of masters until a merchant brought him to Ghazni. Sultān Muizzu'ddin Sām proposed to purchase him, but his owner chaffered for his value and placed an exorbitant price on him. The Sultān enraged, forbade any one to purchase him. Qutbu'ddin on his return to Ghazni after the conquest of Gujrāt, having obtained permission, bought him for a large sum and adopted him as a son. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi* was his contemporary and edified the world by his outward demeanour and the sanctity of his interior life. When Altmish died, his son (Ruknu'ddin Firoz Shāh) succeeded him who regarded wealth as a means of self-indulgence and thought little of winning the affections of his people. He made over the control of affairs to his mother Shāh Turkān. The nobles withdrawing their allegiance raised Raziah the daughter of Sultān Shamsu'ddin to the throne. The Sultān himself had previously made her his heir. Some of his courtiers asked him the reason of his doing so while he had sons still living. He replied that his sons, addicted to drinking were unfitted for the dignity. During the reign of Muizzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh, the Mughal troops devastated Lahore. A disloyal faction imprisoned the king and put him to death. In the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin Masud Shāh occurred an irruption of the Mughals into Bengal, entering by way of China or Tibet, but his troops defeated them. Another body advanced from Turkistān to Uch. The Sultān set out to engage them, but on reaching the banks of the Biāh, intelligence reached him that the enemy had retreated. He returned to Delhi and there affected the company of low and base flatterers and ended his days in prison.

Nāsiru'ddin Mahmud ruled with capacity and munificence In his time also, the Mughals entered the Panjāb but retreated on hearing of his approach.

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* Ush is in Transoxiana and his birthplace. He is also known as Kāki from the miraculous production of bread cakes of the kind called in the vernacular *kāk* applied by the prophet Khizr for the needs of his family whose sustenance his meditations gave him no leisure or occasion to provide.

The *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri* takes its name from him. He had many excellent qualities. Ghiyasu'ddin Balban who had been the slave and son-in-law of his father, he raised to the rank of chief minister and gave him the title of Ulugh[1] Khān. This minister filled his high office worthily and sought the divine favour in watchfulness over his people.

Nāsiru'ddin dying without children, the faithful minister was raised to the sovereignty. Clemency and solid gravity of character added fresh lustre to his dignity, and far from spending his precious hours in unworthy pursuits, he gladdened his kingdom by his appreciation of merit, his knowledge of men and his devotion to God. Those of ill repute and the wicked were banished into obscurity, and the good happily prospered under his encouragement. He conferred the government of the Panjāb on his eldest son Muhammad, commonly known as *Khān i Shahid*[2] through whose valour and vigilance the province rested in security. Mir Khusrau and Mir Hasan were in his suite. He was returning from a visit to his father unprepared for hostilities, when he encountered some Mughal troops between Dipālpur and Lahor and lost his life in the action. Mir Khusrau was taken prisoner but contrived to escape. The province of Bengal had been bestowed by Ghiyāsu'ddin on his youngest son Bughra Khān.

On the death of Ghiyāsu'ddin, the nobles despatched Kai Khusrau the son of Khān i Shahid, who had been nominated heir, to (his father's government of) Multān, and bestowed the title of Sultān Muizzu'ddin Kaikubād on the son of Bughra Khān who thus acquired the sovereignty of Delhi. His father in Bengal, assuming the title of Nāsiruddin marched to Delhi whence Kaikubād advanced with a force to encounter him. The armies met on the banks of the Sarju (Gogra) near the town of Ajodhya, and through the conspiracy of disloyal and evil counsellors, the father after the interview returned to Bengal and the supreme sovereignty rested with the son. It is strange that Amir Khusrau should have chosen such a subject as this interview for encomium in his poem the *Qirān us Sa'dain*.

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[1] *Ulugh* is a Tartar word and signifies 'great', and used often as a proper name as in the case of Ulugh Beg grandson of Timur.

[2] Or the martyred prince. Abul Fazl's assertion of the prince's unpreparedness is not confirmed. It was in the pursuit of the flying Mughals that he was surprised by an ambush while he halted by the banks of a stream to drink and to return thanks to God for his victory. Amir Khusrau alludes to his escape in his well-known poem, the *Khizr Khāni*.

The fortunes of this thankless unfilial son through his insobriety fell into decay. A faction set up his son, under the title of Shamsu'ddin to remedy the disorder, and the body of the wretched Kaikubād was flung into the waters of the Jumna. Shamsuddin was set aside and the sovereignty, by assent of the ministers, conferred on the Khiljis.

Jalālu'ddin who was paymaster of the Imperial forces, ascended the throne and by his simplicity of character lent no favour to the designs of the factious. His nephew Malik Alāu'ddin who had been brought up under his care, went from Karrah to the Deccan and having amassed great booty was inflated by its possession and proved rebellious. The Sultān by the persuasion of intriguers advanced from Delhi to Karrah, where the traitor slew him and assumed the title of Sultān Alāu'ddin. Thus by a marvel of Fate did the empire devolve on this miscreant, yet he accomplished some excellent reforms. On several occasions he encountered and defeated the Mughals. Mir Khusrau dedicated to him his *Khamsah*[1] and the story of Dewal[2] Rāni to his son Khizr Khān. Unfortunately he abandoned his usual prudence and fell under the influence of a eunuch (Kāfur) on whom he conferred the conduct of the administration. Through the suggestions of that wretch, his three sons Khizr Khān, Shādi Khān and Mubārak Khān were imprisoned, and on his own death, by the same instrumentality the youngest son was raised to the throne under the title of Shahābuddin. He destroyed the sight of two of his brothers, but Mubārak Khān providentially escaped. A few days later the wretch (Kāfur) was himself assassinated and Mubārak Khān who was in prison became chief minister.

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[1] Or *five* poems, *viz.*, the Hasht Bihisht, Sikandar Nāmah, Panj Ganj, Laila wa Majnum, and Shirin wa Khusrau.

[2] The story will be found in Briggs, Vol I, pp. 327-366. Kaunla Devi her mother, the wife of Karan Rāe of Nahrwāla had been taken captive in the wars against that prince (1297) and placed in the royal harem. In 1306 an expedition proceeding to the Deccan under Kāfur, Kaunla Devi represented to the king that she had borne two daughters to her former husband, that one had died, but the other Dewal Devi was still alive and she desired to recover her. Passing through *Mālwah*, Kāfur demanded her of Karan Rae without success. Shankar Deva Rāe, prince of Deogarh had long sought to obtain her hand, but the proud Rajput had hitherto refused his daughter to the upstart Mahratta. The desire to gain his aid in the war against the king's troops secured his consent and he despatched her under an escort which fell in accidentally with a body of Muhammadan troops near the caves of Ellora. An engagement resulted in the capture of the princess and her despatch to her mother at Delhi. Her beauty won the heart of Khizr Khān the king's son and the rough course of their love with its hapless termination is celebrated in the Khizr Khāni. When they first met these prococious lovers were respectively ten and eight years of age.

Subsequently he deposed his younger brother, and assumed the title of Sultān Qutbuddin. He reduced Gujarāt and the Deccan. Through his incapacity and licentious disposition he chose a favourite of the lower orders named Hasan for the comeliness of his person, and bestowed on him the title of Khusrau Khān. Although the faithful ministers of the Crown represented the man's unworthiness and infamy, the king regarded their honest advice as the suggestions of envy, till Khusrau Khān, plotting secretly, dared to assassinate his master and assumed the sovereignty under the title of Nāsiru'ddin. He put to death the surviving members of the family of Alāu'ddin and perpetrated the greatest cruelties. Malik Ghāzi who was one of Alāu'ddin's chief nobles, defeated and slew him and with the concurrence of the nobles, ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlaq Shāh. After settling the affairs of Bengal, he returned to Delhi. His son Muhammad Khān erected a pavilion at the distance of 3 *kos* from Delhi, in the space of three days and with much entreaty invited the king to enter it. The roof of the building fell in and the king perished in the ruins. Although (Ziāuddin) *Barni*[1] endeavours to substantiate the innocence of Muhammad Khān, the haste with which the pavilion was erected, and the eagerness to entertain the king therein, have all the appearance of guilty design.

When Sultān Muhammad died, Firoz the son of (Sālār) Rajab his paternal uncle was, according to the will of Muhammad, raised to the throne. He ruled with capacity and prudence and left many useful works as memorials of his reign. At his death anarchy to some extent prevailed in the empire. A faction set up his grandson (Ghiyāsuddin) Tughlaq Shāh (II) but in a short space he was sent to his last sleep by the hands of traitors and Abu Bakr[1] another grandson succeeded him.

In the reign of Sultān Mahmud, the direction of affairs devolved on Mallu Khān who received the title of Iqbāl Khān, but his incapacity and ill-fortune were unequal to the burden of state guidance. Internal disorders arose. A grandson of Firoz Shāh was acknowledged by some, under the title of Nasrat Shāh and increased the anarchy. Constant struggles took place in the vicinity of Delhi till in the

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[1] The well-known author of the *Tarikh i Firoz Shāhi*.
[1] Son of Zafar Khān, son of Firuz Shāh.

year 801 A.H. (A.D. 1398) Timur invaded the country. Sultān Mahmud fled to Gujarāt and every competitor for power was crushed.

When Timur was on his return march, he left Khizr Khān, whom he had met during his invasion, in the government of Multān and Dipālpur. For two months Delhi was a waste. Nasrat Shāh who had fled into the Doāb, took possession of the throne. Iqbāl Khān then marched on Delhi and seized it and thé other fled to Mewāt. Mahmud Khān now came from Gujarāt and Iqbāl Khān feigned acceptance of his service. One night the Sultān, in desperation of his affairs departed alone to the court of Sultān Ibrahim of the Sharqi dynasty (of Jaunpur) but met with no encouragement nor assistance. He was compelled therefore to return and Iqbāl Khān now opposed him but without success, and subsequently was taken prisoner in an action against Khizr Khān and was slain. Sultān Mahmud now took possession of Delhi, and was for some time occupied in hostilities, till he was carried off by an illness, and the Khilji dynasty terminated with him.

For a short period allegiance was paid to Daulat Khān (Lodi) *Khāsah Khail,* till Khizr Khān marched from Multān and took possession of Delhi. Malik Mardān Khān, one of the nobles of the Court of Sultān Firoz, had adopted Sulaimān the father of Khizr Khān as his son who subsequently, in default of recognised heirs, succeeded to his government.[1] Khizr Khān in gratitude (to Timur) did not[2] assume the regal title but styled his Court "The Sublime Standards," and adorned the *Khutbah* with the name of that illustrious monarch and afterwards with that of Mirzā Shāh Rukh, but it concluded with a prayer for himself. His son Mubārak Shāh succeeded him in accordance with his will. Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi and Hoshang (of Mālwah) being engaged in hostilities, Mubārak intended an attack

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[1] The obscurity of this sentence in the original lies in the eliptical style of Abul Fazl. The sense I have given is in accordance with the facts of Ferishta who says that Malik *Marwān* Daulāt had adopted Sulaimān, and being himself appointed to the government of Multān, was succeeded at his death by his own son Malik Shaikh. The latter dying, made way for Sulaimān who was in turn succeeded by his son Khizr Khān. Ferishta makes the name Marwān and not Mardān.

[2] The MSS. omit the negative, but the text supplies it. Ferishta is clear on the point. "He did *not* take the name of king nor assume any regal epithet." The title in the text is not mentioned by him, which, however, is somewhat analogous to the Ottoman style of the 'Babi Aāli' or Sublime Porte, though in the latter it is absolute, and in the former vicarious.

on Kālpi and the adjacent territories, but he was perfidiously set upon by a band of traitors and slain.[1] Muhammad Shāh, who according to some was the son of Farid the son of Khizr Khān, while another account makes him the son of Mubārak, was raised to the throne. Sultān Alāu'ddin (his son and successor) possessed no share of rectitude and abandoned himself to licentious gratifications.

Bahlol (Lodi) now aspired to greatness. He was the nephew of Sultān Shāh Lodi of the Shāhu Khel tribe (of Afghāns). His father Bahrām in the time of Sultān Mahmud, came with five sons from the borders of Balot to Multān and subsisted with some difficulty by traffic. Sultān Shāh[2] obtained service under Khizr Khān. He received the title of Islām Khān, and the revenues of Sirhind were assigned to him. Bahlol, the son of his nephew on his brother's side was prospering ill in Sirhind, but was received into favour by him and adopted as a son. Bahlol was born in Multan and during the month in which his birth was expected, a beam of the house fell and killed his mother. He was extracted by the Caesarean operation and his destiny proved fortunate. Although he allowed his sovereign (Alāu'ddin) who lived in retirement (at Badāon) to retain nominal power, he boldly assumed the supreme authority.[3] His reign showed some capacity and his conduct was marked by intelligence and recognition of merit. He was carried off by an illness in his 80th year. It is said that he once happened to meet with a darvesh, having at the time with him but a trifling sum of money. The spiritually enlightened recluse called out, "Who will buy the kingdom of Delhi for such a sum of money?" His companions laughed in mockery at the man, but Bahlol frankly gave him all he had, and paid him reverence and eventually fulfilled the prediction. He carried on wars with the Sharqi kings which continued with varying successes, until he took Jaunpur and this dynasty was overthrown. He left his son, Bārbak at Jaunpur and returned to Delhi. As he was returning to Delhi from an

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[1] He had laid the foundations of the city of Mubārakābād on the Jumna and was in the habit of visiting it to inspect the progress of the buildings. It was in one of these that he was assassinated at the instigation of the Wazir Sarwar ul Mulk on the 9th Rajab 837 (A.D. 1433). Ferishta.

[2] His eldest son, the others were Malik Kālā, Malik Firoz, Malik Muhammad and Malik Khwājah. Ferishta.

[3] Removing the name of Alāu'ddin from the *Khutbah*, and assuming the insignia of royalty. Ferishta.

expedition against Gwalior he died near the town of Saketh.[1] His son Nizām Khān with the concurrence of the nobles, assumed the sovereignty and was styled Sultān Sikandar. He ruled with sagacity and appreciation of character and transferred the capital to Agra. In the year A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505), a great earthquake occurred and many lofty buildings were levelled. Sikandar was of comely person and mild disposition and popular from his liberality and open-handedness.

On his death, his son Sultān Ibrahim ascended the throne of Delhi and his authority was recognised as far as the confines of Jaunpur, the nobles conferring upon Jalāl Khān, another son of Sikandar's, the sovereignty of Jaunpur. Dissensions followed between the brothers, and Jalāl Khān abandoned his government and took refuge with the governor of Gwalior, but meeting with no success, fled to the court of Sultān Mahmud of Mālwa and succeeding as little there, he set out for Gondwāna. There the royal partisans seized him and carried him to the king by whom he was put to death. During his reign various chiefs revolted, such as Daryā Khān Lohāni viceroy of Behār, and his son Bahādur Khān had the *Khutba* read and the coin minted in his own name. Daulat Khān Lodi fled at Kabul and sought protection at the court of Babar, whom he led to the conquest of Hindustān while affairs resulted in a prosperous issue.

[1] Suketa or Saketa according to the *I. G.* is one of the classical names borne by Ajodhya, the ancient capital of Oudh. Abul Fazl places *Saketh* in the Sarkār of Kanauj.

SUBAH OF LĀHOR.

It is situated in the third climate. Its length from the river *Satlaj* (Sutlej) to the *Sind* river is 180 *kos*. Its breadth from *Bhimbar* to *Chaukhandi* one of the dependencies of *Satgarah*,[1] 86 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by *Sirhind;* on the north by *Kashmir;* on the south by *Bikaner* and *Ajmer;* on the west by *Multān*. It has six principal rivers which all flow from the northern mountains.

(1.) The *Sutlej* the ancient name of which is *Shattudar*[2] and whose source is in the *Kāhlor* hills. *Rupar, Māchhiwārah* and *Ludhiānah* are situated on its banks, and it receives the Biāh at the *Bauh*[3] ferry.

(2.) The *Biāh* (Beās) was anciently called *Bipāsha*, (Sansk. Vipasa Gr. Hyphasis). Its source is named *Biahkund* in the *Kullu* mountains in the vicinity of which the town of *Sultānpur*[4] stands above the river.

(3.) The *Ravi*, the ancient *Irawati*,[5] rises in the *Bhadrāl*[6] hills. Lahor the capital, is situated on its banks.

(4). The *Chenāb*, anciently *Chandarbhāgā*. From the summit of the *Kishtawār*[7] range issue two sweet water streams, the one called *Chandar*, the other *Bhāgā* which unite near *Khatwār* and are known by the above name whence they flow by *Bahlolpur*, *Sudharah* and *Hazārah*.

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[1] Satgarha is situated 13 miles east of Gugaira on one of the projecting points of the high bank which marks the limits of the windings of the Ravi on the east. The name means 'seven castles' but these no longer exist. There is an old brick fort and several isolated mounds which mark the site of an ancient city. Cunningham, p. 212.

[2] The Sydrus or better reading, Hesidrus of Pliny. It rises like the Indus on the slopes of the Kailās mountains, the Siva's paradise of ancient Sanskrit literature, with peaks 22,000 feet high. The twin lakes of Mānasarowar and Rakas-tal, united with each other, are its direct source. See *I. G.*

[3] In the maps, according to the text note, *Baupur*. The junction is at the south boundary of the Kaparthala state.

[4] It is in Kullu proper on the right bank of the Beas in lat. 30° 58′ N., and long. 77° 7′ E., at an elevation of 4,092 feet above sea level. It is perched on a natural eminence, once surrounded by a wall. Only two gateways remain of the ancient fortifications. *I. G.*

[5] Hydraotes of Arrian.

[6] Var. Bhadrā. It rises in the northern half of the Bangāhal valley in Kangra dist.

[7] The *I. G.* places *Kistawār* in the Kashmir state, lat. 33° 18′ 30″ N., long. 75° 48′ E. near the left bank of the Chenab which here forces its way through a gorge with precipitous cliffs 1,000 feet high. The Chenāb is called Sandabad by Ptolemy but the Greek historians of Alexander named it *Akesines* because its proper name was of ill omen, from its similitary thinks Bishop Thirlwall to *Alexandron-phagos* 'devourer of Alexander.' *Ladak*, pp. 118, 352.

(5.) The *Bihat* (Jhelum), anciently called *Bidasta,*[1] has its rise in a lake in the *parganah* of *Ver* in *Kashmir,* flows through *Srinagar* and enters Hindustān. *Bherah* lies on its (left) bank.

(6.) The source of the *Sindh* (Indus) is placed by some between *Kashmir* and *Kāshghar,* while others locate it in China. It flows along the borders of the *Sawād* territory by *Atak Benares*[2] and *Chaupārah* into *Baluchistān.*

His Majesty has given the name of *Beth Jālandhar* to the valley between the *Biāh* and the *Satlaj;* of *Bāri,* to that between the *Biāh* and the *Rāvi;* of *Rechna* to that between between the *Rāvi* and the *Chenāb;* of *Jenhat*[3] to the valley of the *Chenāb* and the *Bihat,* and *Sindh Sāgar* to that of the *Bihat* and *Sindh.* The distance

between	the	Satlaj and the	Biāh	is	50	*kos.*
,,	,,	Biāh ,,	Rāvi	,,	17	,,
,,	,,	Rāvi ,,	Chenāb	,,	30	,,
,,	,,	Chenāb ,,	Bihat	,,	20	,,
,,	,,	Bihat ,,	Sindh	,,	68	,,

This province is populous, its climate healthy and its agricultural fertility rarely equalled. The irrigation is chiefly from wells. The winter though not as rigorous as in Persia and Turkestān, is more severe than in any other part of India. Through the encouragement given by His Majesty, the choicest productions of Turkestān, Persia and Hindustān are to be found here. Musk-melons are to be

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[1] Bidasta and Bihat are corruptions of Sansk. *Vitasta,* the Hydaspes of Horace, and the more correct Bidaspes of Ptolemy. The pool of Vira Nāg was walled round by Jahangir, but the true source of the river is more to the S.-W. in N. lat. 33° 30′ and E. long. 75° 25′. Bherah is in the Shāhpur dist. lat. 32° 29′ N., long. 72° 57′ E. The ruins of the original city known as Jobnāthnagar are identified by Genl. Cunningham with the capital of Sopheites, contemporary of Alexander the Greeat.

[2] It is so called by the Muhammadan historians in contradistinction to Katak Benares in Orissa at the opposite extremity of the empire. *I. G.* On his return from Kābul, on the 14th Safar 989 A.H. (20th March 1581), Akbar crossed the Indus at Attock and ordered the building of the fort, of mortar and stone in order to control that part of the country and called it Atak which signifies in the vernacular 'hindrance' or 'prohibition', it being forbidden to the Hindus to cross the Indus. Ferishta. The Swāt territory is here meant, the river of that name, the *Swastos* of the Greeks (Sansk. *Suvastu*) rising on the east slopes of the mountains which divide Panjakora from the Swāt country, receives the drainage of the Swāt valley and entering the Peshawar dist. north of Michni, joins the Kābul river at Nisatha. The course of the Indus has there a somewhat parallel direction.

[3] Under list of *Sarkārs* Chenhat, more commonly known as the *Jech* or Jechnā Doāb

[4] Tieffenthaler quotes other measurements besides these, giving the reason for the variations in the differences of route, the incapacity of travellers and the universal ignorance of geometry.

had throughout the whole year. They come first in season when the sun is in Taurus and Gemini, (April, May, June), and a later crop when he is in Cancer and Leo (June, July, August). When the season is over, they are imported from Kashmir and from Kābul, Badakhshān and Turkestān. Snow is brought down every year from the northern mountains. The horses resemble the Irāq breed and are of excellent mettle. In some parts of the country, they employ themselves in washing the soil whence gold, silver, copper, *rui*,[1] zinc, brass and lead are obtained. There are skilful handicraftsmen of various kinds.

Lāhor is a large city in the *Bari Doāb*. In size and population it is among the first. In ancient astronomical tables it is recorded as *Lokāwar*. Its longitude is 109° 22′, lat. 31° 50′. During the present reign the fortifications and citadel have been strengthened with brick masonry and as it was on several occasions the seat of government, many splendid buildings have been erected and delightful gardens have lent it additional beauty. It is the resort of people of all countries whose manufactures present an astonishing display and it is beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent.

Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill: its fort is called *Kāngrah*. Near the town is the shrine of *Mahāmāyā*[2] which is considered as a manifestation of the divinity. Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues: with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a space of time it is sufficiently amazing. In the Hindu mythology, *Mahāmāyā* is said to be the wife of Mahādeva, and the learned of this creed represent by this name the energizing power of the deity. It is said that on beholding the disrespect (shown to her husband, Siva) she cut herself in pieces and her body fell in

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[1] This metal is defined at p. 41 Vol. I. as being composed of 4 *sers* of copper to ½ of lead, and in India called *Bhangār*.

[2] The Great Illusion, or the illusory nature of worldly objects divinely personified, an epithet of the goddess Durgā. The earlier name Hardwār, *Māyāpur*, represents the ancient worship of this supreme energy and "by her, whose name is Maya", says the *Bhagavata* "the Lord made the universe." His temple still exists in Hardwar, and is described in Cunningham's *Anct. Geog*.

four places; her head and some of her limbs in the northern mountains of Kashmir near *Kāmrāj*, and these relics are called Shāradā; other parts fell near *Bijāpur* in the Deccan and are known as *Tuljā Bhawāni*. Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near *Kāmrup* are called *Kāmākhyā*, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as *Jālandhari* which is this particular spot.[1]

In the vicinity torch-like flames issue from the ground in some places, and others resemble the blaze of lamps.[2]

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[1] Read with variation of detail the preface to the *Gopatha Brāhmana* published in Nos. 215-252 of the Bibl. Ind., pp. 30-35. It occurs in the 2nd Book in the germ which afterwards developed into the Puranic tale of *Daksha's great sacrifice*. This mind-born son of Brahmā and father of Uma or Durga assisted at a Visrasrig sacrifice celebrated by his father in which discourtesy was shown to Siva. A quarrel broke out between Daksha and Siva, resulting in the exclusion of the latter from the great sacrifice to which the whole Hindu pantheon was bid. Uma seated in her blissful mansion on the crest of the Kailāsa mountain, saw the crowds proceeding to her father's court to which she repaired and learning the exclusion of her husband, upbraided her father for his injustice and refused to retain the body she had inherited from him. Covering herself up with her robe, she gave up her life in a trance of meditation. The wrath of Siva incarnate in a giant form pursued the feasters and created stupendous havoc. *Vishnu* unable to pacify Siva and knowing that his fury was kindled by the sight of his dead wife, cut the body to pieces bit by bit with his discus and threw it about the earth and thus calmed the irate and oblivious deity who thereupon restored the killed and wounded to life and soundness. Daksha's head having been burnt in the melee, it was replaced by that of a goat which happened to be at hand, apparently without remonstrance from the reanimated demigod or even his consciousness of the substitution. The *Tantra Chudāmani* is able fortunately to detail the portions of the body and to identify the places where they fell. As these are said to be still held in high veneration, I record them for the instruction of the curious or the devout.

1. The crown of the head at Hingulā (Hinglaj). 2. The three eyes at Sarkarāra. 3. The nose at Sugandhā. 4 The top of the neck at Kāsmira. 5. The tongue at Jwālamukhi. 6. Right breast at Jālandhara. 7. Heart at Vaidyanātha. 8. Knees at Nepāla. 9. Right hand at Mānasa. 10 Navel at Ukala. 11. Right cheek at Gondaki. 12. Left arm at Vahulā. 13. Elbow at Ujjayani. 14 Right arm at Chāttola, Chandrasekhara. 15. Right foot at Tripurā. 16. Left foot at Trisrota. 17. *Yoni* at Kāmagiri (Kāmākhyā). 18. Right great toe at Yugādyā. 19. Other right toes at Kālipitha (Kalighāt). 20. Fingers at Prayāga. 21. Thighs at Jayanti. 22. Earrings at Vārānasi. 23. Back of the trunk at Kamyāsrama. 24. Right ankle at Kurukshetra. 25. Wrists at Manivedaka. 26. Back of the neck at Srisaila. 27. Backbone at Kānchi. 28. One hip at Kālamādhara. 29. Other hip at Narmadā. 30. Left breast at Rāmagiri. 31. Hairs of the head at Vrindāvana. 32. Upper row of teeth at Suchi. 33. Lower ditto at Panchasāgara. 34. Left *talpa* (shoulder-blade) at Karatoyā. 35. Right ditto at Sripārvatta. 36. Left ankle at Vibhāsha. 37. Belly at Prabāsha. 38. Upper lip at Bhairavaparvata. 39. Chin at Jala-sthala. 40. Left cheek at Godavari. 41. Right shoulder at Ratnāvali. 42. Left shoulder at Mithila. 43. Legbone at Nalāpāti. 44. Ears at Karmāta. 45. Mind(?) at Vakresvara. 46. Palm at Jasora. 47. Lower lip at Attahasa. 48. Necklace at Nandipura. 49. Anklets at Lankā. 50. Toes of left foot at Virāta. 51. Right leg at Magadha.

[2] See Hugel's *Travels in Kashmir*, p. 42, for this phenomenon. The text has *pilsuj*, which is a lamp in the shape of a platter, three feet in height from the base, and about 6 inches diameter at the top; having in the middle a small tube with two holes through which the wick is fed by oil or grease kept in liquefaction by the flame. This shrine is the famous *Jwālāmukhi* (mouth of Flame) distant two days' journey from Kāngra.

There is a concourse of pilgrims and various things are cast into the flames with the expectation of obtaining temporal blessings. Over them a domed temple has been erected and an astonishing crowd assembles therein. The vulgar impute to miraculous agency what is simply the effect of a mine of brimstone.

In the middle of *Sindh Sāgar* near *Shamsābād* is the cell of Bālnāth Jogi which they call *Tilah Bālnāth.*[1] Devotees of Hindustān regard it with veneration and Jogis especially make pilgrimage to it. Rock-salt is found in this neighhood. There is a mountain 20 *kos* in length from which they excavate it, and some of the workmen carry it out. Of what is obtained, three-fourths is the share of those that excavate and one-fourth is allotted to the carriers. Merchants purchase it at from half to two *dāms* a *man* and transport it to distant countries. The landowner takes 10 *dāms* for every carrier and the merchant pays a duty of one rupee for every 17 *mān* to the state. From this salt artificers make dishes, dish-covers, plates and lamp-stands.

The five *Doābs* of this province are subdivided into 234 *parganahs*. The measured land is one *kror*, 61 *lakhs*, 55,643 *Bighas*, and 3 *Biswas*. The gross revenue is 55 *krors*, 94 *lakhs*, 58,423 *dāms*. (Rs. 1,39,86,460-9-2). Of this 98 *lakhs*, 65,594 *dāms* (Rs. 246,639-13-7) are *Suyurghāl*. The local force consists of 54,480 Cavalry and 426,086 Infantry.

For traditions regarding the four *pithas* and the number of the *pithas*, vide the *Sakta Pithas* by Dr. D. C. Sarkar in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 11-15, 17-31. According to Dr. Sarkar, the *Hevajra Tantra* of the Buddhists contains the earliest tradition about the *Four Pithas* which are :— (1) Jalandhara, (2) Odiyāna (Uddiyan in the Swat valley), (3) Purnagiri and (4) Kāmrupa. The same is echoed in the Kālikā Purāna which mentions Odrā in the place of Uddiyāna. This corresponds, barring Uddiyana, to Abul Fazl's enumeration of the *pithas*.

[1] General Cunningham (*Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 164) says that the Tila range, 30 miles in length, occupies the west bank of the Jhelum from the east bend of the river below Mangala to the bed of the Bunhar river, 12 miles north of Jalālpur. The full name is *Goraknāth ka Tila*, the more ancient, *Bālnath ka Tila*, both derived from the temple on the summit dedicated to the sun as Bālnath, but now devoted to the worship of Goraknath, a form of Siva.

Sarkār of the Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 60 *Mahals*, 3,279,302 *Bighas*, 17 *Biswas*. Revenue 124,365,212 *Dāms* in money. *Suyurghāl* 2,651,788 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 4,155. Infantry 79,436.

	Bighas Biswas.	Revenue D	Suyurghāl	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes.
Islimābād	2,735	458,122	...	15	200	Afghān.
Pati Dhuniat ...	57,866	3,601,678	80,607	30	400	Nāru.
Bhungā	51,089-13	2,760,530	10,232	20	300	Do. (var. Barar).
Bajwāra	12,363	2,425,813	689	30	200	Khori Wāhah.
Bhalon, has a stone fort	32,761	1,305,006	...	70	1000	Dhāhwāl.
Barwa	13,611	668,000	...	...	...	
Pālakwā	4,532	200,000	...	...	...	
Bachheru	4.215	160,000	...	...	...	
Besāli and Khattan, 2 *Mahals*	11,405	566,366	...	...	...	
Talwan	201,450	6,780,337	804,889	70	700	Main.
Tatārpur, has a stone fort	3,458	170,388	...	...	...	
Jālandhar, has a brick fort	474,308	14,751,626	773,167	100	1000	Afghān. Lodhi, and Lohāni, and Ranghar tribes.
Chaurāsi	96,330	5,463,913	255,516	50	1000	Afghān.
Jeora	48,124	2,474,854	23,527	50	300	Bhatti.
Jason Bālākoti, has a stone fort	15,054	600,000	...	500	3000	Jaswāl, called also Bikaner.
Chanor	...	313,000	...	100	2000	Sombansi.
Hājipur Sāriyāna ...	59,255	2,693,874	...	...	...	
Dādrak [Dārdak] ...	497,202-11	9,707,993	92.153	150	4000	Khori Wāhah.
Dasuya, has a brick fort	157,962	4,474,950	67,249	...	...	Khokhar.
Dadiai, has a stone fort	34,150	1,650,000	...	300	4005	Sasahwāl.
Dādah, Do. ...	30,218	1,200,000	...	...	...	
Darparah	26,444	900,000	...	...	...	
Dardhi	15,054	600,000	...	100	1000	Sombansi.
Dunnāgor	11,490	455,870	...	...	...	
Dhankali	1,880	72,000	...	...	...	
Rahimābād	8,790	2,480,669	13,613	80	200	Khori Wāha.

Sarkār of Bet Jālandhar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Rājpurpatan, has a stone fort	...	1,800,000	...	...	...	...
Sultānpur, has a brick fort	101,865	4,020,282	406,830	200	1000	Bhatti,
Sānkarbanot	59,952	2,533,225	16,485	50	500	Khori Wāhah.
Suket Mandi, has copper and iron mines ...	42,150	1,680,000	...	100	8000	Sombansi.
Sopar	24,583	1,000,000	...	...	2000	Sasahwāl.
Siba, has a stone fort ...	8,114-18	800,000	...	200	2000	Do.
Sorān	213,333	...	. .	...	...	...
Shaikhpur	97,173	4,722,604	52,639	150	2000	Bhatti.
Shergarh	3,640	194,294	...	...	...	...
Isāpur	...	346,667	...	...	...	...
Kothi	116,286	5,546,661	30,670	30	400	Jat.
Garh Diwāla	58,063	2,670,087	4,530	20	200	Jat.
Kotla	42,152	1,680,000	...	300	4000	Jasrotiah.
Kotlehar, has a stone fort	32,932-16	1,310,847	...	200	3000	Kotlahariah.
Kharakdhār	42,043-12	48,000	...	...	...	...
Kheunkherā, has a stone fort	6,021-16	240,000	...	under Nakroh		Jaswāl.
Gangot, has a stone fort ...	6,021-16	240,000	...	...	...	Do.
Khera	6,021-16	240,000	...	20	4000	Surajbansi.
Ghawāsan (var. and G. Ghawās)	14,742-14	586,906	...	...	...	...
Loidheri	15,959-8	536,414	17,810	...	...	...
Lālsingi	5,937	236,850	...	...	...	...
Miāni Nuria	68,229	21,061,565	6,156	20	400	Bhatti.
Melsi	54,653-17	1,823,559	1,217	20	3000	Ranghar, Jat.
Muhammadpur	38,231	1,802,558	10,553	100	1000	Ranghar, Main.
Mānsawāl	6,668	266,667	...	...	...	...
Malot	6,412	4,606,620	...	...	...	...
Mandhota [Mamdot] ...	13,280	426,367	...	...	...	...
Nakodar	78,731	3,710,756	9,757	20	1000	Main.
Naugal	4,808	267,270	...	...	...	...
Nakrota	32,642	1,300,061	...	500	5000	Jaswāl.
Nonangal	46,180	2,315,958	...	30	300	Baloch, Jat.
Nandon	138,439	5,300,000	...	100	1500	Nagarkotiah.
Harhana [Hariana] with Akbarābād, 2 *Mahals* ...	626,889	6,032,032	49,650	40	408	Nāru.
Hadiābād	17,126	519,467	2,067	...	...	...

Sarkār of the Bāri Doāb.

Containing 52 *Mahals*. 4,580,002 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue 142,808,183 *Dāms* revenue in cash from crops charged at special rates and from land paying the general *bigah* rate. *Suyurghāl*, 3,923,922 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 31,055. Infantry, 129,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Anchhara	...	500,000	...	50	500	Khokhar.
Andora	20,781	1,193,739	7,624	...	...	...
Abhipur	...	168,000	...	...	...	...
Udar [Utar]	...	9,600	...	...	...	...
Lahore city Balda ...	...	2,912,600	...	5000	4000	...
Phulwāri	4,727-10	452,694	143,955	20	100	...
Phulrā	106,463	2,413,268	13,268	20	100	Sadhāl, Bhalar
Panchgrāmi [Panjgiran] ...	65,557	1,461,630	73,177	15	1000	Khokhar.
Bharli	17,967	4,060,507	209,789	...	...	
Bhilwāl	62,875	3,181,699	225,408	20	400	Jat.
Pati Haibatpur	1,576,633	28,395,380	284,647	700	10,000	Jat.
Batāla	515,479	16,820,998	256,853	200	5000	Bhatti, Jat.
Pathān [-kot], has a brick fort	199,872	7,297,015	97,015	250	2000	Brāhman.
Paniāl	65,789	4,266,000	276,091	150	400	Jat Khatiān.
Biāh	60,523	3,822,255	8,976	200	2000	Bhatti.
Bahādurpur	11,489	447,750	...	...		...
Talwāra	6,334	514,666	10,364	20	200	Bakkāl.
Thandot	25,222	610,064	3,234	20	500	Afghān.
Chandrāu	7,194-10	263,568	...	20	100	Jat, Sindhu.
Chārbāgh Barhi	213	58,502	...	...	...	...
Chamiāri	250,614	8,813,140	309,090	200	2000	Khokhar.
Jalālābād	152,058	5,163,119	20,456	300	4000	Afghān, Jat, Bhatti.
Chhat and Ambālah, 2 *Mahals*	...	2,300,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Sombansi.
Jatgarh	...	45,600	...	...	...	...
Khānpur	...	280,038	...	30	600	Khokhar.
Dābhawāla	121,495	6,282,139	57,674	100	3000	Jat.
Dhameri (now Nurpur) ...	...	1,600,000	...	60	1300	...
Darwa	...	240,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Sombansi.
Darwa, Digar	...	24,000	...	...	...	...
Sankhā Arwal	10,874	544,145	91,413	10	100	Arwal.
Sindhuwān	263,402	6,854,649	12,700	200	400	Jat Sindhu.
Lahore suburbs	11,401	674,053	202,300	...	...	...
Shāhpur	42,399	2,382,235	126,720	...	...	...
Sherpur	...	480,000	...	...	...	...
Ghurbatrāwan	7,391-13	411,985	63,103	20	100	Jat Sindhu.
Kasur	259,456	3,915,506	23,124	300	4000	Bhatti.
Kalānur	286,052	8,329,111	447,639	150	1500	Jat, Bakkāl.
Kunhewan	63,608	3,511,499	127,665	50	500	Khokhar, Bakhās.
Khokhowāl	75,194	3,475,510	3,510	20	500	Jat.
Goler	66,239	2,643,000	3,000	100	3000	Rājput Sombansi.

Sarkār of Bāri Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Kāngra, has a stone fort	...	2,400,000	...	2400	29,000	Sombansi.
Kotla	...	182,518	...	...	...	...
Karkārāon	...	16,000	...	...	...	...
Malik Shāh	28,684-9	1,475,562	52,283	10	100	Bhandāl, (var. Bhadāl).
Mau and Nabā [?=Omba], 2 *Mahals*	...	2,400,000	...	300	...	Rājput.
Mahror	...	24,000	...	..	...	...
Hoshiār Karnāla ...	22,225	489,372	...	20	400	Jat.
Pālam, } These four *parganahs*, are now abandoned.	...	2,600	...	...	...	...
Patiyār,	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhatti,	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jarjiya	...	...	...	...	...	...

Sarkār of the Rechnāu Doāb.

Containing 57 *Mahals*. 4,253,148 *Bighas*, 3 *Biswas*. Revenue, 172,047,691 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 2,684,134 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 6,795. Infantry, 99,652.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Amrāki Bhatti	70,752-8	1,942,606	8,678	50	1000	Bhatti.
Lands of Bāgh Rae Bocha	2,683	52,837	...	...	...	...
Eminābād, has a brick fort	515,675-4	24,853,006	498,480	500	5000	Khokhar, Chimah &c.
Panchnagar	31,741	1,181,266	27,879	50	500	Jat.
Parsaror	509,858-4	27,978,583	486,551	200	4000	Jat, Bājoh Telah &c.
Badubhandāl	23,752-18	1,611,882	46,979	...	...	...
Pati Zafarwāl, has a fort	6,106,148	3,697,338	150,865	50	2000	Jat, Bholron.
Pati Tarmali	29,056	525,953	...	20	400	Kolrā.
Bhalot	20,312-10	818,182	...	100	2000	Manhās.
Bhadrān, situate on a hill	...	240,000	..	50	4000	Do.
Balāwarah	6,021-6	240,000	...	50	3000	Balāwariāh.
Bhutiyāl	2,407,18	96,000	...	30	1000	Bhutiyālah.
Ban	1,346-19	48,000	...	100	4000	Manhās
Tāral	38,669-8	2,144,945	8,400	150	2000	Jat, Tāral.
Talwandi	95,698-17	1,578,207	3,792	30	300	Jat.
Chima Chata	96,698	6,878,891	26,439	100 50	1000	Chimah Chatah.
Chandanwarak, (var. darak)	81,426-6	4,128,313	30,571		150	Jat, Warak.
Chhotādhar	22,858-5	1,391,692	...	...	...	...
Jabudhadi	12,474	815,587	31,135	...	...	...
Chiniwot, has a brick fort	154,154	2,806,369	190,052	500	5000	Jat Jabuhar.

Sarkār of Rechnāu Dāab—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jammu, situate at the foot of a hill, and a stone fort above it*	19,329-11	3,956,000	...	1000	20,000	Manhās.
Jasrotā (in one MS.)	150,430	...	...	400	5000	Malanhās.
in another	430-19	1,150,000	...	...	...	...
Chari Champā [Chamba]	6,021-6	240,000	...	100	1000	Gwāleri.
Hāfizābād	169,499	4,548,000	48,000	150	150	Jat Balhan (Bhalar).
The lands of Khānpur ...	402	27,028	...	...	...	...
Daulatpur	4,779-10	115,050	...	...	...	...
Dāud Bhandāl Barhi ...	23,142	1,725,089	237,082	...	...	...
Daulatābād	14,368	241,740	...	10	100	Jat Salah, (var. Sad).
Rupnagar	6,705	410,513	...	...	...	...
Rinhā	58,850-8	275,550	5,461	...	...	Brāhman, Bāghbān.
Rechnā	130,207	8,680,742	442,082	700	7000	...
Sāhumali	152,391	5,574,764	18,353	40	1200	...
Sidhpur	108,923	3,127,212	79,972	100	2000	Jat, Marāli.
Siālkot, is situate on the edge of a ridge on the banks of the Aik torrent, has a brick fort ...	102,035	22,090,792	184,305	500	7000	Jat, Ghaman and Chimah.
Sahajrāo	5,627-7	362,326	4,803	100	1000	Chimah.
Sohdra, on the Chenāb, has a high brick minaret	121,721-1	7,096,710	99,731	100	1000	Do.
Shānzdah Hinjrāo ...	64,140	1,536,480	...	50	1000	Jat, Hinjrāo.
Shou [-kot?]	107,347	2,278,940	5,061	1000	5000	Jat, Langāh, Sanāwal (Sahāwal).
Fattu Bhandāl Barhi ...	7,826-7	613,917	5,842	...	...	
Fazlābād	2,115-7	136,528	...	...	...	
Gobindwāl	55,069	1,253,957	194,622	50	300	Orak and Jat.
Kāthohā	126,598-12	5,888,254	...	20	10,000	Kāmwāl (var. Kāhwāl).
Gujrān Barhi	2,631-14	670,936	11,787	...	...	
Kālāpind	2,801-19	203,964	21,702	...	...	
Kārnari, commonly called Sāniā	27,665-4	1,500,000	...	100	300	
Kharli Tarli	...	768,000	...	...	...	
Lakhnor	17,169-1	681,818	...	...	...	
Mangtanwāla	131,583	3,819,690	57,788	50	300	Jat.
Muhammad Bari Dukrāo	16,561-8	1,127,903	3,367	...	...	Jat.
Mahror	102,586-4	3,005,602	6,602	5	500	Brāhman.
Mengri	62,293	1,475,225	5,748	20	1000	Silhariyā and Gujar.
Mankot, includes 4 towns each with a stone fort	1,312	85,119	...	30	1200	Manhās.
Wan	140,234	371,553	20,278	50	1000	Jārak Silhar.
Haminagar	141,063	8,391,062	59,541	30	1000	Jat.
Hantiyāl (var. Hatiyāl) ...	6,201-6	240,000	...	30	200	Hatiyālah.

* The town and palace stand on the south bank of the river Tāvi a tributary of the Chenab; the fort overhangs the left or east shore at an elevation of 150 feet above the stream, *I. G.*

Chenhat (*Jech*) *Doāb.*

Containing 21 *Mahals*, 2,633,210 *Bighas*, 5 *Biswas*. Revenue 64,502, 394 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 511,070 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,730. Infantry, 44,200.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Andarhal	31,070	485,418	...	—	...	Gakkhar (see Vol. I. 546).
Akhandor Ambāran ...	9,866-5	362,000	...	300	3000	Manhās.
Bhera, on the banks of the Bhimbar[1]	912,107-7	19,910,000	53,560	700	10,000	
Bahlolpur, on the banks of the river Chenab ...	170,607	3,830,575	10,583	100	500	Jat.
Bolet	8,748	400,080	...	50	300	
Bhimbar, situated on the banks of the stream ...	28,668	1,200,000	...	...	...	
Bhadu	4,717	192,000	...	30	1200	Jat, Bhandwāl.
Buhati	2,874	57,222	...	10	100	Mangharwāl.
Sāilā and Dudiyāl, 2 *Mahals*	27,421	735,741	...	200	800	Khokhar.
Shorpur	169,874	3,121,546	8,497	100	1000	Jat, Khokar, Jander.
Shakarpur	7,684	1,050,819	...	...	...	
Gujrāt	285,094	8,266,150	...	120	1000	
Kariyāli	57,818	2,643,270	6,633	100	2000	
Khokhar, has a brick fort	92,826	2,320,594	58,410	100	1000	Khokar.
Ghari, on the river Bihat	20,176	1,505,241	...	20	2000	Do.
Lolor, separated from Khushāb	192,253	3,746,166	11,290	200	2000	Khokhar and Mikan.
Mangli	2,839	432,000	...	400	2000	Manhās.
Malot Rāe Kedāri, situate on a hill	17,007	370,549	...	40	400	Mangharwāl.
Hareo	247,878	9,150,828	76,321	300	3000	Tat, Barwānji ?
Hazāra, has a brick fort	270,392	4,689,136	219,536	700	3000	Jat, Khokar Bāranij ?

[1] Bherah is on the left bank of the Jhelum. The Bhimbar torrent rising in the second Himalayan range, flows within 4 miles N. W. of Gujrāt and eventually joins the Jalālia *nālā* a branch of the Chenab. *I. G.*

Sindh Sāgar Doāb.

Containing 42 *Mahals*, 1,409,929 *Bighas*. Revenue, 51,912,201 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 4,680 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 8,553. Infantry, 69,700.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Akbarābād Tarkheri ...	204,381	5,491,738	...	2000	15,000	Gakkhar.
Atak Benares (Attock) ...	5,418	3,202,216	...	1000	5000	Khatar, called also Salāsah.
Awān, here are horses of good breed	10,096	415,970	...	50	500	Awān. (See Vol. I, 456, n. and I.G. under Hazāra).
Paharhāla, has a stone fort, below the fort runs the river Sowāri (=Sohān) ...	192,247	5,158,109	...	...	...	
Bel Ghāzi Khān ...	17,426	320,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah (Janjuah).
Bālā Khattar	5,825	1,000,040	...	20	100	Khattar.
Paru Khattar	1,195	48,000	...	...	...	
Balokidhan	7,679	1,316,801	...	100	500	Gakkhar.
Tharchak Dāmi	6,082	250,575	...	100	1000	Do.
Suburban dist. of Rohtas,* has a stone fort, beneath which flows the Kuhān stream	120,884	60,403,140	67,052	500	3000	Gakkhar. Bagiyāl.
Khushāb, situate near the river Bihat (Jhelum) the greater part is jungle ...	73,086	2,702,509	...	500	7000	Afghān Niyazi and Isā Khel.
Dān Gari [D. Gali] ...	147,647	3,301,201	...	1500	10,000	Gakkhar,
Dhānkot [Dinkot], on the banks of the river Mihran, *viz.*, Indus, has a salt mine	8,927	480,000	...	150	4000	Awān.

* The fort built by Sher Shāh as a check on the Gakkhar tribes, now in picturesque ruin. It is situated in the Salt Range on a gorge overlooking the Kahān Nadi 11 miles north-west of Jhelum town. The walls extend for three miles and encircle the rocks which command the entrance of the pass. Some parts have a thickness of from 30 to 40 feet. One gateway still remains in excellent preservation. *I. G.*

Sindh Sāgar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Darband, (here two unintelligible words) ...	...	3,100,000 in money	...	20	500	Janohāh (Janjuah).
Dhrāb	2,330	96,000	...	20	150	Do.
Dudwat	2,830	96,000	...	20	300	Do.
Reshān	1,195	92,496	...	10	200	Awān.
Shamsābād	24,664	7,034,503	...	50	500	Gakkhar (var. Khokhar).
Patālā	11,146	624,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah.
Fatehpur Kālauri (var. Kanauri and T.)	157,042	4,261,881	...	500	10,000	Gakkhar.
Kalbhalak	40,913	2,883,253	18,176	30	200	Baloch.
Gheb (var. Khet, Khes, Khep)	16,961	934,161	...	300	1200	Khattar (sic).
Khār Darwāzah ...	4,316	24,541	...	50	300	Jānohah.
Girjhāk[1]	21,491	961,755	...	100	1500	Do.
Kachākot, one *kos* distant from this *parganah* is the spring of Hasan Abdāl[2]	5,825	340,000	...	50	2000	Rāwalah, Tarin, Afghān.
Kāhwān, has a stone fort	4,660	192,000	...	10	200	Jānohah.
Kambat	2,330	96,000	...	...		
Langahtiyār (var. G. Siyār)	2,330	96,000	...	10	100	
Mākhiāl, has a stone fort on a hill—there is scarcity of water—has a salt mine and a shrine ...	9,320	834,000	...	100	1500	Jānohah.

[1] Said by Cunningham, (*Anct. Geog.*, p. 163 and pronounced *Girjhak*) to be the Hindu name for Jalālpur, the probable site of the famous city of Bukephala built in memory of Alexander's horse.

[2] This well-known village lies on the road between Rawal Pindi and Peshawar which with its ruins, says the I. G., forms part of a group of ancient cities lying round the site of the ancient Taxila. Hwen Thsang the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the 7th Century A D. visited the tank of the Serpent King, Elapatra, identified with the spring of Bābā Wali (Kandahāri) or Panja Sāhib. The fountain is hallowed by legends of Buddhist, Brahman, Moslem and Sikh. The shrine of Panja Sāhib crowns a precipitous hill about one mile east of the town, and at its foot is the holy tank; a small square reservoir, full of fish. Delapidated brick temples surround the edge and on the west side the water gushes out from beneath a rock made with the representation of a hand, ascribed by the Sikhs to their founder Bābā Nānak. The scenery is extremely picturesque; the river Haroh hard by affords excellent fishing, and on its near shore two ancient cypresses are the only epitaph above the tomb of one of Akbar's wives. For *Kachakot*, see Cunningham, *Anct. Geog.*, p. 116.

Sindh Sāgar Doāb—Contd.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Marāli, at the foot of a mountain	5,825	240,000	...	15	500	
Malot, has a stone fort on a hill	3,236	133,233	...	10	200	Janohah.
Nandanpur, has a brick fort on a hill	40,997	24,110	4,110	20	150	Do.
Nilāb, (Indus) land included under (Attock) Benares	8,787	481,305	...	... under Akbarābād	...	
Nārwi, on the Sind ...	997	38,091	...			Gakkhar.
Nokosiral Khattar ...	926	38,096	...	10	50	Khattar.
Hazāra Qarlug	214,992	1,805,342	5,342	100	500	Dālāzāk Afghān.
Haliyār Lang	7,281	300,000	...	...	...	Bhakar barkhatri (with illegible variants).
Hazāra Gujrān	6,575	280,896	...	under Akbarābād		
Himmat Khān Karmun ..	165	48,000	...	Do.		Gakkhar.

*Beyond the Five rivers (Birun i Pānjnad).**

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Belot	...	322,740	...	100	10,000	Baloch.
Sahlor	...	1,700,000	...	40	700	Chandel and others.
Kahlor, (Punjāb Hill State)	...	1,800,000	...	50	1000	Do.

* The valley of the Jhelum takes the name of *Trimāb* (Three rivers) after its junction with the Chenāb and the Rāvi and that of *Panjnad* (Five rivers) after receiving the united waters of the Beās and Sutlej. *I. G.* This restricted signification cannot here apply. Certain outlying portions beyond the limits of the Punjāb Proper were evidently attached to the *Subahs* of Lahor and Multān and to the *sarkar* of Dipalpur and were denominated—*Birun i Panjnad*.

SUBAH OF MULTĀN

It is situated in the first, second and third climates simultaneously. Before *Tattah* was comprised in this province, its length from *Firozpur* and *Sewistān*, was 403 *kos* and its breadth from *Khatpur*[1] to *Jaisalmir*, 108 *kos*, but since its inclusion, it measures to *Kach* (Gandāvā) and *Mekrān*, 660 *kos*. On the east, it marches with the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; on the north with *Shor;* on the south, with the *Subah* of *Ajmer*, and on the west, with *Khach* and *Mekrān*. 660 *kos*. On the east, it marches with the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; on the north with *Shor;* on the south, with the *Subah* of *Ajmer*, and on the west, with *Khach* and *Mekrān*. For facility of reference, the two territories are separately described. Its principal rivers are the six already mentioned. The *Bihat* (Jhelum) joins the *Chenāb* near the *parganah* of *Shor* and after a course of 27 *kos*, they unite with the Ravi at *Zafarpur* and the three flowing collectively in one stream for 60 *kos*, enter the *Indus* near *U'ch*. Within 12 *kos* of *Firozpur*, the *Biāh* joins the Sutlej which then bears several names, *viz.*, *Har, Hāri, Dand, Nurni*,[2] and in the neigh-

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[1] Khatpur is placed by Abul Fazl in the Rachna Doāb and by Tieffenthaler as the first stage in a journey from Lahor to Multān.

[2] The text diffidently forms two names of these four; viz., Harhāri, Dandnurni, but the authority of the two best MSS. (relegated to the notes) divides them. One at least of these names, Dand, still lives in the local designation of a former bank of the Sutlej, whose shifting course has modified the aspect of the country. One ancient bed, forming the base of the segment where the Sutlej after its junction with the Beās curves round to the south-west is called the Sukhar Nai (*I. G.*) which crosses the district east to west and joins the modern channel near the borders of Sirsa. The Danda bank points to a still more ancient course crossing the south-west corner 35 miles east of the present stream, traceable as far as Moodkee and thence at intervals to the Sutlej 15 miles farther north. The old beds of the Rāvi and Beās which formerly united their waters much lower down, at present may be traced through a great part of the Bāri Doāb. (*I. G.*) See the ancient courses of these rivers in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 220, *et seq.* General Cunningham bases his discussion on Gladwin's translation, *viz.*, 'For the distance of 17 *kos* from Feerozpoor, the rivers Beyah and Seteluj unite: and then again as they pass along, *divide* into 4 streams, *viz.*, the Hur, Harav, Dund and the Noorny: and near the city of Multān these 4 branches join again,'' and says that these beds still exist but their names are lost. Now Abul Fazl does not say that the Sutlej divides into 4 streams, but that it bears several names. Abul Fazl is describing the rivers watering the Multān Subah. He says they are the six previously mentioned, *viz.*, under Lahor. He first speaks of the Jhelum and the Chenāb and follows them to their junction with the Rāvi and then to their meeting with the Indus. Here are four. He now turns to the Beās and Sutlej which join near Firozpur and the stream after bearing several names becomes confluent with "those four" near Multān, not, I consider, with the four local

bourhood of *Multān*, confluent with the former four, their accumulated waters unite. Every river that discharges itself into the Indus takes its name of *Sindh*. In *Tattah*, they call it *Mihrān*.[1]

To the north are the mountains. Its climate is similar to that of Lahor which it resembles in many aspects, but in Multān, the rainfall is less and the heat excessive.

Multān is one of the oldest cities of India: Long. 107° 35′; Lat. 29° 52′. It has a brick fort and a lofty minaret adds to its beauty. *Shaikh Bahā-u'ddin Zakariyā* and many other saints here repose.

Bhakkar (Bhukkur) is a notable fortress; in ancient chronicles it is called *Mansura*.[2] The six rivers united roll beneath it, one channel passing the southern face of the fort, the other the northern. The rainfall is inconsiderable, the fruits excellent.

Between *Siwi*[3] and *Bhakkar* is a vast desert, over which for three months of the hot season the simoom blows.

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names, even were they separate beds, but with the four that complete the six. The doubt arises why he should place the junction near Multān instead of Uch, but this is not surprising to any one accustomed to his obscure and vague style of narrative. Moreover the passage in the text resembles a notice of these six rivers in Baber's *Memoirs* to which Abul Fazl was much indebted in the preparation of this third book of the Ain. The passage is as follows: I use the translation of Erskine. "To the north of Sehrend, six rivers, the Sind, the Behat, the Chenāb, the Rāvi, the Biāh, and the Setlej, take their rise in these mountains, and all uniting with the Sind *in the territory of Multān*, take the common name of Sind, which flowing down to the west, passes through the country of Tatta, and disembogues into the sea of Oman." Further the division of the Sutlej into the four local streams does not alter its point of junction with the Chenāb for at p. 222, Cunningham says that Abul Fazl's measurements of distances from the confluence of the Chenāb and Jhelum to that of the Chenāb and Rāvi and the Chenāb and Indus agree with the *later* state of these rivers.

[1] The main stream of the Indus. See its course and the names of its channels in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 252, 272, 286, 298, &c.

[2] After the decline of the Arab power in Sind about A.D. 871, two native kingdoms raised themselves at Multān and Mansura. The former comprised the upper valley of the Indus as far as Alor; the latter extended from that town to the sea and nearly coincided with the modern province of Sind. Alor, or Aror, the capital, almost rivalled Multān and had an extensive commerce. *I. G.* Genl. Cunningham (*Ancient Geog.*) gives the name of Mansura to the town founded, according to Masaudi, by Jamhur, the Moslem governor of Sindh, and named after his own father Mansur, so close to Brahmanābād as to be regarded as the same place. His learned discussion depends too much on analogies of sound in names, to be quite convincing. See, also Mansura in Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 50, *et seq.*

[3] Siwi, Sewistān, and Sehwān are constantly confounded or mistaken as Elliot remarks without, however, himself determining the position of the first which is a town or the geographical limits of the second which is a province. Siwi is somewhat south of the direct line between Dera Ghazi Khān and Quetta, now well known as Sibi. Vol. I, p. 362, *Sewe*.

The river *Sind* (Indus) inclines every few years alternately to its southern and northern banks and the village cultivation follows its course. For this reason the houses are constructed of wood and grass.

This *Subah* comprises three *Sarkārs* of 88 *parganahs,* all under assessment for crops paying special rates. The measured land is 3,273,932 *bighas,* 4 *biswas*. The gross revenue is 15 *krors,* 14 *lakhs,* 3,619 *dāms*. (Rs. 37,85,090-8-0), of which 30 *lakhs,* 59,948 *dāms* (Rs. 76,498-11-2), are *Suyurghāl.* The local militia consists of 18,785 Cavalry and 165,650 Infantry.

Sarkār of Multān. Four Doābs.

Containing 47 *Mahals,* 558,649 *Bighas,* 4 *Biswas.* Revenue, 53,916,318 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl,* 5,494,236 *Dāms.* Cavalry, 8,965. Infantry, 90,650.

Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 9 *Mahals,* 52,090 *Bighas.* Revenue, 17,240,147 *Dāms.* Cavalry, 1,410. Infantry, 17,100.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ādamwāhan	5,386	369,445	..	30	700	Hasar.
Jalālābād	5,000	299,798	...	10	200	Bhim.
Dunyapur	27,889	1,376,862	11,998	50	400	Uki, Rānu.
Rājpur	1,368	90,397	...	20	300	Junah.
Shergarh	75,000	5,741.200	...	400	4000	Kachhi, Junah, Bikānah, Malāh.
Fathpur	61,797	4,008,661	24,896	500	5000	Junah.
Kahror	47,696	305,856	40,931	100	2000	Junah.
Khāibuldi	80,411	594,233	...	200	...	Jat and another name illegible.
Ghalu Khārah	19,820	1,201,086	...	100	2000	Kalu, Jat.

Bāri Doāb.

Containing 11 *Mahals*, 137,629 *Bighas*, 13 *Biswas*. Revenue, 9,863,341 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 207,382 *Dāms*. Cavalry 775. Infantry, 14,550.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Islāmpur, has a brick fort	23,065	1,550,896	60,694	1000	3000	Bhim, Maral.
Ismailpur	900	49,932	...	5	50	Maral.
Multān town, has a brick fort	2,324	1,719,168	88,980	50	1000	Bhim, Shaikhzādah.
Tulamba	19,310	1,200,778	15,766	300	5000	Sohu.
Villages of the *parganah* of Chaukhandi ...	2,927	191,054	...	...	...	
Suburban dist. of Multān	35,925	2,288,354	37,463	...	...	Bhim.
Villages of *parganah* of Khatpur	2,487	149,578	...	...	...	
Do. Do. Deg.* Rāvi	897-14	50,146	...	...	...	
Shāh Aālampur	24,121	1,555,563	1,180	200	4000	
Villages of *parganah* of Khāibuldi	7,584-19	460,654	...	...	...	
Matila	2,068	608,418	3,598	20	500	Jat.

* The Degh (*I. G.*) is the chief tributary of the Rāvi, which it receives after entering Montgomery District on its north-west bank and then passes into Multān District.

Rechnāu Doāb.

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 83,229 *Bighas*, 18 *Biswas*. Revenue, 5,113,883 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 770. Infantry, 9,500.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Iraj pur and Deg Rāvi ...	37,230	2,377,300	...	100	2000	Kharal.
Chaukhandi	7,620	215,830	...	100	2000	Do.
Khatpur	8,387	505,398	...	500	3000	Jat, Sindh.
Dalibhati	3,768-18	256,569	...	20	500	Kharal.
Kalbah	16,208	958,786	...	50	2000	Jat, Sohu.

Sind Sāgar Doāb.

Containing 4 *Mahals,* 34,812 *Bighas.* Revenue, 2,178,192 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl,* 13,399 *Dāms.* Cavalry, 220. Infantry, 2,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Villages of Islāmpur ...	5,775	378,357	...	...	...	
Rangpur	22,907	1,410,737	10,737	200	2000	Jat.
Raepur Kanki	5,550	3[illegible]6,068	2,662	20	500	Bhim.
Miscellaneous villages, 1 *Mahal*	600	38,030	...	...	...	

Beyond the Five, Rivers. (Birun i Panjnad.)

Containing 17 *Mahals,*[1] 205,893 *Bighās,* 13 Biswas. Revenue, 18,820,255 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl,* 38,688 *Dāms.* Cavalry, 5,800. Infantry, 57,600.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Ubaura	11,320	91[illegible]256	4,684	30	500	Dhar.
Uch	29,056	1,910,140	...	100	400	Shahibzadah, Bukhari, Sayyid.
Bhurtiwāhan, (var. and G. Dāman)	16,696	1,336,029	13,564	200	2000	Rājput, Lodhi.
Jamsher ...	4,334	348,037	...	150	2000	Baloch, Bholdi and Nardi.
Dudāi, has a brick fort ...	40,520-11	2,400,000	...	4000	30,000	Dudāi.
Diwār i Awwal, (Cunningham. Dirāwal) ...	2,718	140,000	...	50	500	Rājput, Kotwāl.
Dud Khān	17,890	1,440,000	...	...	...	
Villages of Rājpur ...	452	29,854	...	. .	...	
Rupari	12,075	1,060,000	...	...	...	
Sitpur	44,558-8	4,608,060	...	1000	20,000	Afghān.
Seorāhi	5,124	28,800	...	20	100	Dhar.
Villages of Fatehpur ...	5,224	330,779	...	...	...	
" " Kaharor ...	1,384	87,289	...		...	
Majlol Ghāzipur . .	40,521	2,400,000	...	...	...	
Mauh, has a brick fort. (Cunningham Moj.) ...	9,083	707,069	20,440	50	1000	Kuraishi.
Marot, do. ...	5,456	204,000	...	200	1000	Bhatti.
Maband	9,336-12	8,014,000	...	200	1000	

[1] Of these Cunningham can identify but Uch, Dirāwal, Moj and Marot, which he places, east of the Sutlej. The limits of the province of Multān in the time of Hwen Thsang included the north half of the Bhawalpur territory in addition to the tract lying between the rivers, the north frontier extending from Derah Din Panāh on the Indus to Pāk Pattan, a distance of 150 miles; on the west, the frontier line of the Indus to Ekānpur, 160 miles; on the east from Pāk Pattan to the old bed of the Ghager, 80 miles: on the south from Khānpur to the Ghagar, 220 miles, p. 220.

Sarkār of Dipālpur.

Containing 29 *Mahals*, 1,433,767 *Bighas*, 8 *Biswas*. Revenue, 129,334,153 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 2,079,170 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 5,210. Infantry, 53,300.

Bet Jālandhar Doāb.

Containing 10 *Mahals*, 710,946 *Bighas*, 10 *Biswas*. Revenue, 88,308,855 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 1,481,564 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 2,400. Infantry, 20,400.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Pattan, (Pāk Pattan) has a brick fort	49,014	2,628,928	599,969	100	2000	Bhil, Dhokar.
Dipālpur Lakhi, has a brick fort	242,344-11	13,514,059	499,535	502	7000	Jat, Khokhar, Kasu, Bhatti.
Dhanakshāh, has a brick fort	60,676-1	3,464,375	67,152	...	400	
Deotir	40,730	2,489,850	23,400	50	1000	Jat.
Rahmatābād	38,285	1,825,009	...	100	2000	Baloch, Khokhar.
Qabula, has a brick fort	86,615-12	4,806,817	...	1000	2000	Jusah Rumi.
Qiyāmpur Lakhi, has a brick fort	54,678-19	2,008,274	88,855	300	2000	Bhatti, Jat.
Kalnāki Lakhi	55,243-3	2,385,969	93,809	50	1000	Do. do.
Khokarāin Lakhi ...	21,130	1,011,715	35,383	150	1000	Khokhar.
Lakhi Losqāni	61,519-16	3,156,759	5,940	100	2000	Bhatti, Khilji.

Bāri Doāb.

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 193,495 *Bighas*, 9 *Biswas*. Revenue, 1,175,393 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 1,100. Infantry, 14,000.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Bahrapāl	18,717-9	1,175,393	...	50	500	Bhatti.
Bābā Bhei, has a fort ...	39,385	2,020,256	20,256	150	2000	Sayyid, Jat.
Chahni	25,998	1,200,600	600	50	2000	Sayyid, &c.
Rahimābād	24,829	1,182,714	...	50	500	Kharal, Baloch.
Sadkharah [?Satgarh] ...	59,447	3,551,680	[illegible]20,976	300	4000	Do.
Mandhāli	25,624	2,708,429	...	500	5000	Bhim.

Rechnāu Doab.

Containing 7 *Mahals*, 142,856 *Bighas*, 2 *Biswas*. Revenue, 8,534,915 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl*, 5,808 *Dāms*. Castes, various. Cavalry, 710. Infantry, 6,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Khānpur	19,599-18	1,285,740	80,380	30	500	Kharal.
Dalchi Chandhar ...	9,153-12	605,557	1,620	50	1000	Chandhar.
Shahzādah Baloch ...	12,749-12	789,741	...	100	1000	Baloch.
Aābidi Ābād	5,975	843,932	. .	10	300	Jat.
Faryādābād	18,708	1,098,694	...	20	1000	Jat.
Kharal	33,732	1,907,069	2,800	300	2000	Khari.
Mahes	42,944	2,509,182	...	200	500	

Beyond the Five Rivers (Birun i Panjnad).

Containing 6 *Mahals*, 386,470 *Bighas*, 7 *Biswas*. Revenue, 20,580,771 *Dāms*. *Suyurghāl* 549,972 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 1,000. Infantry, 12,300.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Jalālābād	34,475-7	1,799,269	...	50	1000	Ranghar, Bhatti (or Latti), Jat.
Jangal	18,012	653,516	...	300	4000	Bhatti.
Aālampur	31,008-10	1,579,558	...	50	1000	Ranghar, Jat.
Firozpur	217,710-17	11,479,404	199,404	500	3000	Afghān, Ranghar.
Villages of Lakhi Qabula	29,185	1,636,560	...	...	...	
Muhammadwat	56,614-13	3,492,454	350,568	100	3800	Bhatti, Khokhar.

Sarkar of Bhakkar (Bukkur).

Containing 12 *Mahals,* 282,013 *Bighas.* Revenue, 18,424,947 *Dāms.* *Suyurghāl,* 600,419 *Dāms.* Cavalry, 4,600. Infantry, 11,100.

	Bighas Biswas	Revenue D.	Suyurghāl D.	Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
Alor, has a fort	143,700	1,132,150	20,550	200	500	Dharejah.
Bhakkar, has a strong fort	...	74,362	...	200	1000	Mehar and Rahār.
Jāndola	57,847	3,102,709	85,064	400	800	Jahna.
Jatoi	179,821-14	2,346,878	156,841	400	800	
Darbela	121,146	1,262,761	68,872	200	500	Bhatti.
Sankar	100,818	1,808,628	32,332	500	1000	Sahejah.
Siwi	...	1,381,930	...	500	1500	
Fathpur	8,050-10	477,859	...	200	1000	Saheja, Dhārejah.
Khajāna	10,063	645,205	...	200	1000	Jāman.
Khāra Kākan	154,151	2,732,331	138,608	500	1000	Dhārejah.
Kākhari, (var. Kākri) ...	178,338-16	2,106,431	63,208	500	1000	Mankrerah.
Mānhalah	128,078	1,353,718	28,944	500	1000	Dhārejah (var. Hārejah).

*Kings of Multān.**

	Years.
Shaikh Yusuf, reigned	2
Sultān Mahmud† (var. Muhammad Shāh) ...	17
,, Qutbu'ddin, his son	16
,, Husain, his son	30

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* This province, says the *U. T.*, was first conquered by Mahomed Kāsim at the end of the first century Hejira. It was recovered by the Hindus on the decline of the Ghazni power. After Mahomed Ghori's subjugation it remained tributary to Delhi until

A.H.	A.D.	
847.	1443.	Shaikh Yusuf established an independent monarchy.
849	1445.	Rav Sehra, or Kutbu'ddin Hosen Langa I expelled the Shaikh.
908.	1502.	Mahmud Khān Langa; his minister Jam Bayezid.
931.	1524.	Hosen Langa II, overcome by Shāh Hosen Arghun Under Humayun, becomes a province of the empire.

† This name is altogether omitted by Ferishta who describes Qutbu'ddin's intrigue and succession, in his history of Multān. The name of Qutbu'ddin was Rāe Sahra and he was governor of Sewi and the adjacent territory and the head of the Afghān clan of Langāh. He died in A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469), Husain Shāh in 904 or 908 (1498 or 1502) and Mahmud in 931 (1524).

Sultān Firoz, his son 1
,, Husain, a second time.
,, Mahmud, son of Sultān Firoz ... 27
,, Husain II, son of Sultān Mahmud ... 1
Shāh Husain, (Arghun), ruler of Sind.
Mirzā Kāmrān.
Sher Khan.
Salim Khān.
Sikandar Khān.

At one period the province was subject to the sovereigns of Delhi: at another it was under the control of the rulers of Sind, and for a time was held by the princes of Ghazni. After its conquest by Muizzu'ddin Sām (Ghori), it continued to pay tribute to Delhi. In the year A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443) when Sultān Alāu'ddin reigned at Delhi, and constituted authority fell into contempt, every chief in possession of power, set up a pretension to independence. A noisy faction raised Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, a disciple of Shaikh Bahāu'ddin Zakariya, to supremacy. He was subsequently deposed and proceeded with haste to the court of Sultān Bahlol at Delhi. The sovereignty now devolved upon one of the Langāh family, who assumed the title of Sultān Mahmud Shāh. It is related that this chief had given his daughter in marriage to Shaik Yusuf, and on the strength of this connection, used frequently to visit her alone, till one night by a successful intrigue he accomplished his design on the throne. During the reign of Sultān Qutbuddin, Sultān Mahmud Khilji advanced from Mālwah against Multān but returned without effecting anything. Some maintain that the first of the Langāh family who was raised to the throne was Qutbu'ddin. In the reign of Sultān Husain, Bahlol sent (his son) Barbak Shāh with a force to reinstate Shaikh Yusuf, but they returned unsuccessful. Sultān Husain becoming old and doting, placed his eldest son upon the throne under the title of Firoz Shāh, and withdrew into retirement. His Wazir Imadu'l Mulk, poisoned him in revenge for the murder of his own son and Sultān Husain a second time resumed the sceptre and appointed Mahmud Khān, son of Sultān Firoz, his heir. On the death of Sultān Husain, after a reign of 30 or 34 years [908 A.H.], Sultān Mahmud ascended the throne. During his reign several incursions were made by the Mughals who, however, retired discomfited. Some malicious intriguers through jealousy created a misunderstand-

ing between the Sultān and Jām Bayazid who had long held the office of prime minister, and misrepresentations cunningly made in a roundabout way, brought them into open conflict. The minister withdrew from Multān to Shor and read the *khutbah* in the name of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. On the death of Sultān Mahmud, his infant son was raised to the throne as Sultān Husain (II). Mirzā Shāh Husain (Arghun) marched from Tattah and took Multān and entrusted its charge to Langar Khān. Mirzā Kāmrān dispossessed him of it and after him Sher Khān, Salim Khān and Sikandar successively held it till the splendour of Humayun's equal administration filled Hindustān with its brightness and secured its peace. At the present day under the just sway of His Majesty his subjects find there an undisturbed repose.

Sarkār of Tattah.

During a long period this was an independent territory but now forms part of the imperial dominions. Its length from Bhakkar to *Kach* and *Mekrān* is 257 *kos*, its breadth from the town of *Budin* to *Bandar Lāhari*,[1] 100 *kos*, and again from the town of *Chāndo* one of the dependencies of *Bhakkar*, to *Bikaner* is 60 *kos*. On the east lies *Gujarāt*: to the north *Bhakkar* and *Sewi*:[2] to the south, the ocean, and to the west *Kach* and *Mekrān*. It is situated in the second climate and lies in Longitude 102° 30′ Lat. 24° 10.

The ancient capital was *Brāhmanābād*,[2] a large city. Its citadel had 1,400 towers, at an interval of a *tanāb*, and to this day there are many traces of its fortifications. *Alor*[3] next became the metropolis and at the present day it is *Tattah*, also called *Debal*. The mountains to the north

[1] "Lahari Bandar" in Cunningham's account of Sindh. (*Ancient Geography*).

[2] Identified by Cunningham with Harmatelia, (a softer pronunciation of Brāhmanathala, or Brahmanasthala) of Diodorus and placed on the east branch of the Mihrān or Indus, 47 miles north-east of Haidarābad 28 miles east of Hāla and 20 miles west of the eastern channel of the Indus known as Nāra. He gives the number of bastions as 140 on the authority of the MSS. but both Gladwin and Blochmann concur in 1,400, and there is no variant reading. His conclusion is, that the place known now as *Bambhra ka thul* represents the ruined city of Mansura and the neighbouring mound now called Dilura, Brahmanabād.

[3] The ruins of *Alor*, or more correctly Aror, are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills stretching from Bhakar to the south for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand hills bounding the Nāra or old bed of the Indus. On the west, Cunningham regards it as the capital of the Musicani of Curtius. He disputes the assertion of Abul Fazl that Debal and Tattah are the same. Sir H. Elliot places Debal at Karāchi. General Cunningham prefers a site between Karāchi and Tattah.

form several branches. One of them trends towards *Qandahār,* and another rising from the sea coast extends to the town of *Kobhār,* called *Rāmgar,* and terminates in Sewistān and is there known as *Lakkhi.*[1] This tract is inhabited by an important Baloch tribe called *Kalmāni,* [? Kirmāni] consisting of twenty thousand cavalry. A fine breed of camels is here indigenous. A third range runs from *Sehwān* to *Sewi* and is called *Khattar* [Kirthar], where dwells a tribe named *Nohmardi* that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Below this tribe, there is another clan of the *Baloch* known as *Nazhari* with a force of a thousand men. A good breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain touches Kach (Gandāvā) on one side, and on the other the *Kalmāni* territory, and is called *Kārah* inhabited by 4,000 *Balochis.*

In the winter season there is no need of *poshtins* (fur-lined coats) and the summer heats are moderate except in Sewistān. Fruits are of various kinds and mangoes are especially fine. *In the desert tracts, a small kind of melon grows wild. Flowers are plentiful and camels are numerous and of a good breed. The means of locomotion is by boats* of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000. The wild ass is hunted, and game, such as, hares, the *kotah pāchah*[2] and wild boars; fishing likewise is much pursued.

The assessment of the country is made on the system of division of crops, a third being taken from the husbandman. Here are salt-pits and iron mines. *Shāli* rice is abundant and of good quality. Six *kos* from *Tattah* is a mine of yellow stone, large and small slabs of which are quarried and used for building. The staple food consists of rice and fish. The latter is smoked and loaded in boats, and exported to the ports and other cities, affording a considerable profit. Fish-oil is also extracted and used in boat building. There is a kind of fish called *palwah* which comes up into the *Indus* from the sea, unrivalled for its fine and exquisite flavour. Milk-curds of excellent quality are made and keep for four months. [*Palo*, Bengali *hilsā.*]

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[1] The Lakhi range is an offshoot from the Kirthar which separates Sind from Beluchistān. *I. G.*

[2] Literally 'short legged'. It is thus described in Babar's *Memoirs,* "Its size may be equal to that of the white deer. Its two fore-legs as well as its thighs are short, whence its name. Its horns are branching like those of the gawezin but less. Every year too it casts its horns like the stag. It is a bad runner and therefore never leaves the jungle." These characteristics seem to point to the hog-deer, (*Cervus porcinus*).

Near *Sehwān* is a large lake, two days' journey in length called *Manchur*, in which artificial islands have been made by fishermen who dwell on them.

But the greatest of all wonders is the *Liver-eater* (*Jigar Khwār*), an individual who by glances and incantations can abstract a man's liver. Some aver that under certain conditions and at certain times, he renders the person senseless upon whom he looks, and then takes from him what resembles the seed of a pomegranate, which he conceals for a time in the calf of his leg. During this interval the person whose liver is stolen remains unconscious, and when thus helpless, the other throws the seed on the fire which spreads out like a plate. Of this he partakes with his fellows and the unconscious victim dies. He can convey a knowledge of his art to whomsoever he wills, by giving him a portion of this food to eat and teaching him the incantation. If he is caught in the act and his calf be cut open and the seed extracted and given to his victim, the latter will recover. The followers of this art are mostly women.

They can convey intelligence from long distances in a brief space of time and if they be thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they will not sink. When it is desired to deprive one of these of this power, they brand both sides of his head and his joints, fill his eyes with salt, suspend him for forty days in a subterraneous chamber, and give him food without salt, and some of them recite incantations over him. During this period he is called *Dhachrah*. Although his power then no longer exists, he is still able to recognize a Liver-eater, and these pests are captured through his detection. He can also restore people to health by incantation or administering a certain drug. Extraordinary tales are told of these people that are beyond measure astonishing.

This country is the fourth *Sarkār* of the *Subah* of Multān. From the confines of *Uch to Tattah* towards the north are rocky mountain ranges inhabited by various Baloch tribes, and on the south from *Uch* to *Gujarāt* are sandhills in which region are the *Ahshām Bhatti*[1] and other

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[1] According to Cunningham, the early Arab geographers place a strong fort called Bhātia between Multān and Alor, which, from its position has a claim to be identified with the city built by Alexander among the Sogdi, but he mentions no tribe of the name, neither have any of the Bhatti Rajputs mentioned by Elliot any such prefix as *Ahshām* [=warriors]. The Sodahs have been identifiedd by Tod with the Sogdoi. *Ancient Geography*, pp. 253-254.

numerous clans. From *Bhakkar* to *Nasirpur* and *Umarkot* are the *Sodah*, *Jārejah* and other tribes. This *Subah* contains 5 *Sarkārs* subdivided into 53 *parganahs*. The revenue is 6,615,393 *dāms*.* (Rs. 165,384-13-2.)

Sarkār of Tattah.

Containing 18 *Mahals*. Revenue, 25,999,891 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Lāhari Bandar	5,521,419	Sankurah[3]	2,108,097
Batorā [1]	4,932,286	Sirsi Jām	142,641
Bahrāmpur	1,311,612	Karhar, (var. and K. Karkar)	3,328,476
Bori	434,305	Lekin Kherah	535,795
Jakār [Jarak][2]	348,462	Maljah	1,105,606
Jārā	82,390	Mānjar	1,221,752
Darak, (var. Durg) ...	2,970 441	Nizāmpur ...	3[illegible]2 724
Dankari, (var. Dekri) ...	315,921		
Ratnah	842,144		

* This is incorrect. Adding together the revenues of the five sarkārs, we get a total revenue of 6 62,51,393 dāms (Rs. 16,56,284-13-2).

[1] Var. Patora, Batwār, Banwār.

[2] *Jarak*, midway between Haidarābad and Tatta.

[3] See Elliot, *Arabs in Sind*, p. 230.

Sarkār Hājkān.

Containing 11 *Mahals*. Revenue 11,784,586 *Dāms*.

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bāgh Fath	340,173	Karori	529,937
Belah	656,317	Laundā	1 119,973
Hajkān	555,699	Mandni, (var. and G. Mandri)	694,269
Jaun	3,165,418	Madui	2,352,605
Rahbān	742,973	Nubiyar, (var. and G. Napiyār)	1,280,439
Detached villages[1] ...	436,783		

[1] *Qariyāt-i-mazkuri*, the term *mazkuri*, being applied in old revenue accounts to small and scattered estates not included in the accounts of the districts in which they were situated and of which the assessments were paid direct to Government.

Sarkār of Sewistān.

9 *Mahals.* Revenue, 15,546,808 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Bātar, (var Pātar G. Palar)	2,020,884	Khat	1,329,923
Baghbānān	1,948,152	Sub. dist. of Sewistān, has a strong fort	1,669,732
Batan (var. and T. Patan)	1,902,033	Kāhān	1,640,764
Busikān (var. and G. Bustkān, T. Lasigān) ...	1,825,190	Lakhāwat (var. Lakiāwat)	1,231,776
Janjah	1 978,953		

Sarkār of Nasirpur.

7 *Mahals.* Revenue, 7,834,600 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Umarkot	1,057,802	Kāsār	401,738
Talsarah	326,104	Mārkandan	623 936
Samāwāni, (var. and G. Samādāni)	3,031,530	Nasirpur	1,878,126
Kidāl, (var. Kandāl) ..	515,904		

Sarkār of Chakarhālah.

8 *Mahals.* Revenue, 5,085,408 *Dāms.*

	Revenue D.		Revenue D.
Arpur	731,190	Tewāri (var. Lawāri) ...	571,073
Chakarhālah	747,175	Khari Junah	508,152
Siyār	719,207	Burkah Manāwali ...	490,368
Ghāzipur	983,655	Barhi	333,588

Princes of Tattah.[1]

1. The family of Tamim Ansāri during the ascendancy of the House of Umayyah.

2. The Sumra (Rājput) line of 36 princes, reigned 500 years, (according to Ferishta—100—their names unrecorded).

3. Of the Samma dynasty,

	Years	Months	D.
Jām Unar, reigned	3	6	0
,, Junā, his brother	4	0	0
,, Banhatiyah	15	0	0
,, Tamāchi, his brother ...	13 and some months.		
,, Salāhuddin	11 and	do.	
,, Nizāmuddin, his son ...	2 and a fraction.		
,, Ali Sher Tamāchi	6 and some months.		
,, Karān, son of Tamāchi ...	0	0	1½
Fateh Khān, son of Sikandar ...	11 and some months.		
Tughlaq, his brother	28	0	0
Mubarāk, the chamberlain ...	0	0	3

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[1] The following list is from the *U. T.*

A.H.	A.D.	
87.	705.	Belochistān invaded by Hijaj, governor of Bassora, and Md. Qāsim.

The *Ansaries*, the *Sameras*, and the *Samanas* or *Jams*, successively gain the ascendancy, then a Delhi governor (1205?) Nasir ud din Qabbacha, becomes independent, drowned.

The *Jami* Dynasty of Summana, originally Rājputs.

A.H.	A.D.	
737	1336.	Jām Afra; tributary to Toghlak Shāh.
740.	1339.	,, Choban.
754.	1383.	,, Bang; asserted his independence.
782.	1367.	,, Timaji, his brother
782.	1380	,, Salāhu'ddin, convert to Islām.
793	1391.	,, Nizamu'ddin
796.	1393.	,, Aly Sher.
812.	1409	,, Giran, son of Timaji.
812.	1409	,, Fatteh Khān.
827.	1423.	,, Toghlak, invaded Gujerat.
854.	1450.	,, Sikandar.
856.	1452	,, Sangar, elected.
864.	1460.	,, Nandā or Nizām-u'ddin, cot of Hasan Langa.
894.	1492.	,, Feroz, the Turkhan family became powerful, 1520.
927.	1520.	Shāh Beg Arghun, occupies Sind.
930.	1523.	Shāh Hosein Arghun.
962.	1554.	Mahmud of Bhakar.
982.	1572.	Akbar annexes Sind. (Ferishta, 1001 = 1592).

The title of Jām, Ferishta pronounces, is a boast of their supposed descent from Jamshid, but commonly given to their head or chief to preserve the tradition of this fabulous lineage The lineage of the Sumra and Samma dynasties is discussed in Appendix P. of Elliot's Arabs in Sind. The latter name may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. Sambus occurs as Sabbas in Plutarch, Saboutas in Strabo, Ambigarus in Justin and Ambiras in Orosius.

	Years	Months	D.
Sikandar, b. Fath Khān	1	6	0
Sanjar, commonly called Rādhan (var. and G. Rādman	8 and some months.		
Jām Nizāmuddin, known as Jām Nandā, (see Vol. I, p. 362) ...	60 and some months.		
Jām Firoz, his son.			
,, Salāhuddin, a relation of Firoz.			
,, Firoz, a second time.			

In former times, there lived a Rājā named *Siharas*[1] whose capital was Alor. His sway extended eastwards, as far as Kashmir and towards the west to Mekrān, while the sea confined it on the south and the mountains on the north. An invading army entered the country from Persia, in opposing which the Rājā lost his life. The invaders contenting themselves with devastating part of the territory, returned. Rāi Sāhi, the Rājā's son, succeeded his father, by whose enlightened wisdom and the aid of his intelligent minister *Rām,* justice was universally administered and the repose of the country secured. A Brāhman named *Jach* [Chach] of an obscure station in life, attached himself to the minister's service and by flattery and address made himself of much consequence and was advanced to a post of dignity, and on the death of the minister, was chosen to succeed him. He basely and dishonourably carried on an intrigue with the Rājā's wife, which the Rājā, notwithstanding its disclosure to him by the ministers of State, refused to credit. During the Rājā's illness, the wicked wretch, in collusion with this shameless paramour, sent for the generals of the army separately, on pretence of consulting them and set them apart, and by seductive promises won over the several enemies of each to accomplish their death. When they were put out of the way and the Rājā too had breathed his last, he assumed the sovereignty.

The pursuers of worldly interests attached themselves to his cause and he took the *Rāni* to wife, thus garnering eternal perdition, but he laboured for the prosperity and increase of his dominions and seized upon *Kach* (Gandāvā), and *Mekrān.*

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[1] Of the Rai dynasty whose capital was Alor. The *Tuhfatul Kirām* makes *Siharas* the son and successor of *Rāi Diwāij*, followed by *Rāi Sāhasi*, the first, second and third of that name. It was under the latter that Chach rose to power.

During the Caliphate of Omar (b. u'l) Khattab, Mughirah Abu'l Aās advanced by way of *Bahrain* to *Debal*, but the troops there opposed him and he was killed in the engagement. In the Caliphate of Othmān an intelligent explorer[1] was sent to ascertain the condition of Sind, and an army of invasion was under orders. The messenger, however, reported that if a large force were sent, supplies would fail, and a small one would effect nothing and he added many dissuasive representations. The Prince of the Faithful, Ali, despatched troops that occupied the borders of Debal but on hearing of the death of the Caliph they withdrew in haste to Mekrān. Muāwiyah twice despatched an army to Sind and on both occasions many of the troops perished.

Chach died after a prosperous reign of 40 years, and his youngest son *Dāhir* succeeded him on the throne. In the Caliphate of Walid b. Abdul Malik, when Hajjāj was governor of Irāq, he despatched on his own authority Muhammad Qāsim his cousin and son-in-law to Sind who fought Dāhir in several engagements.[2] On Thursday, the 10th of Ramazān A.H. 99, (17th April 717) the Rājā was killed in action and the territory of Tattah became subject to the invaders. The two daughters of Rājā Dāhir, who had been made captive were sent with some valuable presents to the Caliph. In a spirit of revenge, they deceitfully represented to the Caliph that Muhammad Qasim had dishonoured them. He therefore abstained from visiting them, and in a fit of fury gave orders that Qāsim should be stuffed into a raw hide and despatched to his presence. The commands of the Caliph reached him when he was about to march against Hari Chand, king of Kanauj, and he obediently submitted to them. When he was thus

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[1] Hākim, b. Jabala al Abdi was sent to explore Sejistān and Mekrān and the countries bordering on the Indus valley by Abdu'llah Amar, a cousin of the Cāliph, who succeeded Abu Musa Ashari in the government of Basra. His report was as follows: "Water in that country is of a dark colour, flowing only drop by drop, the fruits are sour and unwholesome, rocks abound and the soil is brackish. The thieves are intrepid warriors, and the bulk of the population dishonest and treacherous. If the troops sent there are few in number, they will be exterminated, if they are numerous, they will perish of hunger." Elliot. The expeditions of Ali and Muāwiyah and the progress of the Arab conquests in Sind may be read in the succeeding pages. Elliot's conclusion that Debal was taken in A.H. 93 is confirmed by As Suyuti in his biography of Al Walid, b. Abdu'l Malik, in which year Kirah, or Kiraj as Ibn ul Athir calls it, was also captured. (See translation of As Suyuti's *History of the Caliphs*, p. 229). Elliot thinks this probably situated in, if not named from Kachh.

[2] Described in Elphinstone, p. 308, and in Briggs' Ferishta, IV, p. 417.

carried to the court, the Caliph exhibited the spectacle to the two princesses who expressed their gratification in viewing the slayer of their father in this condition. This decision of the Caliph excites astonishment inasmuch as it was pronounced without deliberate investigation. It is the duty of just princes not to be swayed by the representation of any one individual, but to be circumspect in their inquiries, since truth is rare and falsehood prevalent, and more especially in regard to the recipients of their favour, towards whom the world burns with envy without just cause of resentment. Against the outwardly plausible and inwardly vicious they should be particularly on their guard, for many are the wicked and factious who speciously impose by their affected merit and by their misrepresentations bring ruin on the innocent.

After Muhammad Qāsim's death, the sovereignty of this country devolved on the descendants of the Banu Tamim Ansāri.* They were succeeded by the *Sumrah* race who established their rule and were followed by the *Sammas* who asserted their descent from *Jamshid*, and each of them assumed the name of *Jām*. In the reign of *Jām Bānhatiyah*[1] Sultān Firoz Shāh on three occasions led an army from Delhi against that prince, and obtained some conspicuous successes. On the third occasion, he took him prisoner and carried him to Delhi, leaving Sind under charge of his own officials. Subsequently being satisfied with his good will and capacity he reinstated him in his government. On the death of *Jām Tughlaq*, the chamberlain *Mubārak* succeeded him through the efforts of a vain and seditious faction, and was followed by Sikandar the son of *Jām Fath Khān*.

During the reign of *Jām Nandā*, *Shāh Beg Arghān* made a descent from Qandahār and took *Sewi* and leaving the command of it to his brother Sultān Muhammad, returned to Qandahār. The Jām marched a force against

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* Several of this tribe were at various periods sent to Sind. Under the Caliphate of Yazid b. Abd u'l Malik, Halāl a't Tamimi was sent in pursuit of the Banu Muhallab About 107 A.H. Tamim b. Zaid al Utbi succeeded Junaid in the government of that province and died near Debal. Under the Abbassides Musa b. Kab a't Tamimi, drove out Mansur b. Jamhur the Umayyad governor. Abdu'r Razzāk the first Ghaznevide governor of Sind, about A.H. 417, (1026) found the descendants of old Arab settlers of the tribes of Thakifi, Tamimi, Asad etc.

[1] Māni according to Ferishta who says that the expedition of Firoz Tughlaq took place in 763 A.H. (A.D. 1320).

Muhammad who was killed in action. Shah Beg made a second incursion and took possession of *Sehwān* and a considerable part of Sind and leaving his conquests in charge of his own people, withdrew.

In the reign of Jām Firoz, a relative of his named Salāhu'ddin rose in rebellion and failing in his attempt, took refuge with Sultān Mahmud of Gujarāt who received him graciously and assisted him with an army; Daryā Khān the prime minister of Jām Firoz espoused his cause and the kingdom of Sind fell under his power without a blow. Subsequently the said Daryā Khān determined to restore Jām Firoz who had withdrawn into private life, but who thus recovered his kingdom. Salāhu'ddin a second time advanced from Gujarāt with a force furnished by the Sultān and occupied Sind. Firoz retired to Qandahār and Shāh Beg supplied him with troops, and an engagement took place near *Sehwān* in which Salāhu'ddin and his son were slain. Thus Firoz was again established in his kingdom. In the year A.H. 929 (A.D. 1522-3) Shāh Beg took possession of Sind and Jām Firoz retired to Gujarāt, gave his daughter in marriage to Sultān Bahādur and was attached to the Court in the ranks of its nobles. Sind was now subject to Shāh Beg. This prince was the son of Mir Zu'n Nun Beg, the commander-in-chief of Sultān Husain Mirzā, who received the government of Qandahār. He fell fighting bravely against Shaibak Khān Uzbek who was engaged in hostilities with the sons of Sultān Husain Mirzā. His eldest son succeeded to the government of Qandahār, a prince of distinguished valour and versed in the learning of his age. At his death, his son Shāh Husain ascended the throne and wrested Multān from Sultān Mahmud. After him Mirzā Isā son of Abdu'l Ali Tarkhān[1] succeeded, followed by Muhammad Payandah[2] but his prince being subject to fits of mental estrangement, did not

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[1] *Tarkhān* was originally a rank among the Mughals and Turks, but in the time of Baber it had come to belong to a particular family. The ancient Tarkhān was exempt from all duties and could enter the royal presence without asking leave and was to be pardoned nine times be the fault what it would. He had perfect liberty of speech and might say what he pleased before royalty. The name constantly occurs in the early portion of Baber's *Memoirs*.

[2] He has omitted the succession of Muhammad Bāqi son of Isā Tarkhān to whom Ferishta gives a prosperous reign of 18 years. The genealogical tree of Mirzā Jāni Beg and the subsequent history of this family will be found at pp. 361-2, Vol. I of this work. Ferishta altogether omits Muhammad Payandah and gives the succession to Jāni Beg immediately after Muhammad Bāqi.

personally administer the government. Mirzā Jāni Beg, his son assumed the direction of affairs till His Majesty's victorious troops advanced into the country and reduced it to order, and Mirzā Jāni Beg was enrolled in the ranks of his nobility.

SUBAH OF KABUL.

It is situated in the third and fourth climates, and comprises *Kashmir, Pakli, Bimbar, Swāt, Bajaur, Qandahār* and *Zābulistān.* Its capital was formerly *Ghaznah,* but now *Kābul.*

KASHMIR.

(*Editor's Note.*)

The notes on the subah of Kashmir in this revised edition of Jarrett's translation have been entirely prepared by Prof. Nirod Bhusan Roy, after a minute study of A. Stein's *Memoir on Maps of Ancient Kashmir* (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895) and *Rajatarangini: a Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (2 vols. 1901),—which are cited here under the respective titles of *Stein, J.A.S.B.* and *Stein, Chron.* In addition, Prof. Roy has consulted Drew's *Jummo and Kashmir Territories* (1875), Bates' *Kashmir Gazetteer*, Rose's *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes* (3 vols., 1914), and the *Travels* of Vigne and Moorcroft.

Abul Fazl devoted more space to the description of the places of note in Kashmir than in any other subah, because he looked upon it as a holy land full of sacred places, hermits' retreats and quiet natural scenes,—"appropriate to be the retired abode of the recluse", as he himself says. This Sufi's paradise is said to contain a temple of liberal broad-minded worshippers of God, for which he wrote a charming inscription, printed by Blochmann at the end of his life of Abul Fazl in the first volume of his translation (pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

But when Abul Fazl compiled his *Ain-i-Akbari,* Mughal rule was not yet firmly in the saddle in this recently conquered province, and full and correct reports on Kashmir had not begun to reach the imperial chancellory at Delhi. Hence its statistics are less accurate than those of the longer-settled subahs of Akbar's empire, which formed the basis of his *Imperial Gazetteer.* The Persian text of the chapter on Kashmir is vitiated by too many errors in proper names and topographical data, which may have been due to Abul

Fazl's clerks as well as to later transcribers of his book. The hopeless confusion thus created was first removed by the publication of Stein's two works cited above.

In the present edition, copious extracts have been made from these scholarly sources by Prof. N. B. Roy and the obsolete or useless notes of Jarrett have been deleted. *The new topographical notes are given in one place at the end of Abul Fazl's account and not at the foot of each page.—Jadunath Sarkar.*

Stein's remark on A. F.'s account of Kashmir.

"Abul Fazl's detailed description of Kashmir, is in many respects valuable to the historical student, but it is particularly in connection with topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having, like his great master, caught some of the enthusiasm of the valley.

The account of Abul Fazl presents for us an authentic survey of all the Kashmirian *tirthas* that were well known and popular at the end of the 16th century. . . Abul Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient *tirthas* or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotton." Stein, *Chron.* II, 382-83.

A NOTE ON THE LANGUAGE OF KASHMIR.

Kashmiri or Koshiru.

The Kashmiri language is the language of the Valley of Kashmir. In a dialectic form it has spread south-west into the Valley of Kashtawar (Kishtwar), and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Pantsal Range into the lower hills lying north of the River Chinab, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects.

The word 'Kashmiri' is Persian or Hindi, and is derived from the Sanskrit Kasmirika. It is not the name used by the people of Kashmir itself. There the country is called Kashiru, and the language Koshiru.

Kashmiri has one true dialect,—Kashtawari, spoken in the Valley Kashtawar (commonly known as Kishtwar), lying to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri has also overflowed the Pir Pantsal Range into the Jammu Province of the State, and in the valleys between the southern

hills of the range, between the water-shed and the valley of the Chinab, there are a number of mixed dialects, such as Poguli, Siraji of Doda, and Rambani. The first two of these represent Kashmiri merging into Dogri. Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhali form of Lahnda.

In the standard Kashmiri of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, which, however, are not sufficient to entitle us to divide it out into further separate dialects. For instance, the Kashmiri spoken by Musalmans differs from that spoken by Hindus. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian, but also there are slight differences of pronunciation.

Kashmiri belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It is most nearly related to Shina. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India. Its speakers hence maintain that it is of Sanskritic origin, but a close examination reveals the fact that, illustrious as was the literary history of Kashmir, and learned as have been its Sanskrit Pandits, this claim of Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained for the vernacular of the latter. Kashmiri is a very old language. Three words in it are quoted by Kalhana (circ. 1150 A.D.) in his *Rajatarangini*, and these are not very different from the language of the present day. [Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 8, part II, pp. 233-235.]

Sarkār of Kashmir.

It lies in the third and fourth climates. Its length from *Qambar Ver* to *Kishan Ganga* is 120 *kos*, and its breadth from 10 to 25 *kos*. On the east are Paristān and the river Chenāb: on the south-east *Bānihāl* and the *Jammu* mountains: on the north-east, Great Tibet: on the west, Pakli and the Kishan Ganga river: on the south-west, the Gakkhar country: on the the north-west, Little Tibet. It is encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges. Twenty-six different roads lead into Hindustān but those by *Bhimbar* and *Pakli* are the best and are generally practicable on horseback. The first mentioned is the

nearest and it has several routes of which three are good, *viz.*, (1) *Hasti Bhanj*[1] which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) *Pir Panjāl*, which His Majesty has thrice traversed on his way to the rose garden of Kashmir. If on these hills an ox or a horse be killed, storm clouds and wind arise with a fall of snow and rain[2]; (3) *Tangtala*.

The country is enchanting, and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating. The rain and snowfall are similar to that of Turkestān and Persia and its periodical rains occur at the same season as in Hindustān. The lands are artificially watered[3] or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting and fill the heart with delight. Violets, the red rose and wild narcissus cover the plains. To enumerate its flora would be impossible. Its spring and autumn are extremely beautiful. The houses are all of wood and are of four stories and some of more, but it is not the custom to enclose them. Tulips[4] are grown on the roofs which present a lovely sight in the spring time. Cattle and sundry stores are kept in the lower storey, the second contains the family apartments, and in the third and fourth are the household chattels. On account of the

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[1] The three different routes into Kashmir are thus described. The first runs almost in a straight line passing through Nowsherah, Rajori, the Pir Panjāl pass and Shupiyon. The second deviating from Rajori runs to the Punch river and on to Punch and crossing the Hāji Pir, joins the Murree road near Uri. The third, parting from Samani Sarai, passes through Kotli and Sera to Punch and unites with the second. The route by Shupiyon is the Pir Panjāl. The second is Tangtala which name, however, is no longer known and is probably a misscript. The third is believed to be the Hasti Bhanj, for it is the only one by which elephants can travel. *Cf.* Vigne's *Kashmir and Ladāk*, I. 147 in which 20 passes into Kashmir are mentioned and described.

[2] The superstition regarding the tempest of wind and snow and rain, appears to be connected with that of the *Yedeh* or rain-stone frequently alluded to by Baber, the history of which is given by D'Herbelot. It is of Tartar origin and the virtues of the stone are celebrated in Yarkand and attested by authorities who have never witnessed them. It is said to be found in the head of a horse or a cow, and if steeped in the blood of an animal with certain ceremonies, a wind arises followed by snow and rain.

[3] The terms are *Abi*, *Lalmi*. The first signifies in the N.-W. P., land watered from ponds, tanks, lakes and watercourses, in distinction to that watered from wells, and as being liable to fail in the hot season, is assessed at a lower rate. The second is a Pushtu word (Raverty) and means growing spontaneously and applied to crops wholly dependent on rain for irrigation or spring crops. The next term *Chalkhal* in the text has a variant *Jalkhāya* signifying parched land that has absorbed its moisture.

[4] Dr. King takes this to be probably the *Fritillaria Imperialis*, though there is nothing against the plant being a real tulip. The *T. stellata* is common in many parts of the N. W. Himalayas.

abundance of wood and the constant earthquakes, houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. At the present day many of them are in ruins. Woollen fabrics are made in high perfection, especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to every clime. But the bane of this country is its people, yet strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. Besides plums and mulberries, the fruits are numerous. Melons, apples, peaches, apricots are excellent. Although grapes are in plenty, the finer qualities are rare and the vines bear on mulberry trees. The mulberry is little eaten, its leaves being reserved for the silkworm. The eggs are brought from *Gilgit* and *Little Tibet*, in the former of which they are procured in greater abundance and are more choice. The food of the people is chiefly rice, wine, fish and various vegetables, and the last mentioned they dry and preserve. Rice is cooked and kept overnight to be eaten. Though *shāli* rice is plentiful, the finest quality is not obtainable. Wheat is small in grain and black in colour, and there is little of it, and little consumed. Gram (chick-pea) and barley are nowhere found. They have a species of sheep[1] which they call *Hāndu*, delicate and sweet in flavour and wholesome. Apparel is generally of wool, a coat of which will last for some years. The horses are small, strong, and traverse difficult ground. There are neither elephants nor camels. The cows are black and ill-shaped, but give excellent milk and butter. There are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. The bazār system is little in use, as a brisk traffic is carried on at their own places of business. Snakes, scorpions and other venomous reptiles are not found in the

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[1] According to Cunningham (*Ladak* p 210) the Ladāki sheep are of two kinds, the tall black-faced *Huniya* used chiefly for carrying burdens and the pretty diminutive sheep of *Purik* used only for food. The common sheep is the *Huniya* which with the exception of the *Purik* breed is almost the only kind of sheep to be found throughout Tibet. It is much larger than any of the Indian breeds, the height averaging from 27 to 30 inches. Nearly the whole of the traffic is transported on these sheep which are food, clothing and carriage and are the principal wealth of the country Drew (*Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 288) gives the average weight carried by them at from 24 to 32 lbs. The *Purik* sheep when full grown is not larger than a south-down lamb of 5 or 6 months, and is said by Moorcroft to equal in the fineness and weight of its fleece and flavour of its mutton any race hitherto discovered. The oxen are the yāk or chauri-taled bull and the yāk cow, Brimo or Dimo, and they reproduce with the common cattle. The yāk is kept chiefly for loads, being generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk. The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and *Dsomo* cow, the produce of the male yāk and common cow.

cities. There is a mountain called *Mahādeva* and in any spot whence its summit can be seen, no snake exists, but fleas, lice, gnats and flies are very common. From the general use of pellet-bows which are fitted with bow-strings, sparrows are very scarce. The people take their pleasure in skiffs upon the lakes, and their hawks strike the wild-fowl in mid-air and bring them to the boats, and sometimes they hold them down in the water in their talons, and stand on them, presenting an exciting spectable.

Stags and partridges likewise afford sport and the leopard too is tracked. The carriage of goods is effected by boat, but men also carry great loads over the most difficult country. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade. The Brāhmaṇ class is very numeorus.

Although *Kashmir* has a dialect[1] of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work, and they write chiefly on *Tuz*[2] which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some rude art and which keeps for years. All their ancient documents are written on this. Their ink is so prepared as to be indelible by washing. Although, in ancient times, the learning of the Hindus was in vogue, at the present day, various sciences are studied and their knowledge is of a more general character. Their astrological art and astronomy are after the manner of the Hindus. The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are *Sunnis*, and there are some *Imāmis* and *Nur Bakhshis*,[3] all perpetually at strife with each

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[1] The languages of Kashmir are divided into 13 separate dialects. Of these Dogri and Chibali which do not differ much from Hindustāni and Panjābi, are spoken on the hills and the Punch and Jammu country. Kashmiri is mostly used in Kashmir proper and is curiously and closely related to Sanskrit. Five dialects are included in the term *Pahāri*: two are Tibetan spoken in *Baltistān*, *Ladakh* and *Champas*, and three and four varieties of the Dard dialects of Aryan origin in the North-West. The thirteen dialects are enumerated and discussed by Drew (*Jummoo and Kashmir*).

[2] *Tuz* in the *Burhān i Qāti* is said to be the bark of a tree used to wrap round saddles and bows. Dr. King identifies it with the well-known birch, Betula Bhojpattra, Wall. *Bhojpattra* he states is the current vernacular name.

[3] As the account of this sect in Ferishta has been almost entirely passed over by Briggs in his translation, the omission may be here made good and will serve the double purpose of supplementing his version and elucidating the present text. With the following note may be compared a monograph on the Roshaniyah sect by Dr. Leyden in the XIth Vol. Asiatic Researches.

Mirzā Haidar (Doghlāt) in his work the *Kitab i Rashidi* says that formerly all the inhabitants of Kashmir were of the Hanifi sect. In the time of Fath Shāh, a man named Shamsu'ddin came from Irāq and declared himself to be a follower of Mir Muhammad Nur Bakhsh. He introduced a new form of religion which he called *Nurbakhshi*, which accords neither with the Sunni or Shia belief. And the followers of this sect, like heretics, consider it their duty to revile and abuse the three Caliphs and Ayesha, but unlike the Shias,

other. These are chiefly from Persia and Turkestān. Their musicians are exceedingly many and all equally monotonous, and with each note they seem to dig their nails into your liver. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brāhmans, who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God.

They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people. They abstain from flesh-meat and do not marry. There are about two thousand of this class.

The *Tolah* in this country is 16 *māshās*, each *māshā* being equal to 6 *surkhs*.[1] The gold mohur weighs 16 *dānis*, each *dāni* equalling 6 *surkhs*, being 4 *surkhs* more than the ordinary mohurs of Delhi. *Rop Sāsnu* is a silver coin of 9 *māshas*. The *panchhu* is of copper, equal to the fourth of a *dām* and is called *kaserah*. One-fourth of this is the

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they regard Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh as the Mahdi and Apostle of his time, and they do not believe as the Shias do in saints and holy persons, but consider them to be Sunnis.

"I compelled many men of Kashmir who were much disposed to this heresy, to accept willingly or otherwise the true religion and I put others to death. Some of these men saved themselves by adopting mystic doctrines and called themselves Sufis."

Before these people, there lived in Kashmir a sect of Sun-worshippers who were called Shammāssin. Their creed was that the sun's light owed its existenc to their purity of faith, and that they themselves existed through the light of the sun, and that if they rendered their faith impure, the sun would cease to be. [Jarrett.] *Nur-bakhshiya* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii. 961-962. Elias & Ross, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, 435-437. *Shammāsi* in Elias & Ross, 436. For Hindu sun-worship, Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xii. 83, ii 483-484; Panjab Sun Creed. ix. 604. Babylonian *Shamash*, *ibid.*, ii. 311. [J. Sarkar.]

[1] The *Surkh* is the common red and black bead, *Abrus precatorius*, and is equal to a *rāti* in weight.

The Kashmiri mohur = 16 *dāni* or *dānāqs* } = 96 *surkhs*.
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The 96 *ratis* or *surkhs* in a *tolah* exactly represent the 96 carat grains in the old assay pound. [Jarrett.]

With reference to the monetary system of Kashmir, Stein indicates the connection between the terms used by Abul Fazl for the various denominations of coins and their modern equivalents in Kashmir. Thus *Panchuhu* is the same as *Puntsa*, (Skr. *Panchabimsati*), *hāth* unchanged (Skr. *sata*), *Sansu* same as *Sasun* (Skr. thousand). According to Abul Fazl *Bahagani*, (*bārakani*) is equal to ¼ *Panchuhu*. Stein corrects it and says that the above denomination represented one-half of the *Panchuhu*. The term *bah* in Kashmir means twelve and *bahabeni* as a twelver. All the terms used above with only one exception are stated to have survived in Kashmir to this day in the popular system of reckoning, notwithstanding the repeated changes which the currency of the State has undergone since Akbar's time. Stein, *Chronicle*, Vol. II, 312. [J. S.]

bahgani, [*barakani*], of which again one-fourth is called *shakri*.

4	*kaserahs*	=1	*rāhat*.
40	*kaserahs*	=1	*sāsnu*.
1½	*sāsnu*	=1	*sikkah*.
100	*sikkahs*	=1	*lakh* which, according to the imperial estimate, is equal to one thousand *dāms*.

The whole country is regarded as holy ground by the Hindu sages. Forty-five shrines are dedicated to *Mahadeva*, sixty-four to *Vishnu*, three to *Brahmā*, and twenty-two to *Durga*. In seven hundred places there are graven images of snákes which they worship and regarding which wonderful legends are told.[1]

Srinagar is the capital and is 4 *farsakhs* in length. The rivers *Bihat*, *Mār*, and *Lachmahkul*[2] flow through it. The last-mentioned runs occasionally dry : the second, at times, becomes so shallow that boats cannot pass. This has been a flourishing city from ancient times[3] and the home of artificers of various kinds. Beautiful shawls are woven, and they manufacture woollen stuffs (*Saqarlāt*) extremely soft. *Durmah*, *pattu* and other woollen materials are prepared but the best are brought from Tibet. *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni*[4] resided for some time in this city, and a monastery founded by him still preserves his memory. To the east is a high hill known as the *Koh i Sulaimān*, and ādjoining the city are two large lakes always full of water, and it is remarkable that their water will not deteriorate in good savour and wholesomeness for any length of time provided that their free exit is undisturbed.

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[1] Serpent-worship, according to Genl. Cunningham, has been the prevailing religion in Kashmir from time immemorial. A full account of Hindu serpent-worship in Hastings' *Encyclo.*, xi. 411-419 (Kashmir on p. 412). J. S.

[2] The Jhelum, which nearly intersects the valley is formed, says the *I. G.*, by the junction of three streams, the *Arpat*, *Bring* and *Sandaram*, and receives in its course numerous tributaries. It mentions the *Tsont i Kul*, or apple-tree canal connecting the *Dal* or city lake, with the Jhelum which it enters opposite the palace and the *Nalli Mār* which flows into the Sind near *Shādipur* connecting the *Auchar* with the *Dal*. The Dudganga, a stream of good volume joins the river on the left bank at the city of Srinagar.

[3] Srinagari, the old capital, prior to the erection of Pravarasenapura is stated in the *Raja Tarangini* to have been founded by Asoka, who reigned between B.C. 273—232. It stood on the site of the present Pāndrethān, and is said to have extended along the bank of the river from the foot of the *Takht i Sulaimān* to *Pāntasok*, a distance of more than three miles.

[4] This monastery is built entirely of wood. It is still extant and known as the Khānqāh i Muālla, on the right bank of the Bihat above Zenu Kadal the fourth bridge of the town of Srinagar.

Near the town of *Brang* [Bring] is a long defile in which is a pool seven yards square and as deep as a man's stature. It is regarded as a place of great sanctity. Strange to say it is dry during eleven months, but in the Divine month of Urdi-bihisht (April), water bubbles forth from two springs. First in one corner of it is a cavity like a mortar called *Sendh brāri*: when this becomes full, the spring rises in another corner called *Sapt rishi*. From these two sources the pool runs over. Sometimes it boils up for three hours, and at times for only a second. Then it begins to decrease till not a drop remains. At three periods of the day, *viz.*, morning, noon and evening, this rise occurs. Various flowers are thrown in as offerings to either spring, and after the reflux of the water, the flowers of each votary are found in their respective springs.[1]

But this, like the divining cup is a contrivance of the ancients to secure the devotion of the simple.

In this vicinity also is a spring, which during six months is dry. On a stated day, the peasants flock to worship and make propitiatory offerings of a sheep or a goat. Water then flows forth and irrigates the cultivation of five villages. If the flush is in excess, they resort to the same supplications, and the stream subsides of its own accord. There is also another spring called *Kokar Nāg*, the water of which is limpid, cold and wholesome. Should a hungry person drink of it, his hunger will be appeased,[2] and its satisfaction in turn renews appetite. At a little distance, in the midst of a beautiful temple, seven fountains excite the wonderment of the beholder. In the summer time self-immolating ascetics here heap up a large fire around themselves, and with the utmost fortitude suffer themselves to be burnt to ashes. This they consider a means of union with the Deity. There is also a spring which produces touchstone, and to the north of it a lofty hill which contains an iron mine.

The village of *Vij Brāra*, one of the dependencies of *Aneych* is a place of great sanctity. It was formerly a large

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[1] Tieffenthaler ascribes the cause of the phenomenon to the melting of the mountain snows under the influence of the sun which descending along hollows or by subterranean passages reach this cavern and boil up within it. The later ebullitions he conceives, are due either to the shade of the trees or the declining force of the sun on the snows. Bernier's opinion is somewhat the same. *Voyages*, II, 293.

[2] Vigne (I, 339) on the contrary bears testimony to its being provocative of appetite. The spring, situated about 2½ miles from the iron works at Sof Khan, forms a stream equal in volume to that of Vernag and far superior in the quality of its water.

city[1] and contained wonderful temples. In the vicinity is an upland meadow called *Nandimarg,* of which I know not whether most to praise its level sweep of mead, the loveliness of its verdure and flowers, or the bountiful virtues of its streams and its air. In the village of *Pampur,* one of the dependencies of Vihi, there are fields of saffron[2] to the extent of ten or twelve thousand *bighas,* a sight that would enchant the most fastidious. At the close of the month of March and during all April, which is the season of cultivation, the land is ploughed up and rendered soft, and each portion is prepared with the spade for planting, and the saffron bulbs are placed in the ground. In a month's time they sprout and at the close of September, it is at its full growth, shooting up somewhat over a span. The stalk is white, and when it has sprouted to the height of a finger, it begins to flower one bud after another in succession till there are eight flowers in bloom. It has six lilac-tinted petals. Usually among six [3]filaments, three are yellow and three ruddy. The last three yield the saffron. When the flowers are over, leaves appear upon the stalk. Once planted it will flower for six years in succession. The first year, the yield is small: in the second as 30 to 10. In the third year it

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[1] The principal ancient cities of Kashmir are the old capital of Srinagari and the new, Pravarasenapura which was lost in the former name : Khagendrapura and Khanamusha, identified with Kākapur on the left bank of the Bihat, ten miles to the south of the Takht i Sulaimān, and Khunamoh, four miles north-east of Pāmpur : Vijipara and Pantasok. The former twenty-five miles south-east of the capital : the latter three miles from the Takht i Sulaimān ; Surapura the modern Sopur, mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles as Kambuca : Kanishkapura, corrupted to Kāmpur : Hushkapura probably Baramula : Jushkapura now Zukru or Zukur four miles north of the capital : Parihasapura built by Lalitaditya (A.D. 723—760) : Padmapura now Pampur : and Avantipura, now only a small village, Wantipur, seventeen miles south-east of the present capital. Cunningham, pp. 95, 103.

[2] See Vol. I, p. 84 where the method of cultivation of this plant is explained somewhat differently.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. King for the following note :

"There are three stamens and three stigmas in each flower. The latter yield the saffron. The style divides at the level of the anthers into three yellow drooping branches which hang out of the flower and become gradually thickened and tubular upward, stigmas dilated, notched and often split down one side, dark orange coloured. The mode of collection and preparation of saffron varies in different countries, but it consists essentially in removing the stigmas with the upper part of the style from the other parts of the flower and afterwards drying the parts detached. A not uncommon adulteration of saffron is made by intermixing the dyed stamens of the saffron crocus. It takes from 7,000 to 8,000 flowers to yield 17¼ ounces of fresh saffron which by drying is reduced to 3¼." *Medicinal Plants* by Bentley and Trimen, IV, 274. In the Waqiāt i Jehāngiri, it is asserted that in an ordinary year, 400 maunds or 3,200 Khurasāni maunds are produced. Half belongs to Government, half to the cultivators and a ser sells for about 10 Rs. A note states that one good grain of saffron contains the stigmata and styles of 9 flowers; hence 4,329 flowers yield one oz.

reaches its highest point and the bulbs are dug up. If left in the same soil, they gradually deteriorate, but if taken up they may be profitably transplanted.

In the village of *Zewan* are a spring and a reservoir which are considered sacred, and it is thought that the saffron seed came from this spring. When the cultivation begins, they worship at this fount and pour cow's milk into it. If as it falls it sinks into the water, it is accounted a good omen and the saffron crop will we plentiful, but if it floats on the surface, it will be otherwise.

In the village of *Khriu* 360 springs refresh the eye and each of these is accounted a means of divine worship. Near this is an iron mine.

Maru Adwin[1] adjoins *Great Tibet* where the *Handu* is found of the best breed and large in size, and carries heavy burdens. Near this is a hill called *Chatar Kot* on the summit of which snakes are so numerous that no one can approach it. There is also a high hill difficult of ascent, on which is a large lake. It is not every one that can find his way to it, for it often disappears from sight. At the foot of the mountain in different places images of *Mahādeva* fashioned of a stone like crystal are found and are a source of wonder.

In the neighbourhood of *Achh Bal,* one of the dependencies of *Khattār* is a fountain which shoots up to the height of a cubit, and is scarce equalled for its coldness, limpidity and refreshing qualities. The sick that drink of it and persevere in a course of its waters, recover their health.

In the village of *Kotihār* is a deep spring, surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases, an image of *Mahādeva* in sandal-wood appears. The quality of this spring does not alter.

In the vicinity of *Wular* is a lofty mountain, containing a salt spring. The Kashmir stag[2] is here found in numbers.

Matan [Martand] stands upon a hill and once possessed a large temple. There is a small pool on the summit, the water of which never decreases.* Some suppose this to be

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[1] Mare Wurdwun according to Vigne

[2] The *Bārā* Singha or Kashmir stag, (*Cervus Cashmerianus*).

* Martand, situated on the highest part of the *Karewah* or raised plain between Islāmābād and the higher mountains. The temple is described by Hügel as "Korau Pandau," the beautiful ruins of which are the finest in Kashmir. Vigne inverts the order as Pandu Koru. At 150 yards distance as the Chāh i Bābil or well of Hārut and Mārut whose story does not need repetition. The spring referred to in the following paragraph is that of

the *Well of Babylon,* but at the present day there is no trace of anything but an ordinary pit.

On the slope of the hill is a spring, at the head of which a reservoir has been constructed, full of fish. The sanctity of the place preserves them from being touched. By the side of it is a cave, the depth of which cannot be ascertained.

In *Khāwarpārah* is a source, whose waters tumble headlong with a mighty roar.

In the village of *Aish*[1] is the cell of *Bābā Zainu'ddin Rishi.* It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow. For twelve years he occupied this cell and at length closed its mouth with a large stone and never went forth again, and none has ever found trace of him.

The town of *Dachchhinpārah* is on the side of a mountain bordering *Great Tibet* and is fed by the waters of the above-mentioned spring. Between *Great Tibet* and the above-mentioned *parganah* is a cave in which is an image in ice called *Amar Nāt.*[2] It is considered a shrine of great sanctity. When the new moon rises from her throne of rays, a bubble as it were of ice is formed in the cave which daily increases little by little for fifteen days till it is somewhat higher than two yards, of the measure of the yard determined by His Majesty; with the waning moon, the image likewise begins to decrease, till no trace of it remains when the moon disappears. They believe it to be the image of *Mahādeva* and regard it as a means (through supplication) of the fiulment of their desires. Near the cave is a rill called *Amrāoti,* the clay of which is extremely white. They account it auspicious and smear themselves with it. The snows of this mountainous tract nowhere melt, and from the

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Bawan, one of the holiest in Kashmir, swarming, says Vigne, (I, 359) with Himalayan trout. Hügel gives the legend of the caves one of which he was assured extended 10 kos, and that no one who ever entered, had been known to return. He penetrated to the end of it in a few minutes. Matan is the name of the *Karewah* at the end of which, according to Moorcroft, the Martand temple stands (II. 255) ascribed like most of the architectural remains to the Pāndus.

[1] The village of Aish Maqām or the abode of pleasure, holds in a long building situated conspicuously on the left bank of the Lidar, the shrine of the saint. He directed that a tomb should be erected where his staff should be found, as his body would disappear. It is still missing. See Vigne, II, 6.

[2] The Amarnāth cave is marked in Drew's map, south-east of Baltal and Sonamarg, near the sources of the Sind river. Its history and ceremonies are told by Vigne, II, 8. The ice bubble was doubtless a stalactite. See Moorcroft, II, 252.

extreme cold, the straitness of the defiles and the rough inequalities of the road, they are surmounted with great toil.

In the village of *Dākhāmun* is a spring, and whenever its water boils up and becomes turbid its surface is covered with particles of straw and rubbish, the dust of dissension arises in the country. A quarry of Solomon's stone[1] is in the vicinity of which utensils are fashioned.

About the *parganah* of *Phāk* grow a variety of herbs and plants. Adjoining is a large lake called *Dal*. One side of it is contiguous to the city and on its surface a number of floating islands[2] are constructed which are cultivated, and fraudulent people will at times cut off a piece and carry it away to a different position. *Sultān Zainul Abidin* constructed in this lake a causeway (*sad*) of clay and stone one *kos* in length from the city to this *parganah*. In the vicinity also is a spring of which the sick drink and are restored to health.

In the village of *Thid,* is a delightful spot where seven springs unite : around them are stone buildings, memorials of bygone times. There is also a source which in winter is warm and in summer cold.

In the village of *Bāzwāl* is a waterfall from the crest of *Shāhkot*. It is called *Shālahmār*. Here fish are caught in numbers. A streamlet is caged at two ends and when the water is carried off, the fish between are taken.

In *Ishibāri* is a spring held sacred by the people of Hindustān, called *Suryasar*, surrounded by stone temples. *Shakarnāg* is a spring which is dry all the year, but should the 9th day of any month happen to fall on a Friday, it bubbles up and flows from morn till eve, and people flock to partake of its blessings.

In the village of *Rambal* are a spring and a pool. Those who have special needs throw in a nut, if it floats, it is an augury of success; if it sinks, it is considered adverse.

In *Bānihal* is a temple dedicated to *Durgā*. If any one desires to learn the issue of a strife between himself

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[1] Applied indiscriminately to both agate and onyx. Tieffenthaler describes a stone of their country, as green with white streaks which is worked with diamond powder and made into phials, saucers, hafts of daggers and the like. It is probably a kind of jade.

[2] Cucumbers and melons are commonly grown on them. Their construction is described by Moorcroft (II, 138) with the thoroughness which characterizes his observations. The causeway is called by Vigne, (II, 99) *Sad i Chodri* and is carried entirely through the lake to the village of Isha Bryri, four miles on the opposite side.

and his enemy, he fills two vessels with boiled rice, the one representing his own fortunes, the other those of his foe, and places them in the temple and closes the doors. On the following day the devotees present themselves to learn the result. In whose vessel roses and saffron are found, his undertaking will prosper, and that which is full of straws and dirt, portends the ruin of the person it represents. Stranger still, in a dispute where it is difficult to discover the truth, each party is given a fowl or a goat and sent to the temple. They then poison each of these animals and severally rub them with their hands. His animal whose cause is just recovers, and the other dies.

In the *Ver* tract of country is the source of the *Bihat.* It is a pool measuring a *jarib* which tosses in foam with an astonishing roar, and its depth is unfathomable. It goes by the name of *Vernāg*[1] and is surrounded by a stone embankment and to its east are temples of stone. In the village of *Kambar* is a spring called *Bawan Sendh* which during two months of the spring time is in agitation. It is always full and its water never decreases.

In *Devsar* in the village of Balau is a pool called Balau Nāg 20 yards square in which the water is agitated : it is embosomed in delightful verdure and canopied by shady trees. Whosoever is desirous of knowing the prospects of the harvest, or whether his own circumstances are to be prosperous or unfavourable, fills an earthen vessel with rice, writes his name on its rim, and closing its mouth, casts it into the spring. After a time the vessel of its own accord floats on the surface, and he then opens it and if the rice be fragrant and warm, the year will be prosperous and his undertakings successful, but if it be filled with clay or mud and rubbish, the reverse will be the case.

Veshau is the name of a stream which issues picturesquely from an orifice in a mountain, and at the same place is a declivity down which the waters tumble from a height of 20 yards with a thundering roar. Hindu devotees throw themselves down from its summit and with the utmost fortitude sacrifice their lives, in the belief that it is a means of securing their spiritual welfare.

Kuthār[2] is a spring which remains dry for eleven years, and when the planet *Jupiter* enters the sign of *Leo,* it flows

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[1] *Ver* is the old name of Shahābād. A description of this celebrated fountain may be read in Vigne's *Kashmir,* I. 332, and in Moorcroft, II. 250.

[2] This appears to be the Kosah Nāg of Vigne which he says is pronounced Kausar by the Muhammadans after the fountain in Paradise.

on the following Thursday and during the succeeding seven days is again dry and once more fills on the Thursday next following, and so continues for a year.

In the village of *Matalhāmah* is a wood in which is a heronry,[1] the feathers are taken for plumes, and the birds are here regularly fed.

Near *Shukrōh* is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur.

In *Nāgām* is a spring called *Nilah Nāg*, the basin of which measures 40 *bigahs*. Its waters are exquisitely clear and it is considered a sacred spot, and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border Strange to relate omens are taken by its means. A nut is divided into four parts and thrown in, and if an odd number floats, the augury is favourable, if otherwise, the reverse. In the same way if milk (thrown in) sinks, it is a good omen, and if not, it is unpropitious. In ancient times a volume, which they call *Nilmat*, arose from its depths, which contained a detailed description of *Kashmir* and the history and particulars of its temples. They say that a flourishing city with lofty buildings is underneath its waters, and that in the time of *Badu Shāh*,[2] a Brāhman descended into it and returned after three days, bringing back some of its rarities and narrated his experiences.

In the village of *Biruwā* is a spring and in its water lepers bathe early on the first day of the week and are restored to health. In the vicinity is a plateau, a pasture ground for cattle, the grass of which has peculiar fattening properties.

In the village of *Halthal* of the *parganah* of *Yech* is found a quivering tree.[3] If the smallest branch of it be shaken, the whole tree becomes tremulous

Lār borders on the mountins of *Great Tibet*. To its north is a lofty mountain which dominates all the surrounding country, and the ascent of which is arduous. At its foot are two springs, two yards distant from each other, the waters of one being extremely cold and those of the other

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[1] The word is pronounced *Oukar* or *Okar* and signifies a heron. See Vigne, I, 306. The heronries are strictly guarded.

[2] Badu Shāh is Zainul Abidin (Vigne, II, 73).

[3] Dr. King informs me that the Aspen (*Populus tremula*) occurs wild in *the N. W. Himalaya. The P. Euphratica of which the leaves are as tremulous as the aspen, is also common in many parts*

exceedingly hot. They are considered sacred and the bones of bodies are here reduced to ashes: the bones and ashes of the dead are cast into a large lake on the mountain and this ceremony is regarded as a means of union with the Divinity. If the flesh of an animal fall into it, a heavy fall of snow and rain ensues. The river called *Sind* which rises in *Tibet*, is wholesome to drink, and is so clear that the fish in it are visible. They strike them with iron spears and catch them also in other ways. *Shahāb-u'ddinpur* is on the banks of the *Bihat*, and about it are large plane trees which is a favourite resort. The *Sind* joins the Bihat at this point.

In *Tulmulā* is an area of about 100 *bighas* in extent which is flooded during the rains, and remains somewhat moist even after the waters have dried up. The people plunge in sticks of a yard in length, more or less, and work them about, and thrusting their hands into the holes pull out fish of four pounds weight and more, but commonly of small size.

In *Satpur* is a pool, the depth of which cannot be fathomed. It is held in great veneration and is a place of worship. *Bhutesar* is a temple dedicated to *Mahādeva*. Whoever approaches to pay his devotions, hears the sounds of ceremonial worship and no one can tell whence they proceed.

In *Khoihāma* which adjoins *Little Tibet* is a large lake called the Wular twenty-eight *kos* in circumference. The *Bihat* flows into it and its course is somewhat lost to the eye. Here *Sultān Zainul Abidin* built a large palace called *Zain Lanka*.[1] Boats full of stones and branches of trees are sunk in the lake and pulled up by ropes after the lapse of three or four months, and many fish are taken that have homed there. The capture of water-fowl here affords considerable sport, and in the village of *Ajas*, stags are chased down to the lake and taken. Near *Māchhāmu* is an island covered with trees which when shaken by the wind, cause the island also to quake.

Saffron is also cultivated in *Paraspur*. It formerly held a lofty temple which when destroyed by *Sikandar* father of *Sultān Zainul Abidin*, a copper tablet was discovered on which was inscribed in *Sanskrit*, that after the

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[1] See Vigne, II, 153. The legend of the Lanka islet is given in Muhammad Aâzam's *Hist. of Kashmir* translated by me in the *A. S. Journal*, XLIX, Part I, 1880.

lapse of eleven hundred years, one Sikandar would destroy it and gather for himself exceeding great chastisement.[1]

In the *Parganah of Kamrāj*[2] at the village of *Trahgām* the residence of the *Chaks* is a fountain of sweet water called *Chatarnāg* and in the middle is a stone building of great age. The fish grow to great size but whosoever touches them, is afflicted by some calamity.

Near *Kargon* is a defile called *Soyam*[3] where an area of ten *jaribs* of land becomes so hot at the time of the conjunction of Jupiter and Leo that trees are burnt up and a vessel of water if left on the ground will boil. A flourishing little town stands here. From *Kamrāj* is a defile, one end of which touches *Kāshghar* and on the west lies *Pakli*, where gold is obtained in the following manner. The skins of long-haired goats are spread in the fords of this river, with stones placed round them that the current may not bear them away. They are taken up after three days and left in the sun. When dry, they are shaken, yielding their three *tolahs* weight of gold dust. *Gilgit* is the name of another pass which leads to *Kāshghar*. Gold is there obtained by soil washings.

At two days' distance from *Hāehāmun* is the river named *Padmati* which flows from the *Dārdu*[4] country. Gold is also found in this river. On its banks is a stone temple called *Sāradā* dedicated to *Durgā* and regarded with great veneration. On every eighth *tithi* of *Shuklapaksha*, it begins to shake and produces the most extraordinary effect.

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[1] Cunningham alludes to this at p. 102 and adds, 'The same story is told by Ferishta with the addition of the name of the Rāja whom the translator calls *Balnit* (a mistake for *Läldit*, the contracted form of *Lalitaditya* among the Kashmiris).

[2] Kamrāj and Merāj were two large districts into which Kashmir was divided from the earliest times, the former being the north half of the valley below the junction of the Sind with the Jhelum, and the latter the south half, above that junction. Cunningham, p. 94. Vigne calls the village Tāragāon (II, 139) the village of the stars. The remains of ancient masonry round a fine spring were still to be seen, some of the blocks little inferior in size to those of Martand.

[3] Suhoyum in Vigne, (II, 281) who states that it lies near the village of Nichi Hama in the Parganah of Machiapora at the north-west end of the valley, and that 36 years before his visit an intense heat was found to issue from the spot. The phenomenon has several times occurred, a white smoke being occasionally seen to issue from the ground, but without sulphurous smell or fissures in the soil.

[4] Few people can be traced through so long a period in the same place as these whom H. H. Wilson (Moorcroft, II, 266, n.)identifies as the *Dāradas* of Sanskrit geography, and *Daradræ* or *Daradæ* of Strabo. He supposes them to be the Kāfirs of the Muhammadans, though now nominally converted to Islam. The auriferous region of the Dāradas is mentioned by Humboldt (*Cosmos* II, p. 513. E. C. Otté) who places it either in the Thibetian highlands east of the Bolor chain, west of Iskardo, or towards the desert of Gobi described also as auriferous by Hewen Thsang.

The system of revenue collection is by appraisement and division of crops, assessments for crops paying special rates and cash transactions not being the custom of the country. Some part of the *Sair Jihāt* cesses, however, are taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated in *kharwārs* of (*Shāli*) rice. Although one-third[1] had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one half. According to the assessment of Qāzi (Ali)* the revenue was fixed at 30 *lakhs*, 63,050 *kharwārs*, 11 *taraks*, each *kharwār* being 3 *man*, 8 *sers Akbarshāhi*. A weight of two *dāms* is called a *pal*, and ½ and ¼ of this weight are also in use.

Seven and a half *pals* are considered equivalent to one *ser*, two sers are equal to half a *man*, and four *sers* to a *tarak*, and sixteen *taraks* to one *kharwār*. A *tarak*, according to the royal weights (of Akbar) is eight *sers*. Taking the prices current for several years, the *Qāzi* struck an average of the aggregate, and the *kharwār* (in kind) was ascertained to be 29 *dāms*, and the *kharwār* in money was fixed according to the former rate of 13 $\frac{8}{25}$ *dāms*. The revenue, therefore, amounted to 7 *krors*, 46 *lakhs*, 70,411 *dāms*. (Rs. 1,866,760-4-5), out of which 9 *lakhs*, 1,663 *kharwārs* and 8 *taraks* were paid in money, equivalent to 1 *kror*, 20 *lakhs*, 22,183 *dāms*. (Rs. 300,554-9-2). The revenue fixed by Āsaf Khan, was 30 *lakhs*, 79,443 *kharwārs*, of which 11 *lakhs*, 11,330½ *kharwārs* were in money.

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[1] The immemorial tradition in Kashmir considered the whole of the land as the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the *khālsa* lands the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in *jagir* for various periods. The Sikhs made a general resumption, ousted the possessors of grants and reduced thousands to destitution. In Moorcroft's time (II, 125) the *khālsa* lands were let out for cultivation. Those near the city as Sar Kishti, head or upper cultivation, those more remote Pai-Kishti, or foot and lower. When the grain was trodden out, an equal division took place formerly between the farmer and the government, but the latter advanced its demands till it appropriated ⅞ of the Sar-Kishti and ¾ of the P. K. crop. The straw fell generously to the share of the cultivator who was also permitted to steal a portion of his own produce by the overseer,—for a consideration. In the time of Zainu'l Aābidin, the rice crop (the staple) is said to have been 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*. In Moorcroft's day it was 20, at from 2½ to 6½ Rs. a *kharwār*. His weight-measures differ from those of Abul Fazl, a *kharwār* being 16 *taraks*, a *tarak* 6 *sers*, a *ser* 20 *pals*, a *pal* 3½ Mahomed Shahi rupees, which (the rupee being 173·3 grains) should make the *ser* nearly 2 pounds. The actual *ser* was, however, not above one pound avoirdupois, and a *kharwār* or ass-load was therefore 96 pounds. A horse-load equalled 22 *taraks*.

* See pp. 347 and 411 of Vol. I, where further information is given regarding the revenue system, its exactions and the disturbances which led to the Qāzi's murder.

The cesses *bāj and Tamghā*,[1] were altogether remitted by His Majesty, which produced a reduction of 67,824½ *kharwārs*, equivalent to 898,400 *dāms*. (Rs. 22,460). For the additional relief of the husbandman, five *dāms* on the price of a *kharwār*, were thrown in. Although the revenue, in *kharwārs*, of *Āsaf Khān* was in excess of that of Qāzi Ali by 16,392 *kharwārs*, yet calculated by money the receipts are less, after deducting the remissions, by 860,034½ *dāms* (Rs. 21,500-13-7), because he estimated the *kharwār* in money which is of lower relative worth, above its value.

In the revenue returns forwarded by *Qāzi Ali* to the Imperial Exchequer, forty-one *parganahs* are taken while the return submitted by *Āsaf Khān* contains but thirty-eight, there being thirty-eight in point of fact. For Qāzi Ali on a review of the question separated the two villages *Karnā* and *Dārdu*, of the *parganah* of *Kamrāj*, and dividing the *parganah* of *Sāir i Mawāzi* into two, constituted these into two *parganahs*. In former times certain selected towns of each *parganah* were denominated *Sāiru'l Mawāzi* (village-group) and were held as *Khālisa*.[2] *Qāzi Ali* united forty villages of the *Marāj* side under the name of *Parganahi Hāveli* and retained eighty-eight villages of *Kamrāj* according to the former distribution, as *parganah* of *Sāiru'l Mawāzi*.

The whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, *Marāj* on the east, and *Kamrāj* on the west.

At the present day that a great part of the army in Kashmir has been withdrawn, the local militia consists of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry.

Sarkār of Kashmir.

Containing 38 *Mahals*. Revenue 3,011,618 *kharwārs*, 12 *taraks*, being equivalent to 62,113,040½ *dāms*. (Rs., 1,552,826); out of which 9,435,006 *kharwārs*, 14 *taraks* is

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[1] *Tamghā* has been already defined at p. 63 of this Volume, as being a demand in excess of the land revenue and *bāj* is simply a toll or tax and must here have a somewhat similar application, but there were various other taxes in excess of land revenue, such as *Jihāt*, *Sāir Jihāt*, *Farua'āt* and others whose nature is defined at p. 63. Elliot discusses the value of the terms at p. 6, Vol. II, of his *Races of the North-West Provinces*.

Tamghā occurs later under Kabul, signifying inland tolls.

[2] Lands of which the revenue was the property of the government, not being made over in grants or gifts, *Jāgir* or *Inām* to any other parties. Also lands and villages held immediately of government and of which the State is the manager or holder. Wilson, *Gloss.*

paid in money, equivalent to 12,501,880 *dāms.* (Rs. 312,547). Castes, various. Cavalry, 3,202. Infantry, 27,725.

The Marāj Tract.

Containing 22 *Mahals.* Revenue 1,792,819 *kharwārs,* equivalent to 35,796,122½ *dāms,* (Rs. 894,903), of which 670,551 *kharwārs,* 12 *taraks* are paid in money, equivalent to 8,885,248 *dāms,* (Rs. 222,131-3-2). Cavalry, 1,620. Infantry, 4,600.

City of *Srinagar.* Revenue 342,694 *kharwārs,* 12 *taraks,* in money, 342,996 *kharwārs,* 8 *taraks;* in kind, 1,698 *kharwārs,* 4 *taraks.*

Parganahs east of Srinagar, 3 Mahals.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Yech	144,102	0	62,034	4	5	50	Khamash ? and Zinal..
Brang	78,834	4	8,769	8	68	1000	Bahtā,
Vihi	209,632	8	161,968	8	12	400	Brāhman.

Parganahs, north-east, 7 Mahals.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Wular	128,656	4	12,605	8	20	200	Dardah and Shāl.
Phāk	71,111	12	17,402	8	...	...	
Dachhinpār	75,153	0	6,902	12	20	100	Khān.
Khāwarpār ..	45,226	8	3,575	8	100	500	Khāwar.
Khattār	37,479	4	3,221	12	15	300	Dard.
Maru Adwin (Maru Wardwun, Vigne)	...		5,041	0	200 half bow-men	200	
Matan	190,43½		18,62½		20	100	Bhāt.

Parganahs, south-east, 11 *Mahals.*

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Ādwin	101,432	4	14,815	16*	1	100	Dard.
Yech	98,369	0	14,377	4	6	30	Brāhman.
Banihāl	6,435 40 horseloads		...		400	4000	Sihar.
Bātu	3,515 besides transit duties remitted	0	4,235	8	50	300	Nāik.
Devsar	85,644	8	822	8	300	000	Zinah.
Zinahpur	15,875	4	1,799	1	20	...	
Soparsaman ..	6,133 besides dues on firewood		2,003	4	70	200	Kamboh.
Shādarah	39,167	0	8,550	12	...	...	Thakur.
Shukroh	45,224	0	12,757	8	20	...	Ashwār.
Nāgām	189,770	12	22,576	4	15	100	Bhāt.
Ver	12,270	8	838		500	5000	Sahsah.[1]

* This must be a mistake for 12, as 16 *taraks* make a *kharwār*: in the Arabic numerals the 2 and 6 are easily confounded. A horse load is 22 *taraks*.

[1] Var. Sahah, Sansah, Nakhah.

Kamrāj Tract.

Containing 16 *Mahals*. Revenue 1,218,799 *kharwārs,* 12 *taraks,* equivalent to 26,316,918 *dāms*. (Rs. 657,922-15-2). In money, 272,954½ *kharwārs,* equivalent to 3,616,632 *dāms*. (Rs. 90,415-12-9). Cavalry, 1,590. Infantry, 16,965.

Parganahs, north-west.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Zinahkar	13,253	0	32,55½	0	50	100	Bhāt, Musalmān.
Khoihāma	83,670	12	15,522	0	50	1000	Zinah.[2]

[2] Var. Ahir.

Parganahs, south-west.

	In kind		In money		Cavalry	Infantry	Castes
	Khar-wārs	*Taraks*	*Khar-wārs*	*Taraks*			
Indarkol	9,553	4	7,238	0	...	...	Bhāt.
Paraspur	18,830	12	3,352	8	...	...	Siyāhi.
Patan	4,799	4	523	0	30	110	Bhāt, Musalmān
Bānkal	115,233	12	20,280	4	200	500	Bākri.
Barwi	57,098	12	13,383	0	35	30	Kahār.
Telkām	15,415	12	4,435	4	...	30	Pandit.
Dinsu	53,219½		17,038½		150	400	Doni.
Dachhin Khāwarah ..	36,222	4	20,653	0	25	300	Khasi, Kanku, Zinah.
Sāir u'l Mawāzi ..	192,641	4	18,553	12	...	...	
Khoi	12,945	0	370		...	15	Rawer.
Kamrāj	342,844	4	103,725	4	1000	10,000	Chak.
Karohan	115,474	0	29,779	12	...	110	

SOVEREIGNS OF KASHMIR.

Fifty-three princes reigned during 1266 *years.*

I.

Ugnand.
Damodar, } his sons.
Bāl, }
Thirty-five princes succeeded whose names are unknown.

II.

Lavah, (var. Lava.)
Kishen, his son (var. Kish.)
Kahgandra, his son.
Surandra, his son.
Godhara, of another tribe.
Suran, his son.
Janaka, his son.
Shachinar, (var. Hashka, Bishka).
Asoka, son of Janaka's paternal uncle.
Jaloka, his son.
Damodar, descendant of *Asoka.*
Hashka, }
Zashka, } three brothers. Buddhists.
Kaniska, }
Abhiman.

III.

	Y.	M.	D.
Rājā Ganand (Gonerda III) reigned ...	35	0	0
,, Bhikan (Vibhishana), his son ...	53	0	0
,, Indrajita, his son	35	6	0
,, Rāwana, his son	30	0	0
,, Bhikan II, his son	35	6	0
,, Nara, (also called Khar), his son ...	39	9	0
,, Sidha, his son	60	0	0
,, Utpalāchah, his son	30	6	0
,, Hiranya, his son	37	7	0
,, Hirankal, his son	60	0	0
,, Abaskaha, his son	60	0	0
,, Mihirkal, his son	70	0	0
,, Baka (Vaka), his son	63	0	13
,, Khatnanda, his son	30	0	0
,, Vasunanda, his son	52	2	0
,, Nara, his son	60	0	0
,, Aja (Aksha), his son	60	0	0
,, Gopāditya, his son (MSS. Kopārat) ...	60	0	6
,, Karan, his son	57	0	11
,, Narendraditya, his son	36	3	10
,, Yudishthira, his son	48	0	10

IV.

Six princes reigned 192 *years.*

Pratapāditya, said to be a descendant of Vikramāditya	32	0	0
Jaloka, his son	32	0	0
Tanjir, (Tunjina) his son	36	0	0
Bijai, relation to above	8	0	0
Jayandra, (var. Chandra), his son ...	37	0	0
Ārya Rāj	47	0	0

V.

Ten princes reigned 592 *years*, 2 *months*, 1 *day*.

	Y.	M.	D.
Meghavāhana, a descendant of Judishthira	34	0	0
Srishtasena, his son	30	0	0
Hiran, his son	30	2	0
Mātrigupta, Brāhman	4	9	1
Pravarasena, a descendant of Meghavāhana	63	0	0
Judishthira, his son	39	3	0
Lakshman, called also Nandradit ...	13	0	0
Ranāditya, his younger brother ...	30	0	0
Vikramāditya, his son	42	0	0
Bālāditya, his younger brother, no issue ...	36	0	0

Seventeen princes reigned 257 *years*, 5 *months*, 20 *days*.

	Y.	M.	D.
Durlabhavardhan, son-in-law of Bālādit ...	36	0	0
Pratapāditya, grandson of his daughter ...	50	0	0
Chandrapira, his eldest son	8	0	8
Tārāpira, his brother	4	0	24
Lalitāditya, another brother	36	7	11
Kuvalayāpirā, his son	1	0	15
Vajrāditya, his brother	7	0	0
Prithivyāpirā, his son	4	1	0
Sangrāpirā, grandson of Lalitāditya by a son	7	0	0
Jayāpira, ditto	31	0	0
Jajja, his brother-in-law	some months		
Lalitāpira, his son	12	0	0
Sangrāmapira, his brother	37	0	0
Brihaspati, son of Lalitāpira	12	0	0
Ajitāpira, or Ajayāpira, son of Prabhubāpira	36	0	0
Anangāpira, son of Sangrāmapira ...	3	0	0
Utpalāpira, son of Ajayāpira.			

VI.

Fifteen princes reigned 89 *years*, 1 *month*, 15 *days*.

	Y.	M.	D.
Avanti Varmā, of the Chamār caste ...	28	3	3
Sankar Varmā, his son	18	7	19
Gopāl Varmā	2	0	0
Sankat, said to be his brother	0	0	10

	Y.	M.	D.
Sugandhā Rāni, mother of above-mentioned Gopāl	2	0	0
Pārtha, son of Sukh Varmā	15	0	10
Mārjit Varmā, son of Sukh Varmā, his brother	1	1	0
Chakra Varmā	10	0	15
Sura Varmā, his brother	1	0	0
Pārtha, son of Mārjit	1	4	0
Chakra Varmā, second time	0	6	0
Sankar Vardhana, son of Mir Vardhana ...	3	0	0
Chakra Varmā, third time	3	0	0
Unmatt Avanti Varmā, son of Rājā Pārtha	2	2	0
Surma (Sura) Varmā, second time, last of the Chamār princes	0	6	0

VII.

Ten princes reigned 64 *years,* 3 *months,* 14 *days.*

Jasasra (Jasaskar) Dev, a peasant ...	9	0	0
Buranit, an uncle's descendant ...	0	0	1
Sangrāma Deva, son of Jasaskar ...	0	6	7
Parva Gupta, one of his subjects ...	1	4	0
Khema (Kshema) Gupta	8	6	0
Abhiman, his son	14	0	0
Nanda Gupta, his son	1	1	9
Tribhuvana	2	0	7
Bhimā Gupta, son of Abhiman ...	4	3	20
Diddā Rāni, mother of Abhiman ...	23	6	0

Twenty-seven princes reigned 351 *years,* 6 *months,* 17 *days.*

Sangrāma, son of Adirāj, nephew of the Rāni	24	2	0
Harirājā, his son	0	0	22
Ananta, his son	5	5	0
Kalasa Deva, his son	26	0	0
Utkarsā, his son	0	0	22
Harsha, son of Kalasa	12	0	0
Uchal, grandfather of Harsha	10	4	2
Riddha, son of Siddha, one of the murderers of Uchal	[one night and 3 hours		
Salhan, brother of Uchal	0	3	27

	Y.	M.	D.
Susalha, brother of Salhan	7	10	0
Bhekhyājar, son of Haras	0	6	12
Rājā Susalha, second time	2	3	0
Jaya Singh, son of Susalha	27	0	0
Parmānak, son of above	9	6	10
Dati (var. and G. Danji Deva), his son ...	9	4	17
Jas Deva, his younger brother ...	18	0	13
Chag (Jag) Deva, son of above ...	14	2	0
Rājā Deva, his son	23	3	7
Sangrāma Deva, his son	16	0	10
Rāma Deva, his son	21	1	13
Lachhman (Lakshman) Deva, son of a Brāhman	13	3	12
Sinha Deva, chief of Labdar of Daskhinpārah	14	5	27
Sinha Deva, brother of above	19	3	26
Rinjan of Tibet, a native of that country ...	10	some months	
Adin Deva, relation of Sinha Deva ...	15	2	10
Rāni Kotā Devi, wife of Adin Deva ...	0	6	15

Thirty-two princes reigned 282 years, 5 months, 1 day.

A.H.	A.D.			Y.	M.	D.
715	1315	Sultān	Shamsu'ddin, minister of Sinha Deva ...	2	11	25
750	1349	,,	Jamshid, his son ...	1	10	0
752	1351	,,	Alāu'ddin, son of Shams-uddin	12	8	13
765	1363	,,	Shahābu'ddin ...	20	0	0
785	1386	,,	Qutbu'ddin, son of Hasan-uddin	15	5	2
799	1396	,,	Sikandar, his son whose name was Sankār ...	22	9	6
819	1416	,,	Ali Shāh, his son ...	6	9	0
826	1422	,,	Zainul Abidin, younger brother of Ali Shāh ...	52	0	0
877	1472	,,	Hāji Haidar Shāh, his son	1	2	0
878	1473	,,	Hasan Khān, his son ...	12	0	5
891	1486	,,	Muhammad Shāh, his son	2	7	0
902	1496	,,	Fath Shāh, son of Ādam Khān, son of Sultān Zainul Abidin ...	9	1	0

			Y.	M.	D.
911	1505	Sultān Muhammad Shāh, a second time	0	9	9
		,, Fath Shāh, a second time	1	1	0
		,, Muhammad Shāh, a third time	11	11	11
		,, Ibrahim, his son ...	0	8	25
942	1535	,, Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fath Shāh, (*Ferishta,* "son of Ibrahim, son of Muhammad Shāh") ...	1	0	0
		,, Muhammad Shāh, a fourth time	34	8	10
		,, Shamsi, son of Muhammad Shāh	0	2	0
		,, Ismāil Shāh, his brother ...	2	9	0
		,, Nāzuk Shāh, a second time	13	9	0
		,, Ismāil Shāh, a second time	1	5	0
948	1541	Mirzā Haidar Gurgān ...	10	0	0
		Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, a third time	1	0	0
		Ghāzi Khān, son of Kāji Chak ...	10	6	0
971	1563	Husain Chak, his brother ...	6	10	0
		Ali Chak, brother of Husain Chak	8	9	0
986	1578	Yusuf Shāh, his son ...	1	0	20
		Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, one of his nobles	0	1	25
		Lohar Chak, son of Sikandar, son of Kāji Chak	1	2	0
		Yusuf Shāh, a second time ...	5	3	0
		Yāqub Khān, his son ...	1	0	0

Thus this series of 191 princes, reigning throughout a period of 4,109 years, 11 months and 9 days, passed away.

When the Imperial standards were for the first time borne aloft in this garden of perpetual spring, a book called *Rāj Tarangini* written in the Sanskrit tongue containing an account of the princes of Kashmir during a period of some four thousand years, was presented to His Majesty. It had been the custom in that country for its rulers to employ certain learned men in writing its annals. His Majesty who was desirous of extending the bounds of knowledge appointed capable interpreters in its translation which in a

short time was happily accomplished. In this work it is stated that the whole of this mountainous region was submerged under water and called *Sati Sar*. *Sati* is the name of the wife of *Mahādeva*, and *Sar* signifies a lake. One day of *Brahmā* comprises 14 *manvantaras*. Up to the 40th year of the Divine Era, of the seventh *manvantara*, at which time Kashmir began to be inhabited, 27 (*kalpas*) each of four cycles (*yug*) as before mentioned, have elapsed and of the twenty-eighth three cycles, and of the fourth cycle, 4,701 solar years. And when, according to the legend which they relate, the waters had somewhat subsided, *Kasyapa*[1] who is regarded as one of the most sublime amongst ascetics, brought in the Brāhmans to inhabit the new region. When men began to multiply they sought to have a just ruler over them, and experienced elders, solicitous of the public weal met together in council and elected to the supreme authority one who was distinguished for his wisdom, his large understanding, his comprehensive benevolence and his personal courage. From this period dates the origin of their monarchical government which proceeded thus to the time of *Ugnand* 4,044 years prior to this the 40th year of the Divine Era.[2] Ugnand fell by the hand of *Balbhadra*, the elder brother of *Kishan* in the battle fought at *Mathurā* between Kishan and *Jarāsandha* rājā of Behār. *Dāmodara* (his son), to avenge his death marched against some of the relations of Kishan who were hastening to a marriage festival in Qandahār, and was killed fighting on the banks of the *Sind*. His wife being then pregnant and the astrologers foretelling that it would prove a son, Kishan bestowed on him the government of the province. Thirty-five princes succeeded, but through their tyranny their names are no more remembered. When *Lavah* ascended the throne, justice was universally administered and deeds met their just recognition. He founded in *Kamrāj* the great city of *Lavapur* the

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[1] According to Tieffenthaler, he was called *Cashapmir*, from Cashapa grandson of Brahmā and *mer*, a mountain or habitation. Bāber mentions in his Memoirs that the hill country along the upper course of the Indus was formerly inhabited by a race called *Kās* from whom he conjectures that Kashmir received its name. The *Kasiā regio* of Ptolemy applies to the race and seems to confirm his conjecture. Kasyapa was the son of Marichi the son of Brahmā, and was father of Vivaswat the father of Manu. His name signifies a tortoise which form he assumed as Prajapati, the father of all, and had a large share in the work of creation. He was one of the seven great Rishis.—Dowson.

[2] As the 40th year of Akbar's reign is A.H. 1003, commencing 5th Dec. 1594 and ending 25th Nov. 1595 A.D. the date of Ugnand would be B.C. 2449.

ruins of which are still to be traced. It is said to have held 800,000,000 houses. As the *sage of Ganjah*[1] well says:

House linked to house from Ispahan to Rai
Like jointed canes, I've heard, stretch countlessly,
So that a cat might trace the distant span
From roof to roof twixt Rai and Ispahan;
But if the tale my credit doth belie,
The teller is its surety, faith not I.

When the succession devolved on *Asoka* the son of *Janaka's* paternal uncle, he abolished the Brahmanical religion and established the *Jain* faith.* His personal virtues adorned his reign, and his son *Rājā Jaloka* was distinguished for his justice, and his conquests were limited only by the ocean. On his return from *Kanauj*, then the capital of Hindustān, he brought with him a number of learned and enlightened men and of these his sagacity and perception of worth selected seven individuals. To one of them he entrusted the administration of justice; to another the revenue department; to a third the finances; to a fourth the superintendence of the troops; the fifth took charge of the department of commerce; the sixth controlled the material resources of the state, and the seventh interpreted the mysteries of the stars. He had also a knowledge of alchemy. It is said that a huge serpent ministered to his commands, mounted upon which he could descend below water for a long space. Sometimes he appeared as an old man, and at other times, as a youth, and marvellous tales are related of him. Buddhism became prevalent about this time.

Damodar (II) is said by some to have been one of the descendants of *Asoka*. He was a pious devout prince but was transformed into a snake through the curse of an ascetic. In the reign of *Rājā Nara* the Brāhmans prevailed over the Buddhists and levelled their temples to the ground. *Rājā Mihirkal* was a shameless tyrant, but by the strange freaks of fortune he made extensive conquests. As he was once returning homewards by the pass of *Hastibhanj*, an elephant lost its footing, and its screams and manner of falling caused him such amusement that he ordered a hundred ele-

[1] Shaikh Nizāmi, who was born in that town. The lines occur in the *Haft Paikar*, one of the *Khamsah* or Five poems of Nizāmi.

* See Thomas's *Jainism or the Early Faith of Asoka* for this theory, which modern scholars have rejected.

phants to be precipitated in a similar manner. From this circumstance the pass received its name, *hasti* signifying *elephant*, and *bhanj*, *injury*. During his reign, a large rock blocked up the ferry of a river, and, however much it was cut away, it yet increased again during the night to its ordinary dimensions. Remedies were proposed in vain. At length a voice came forth intimating that if touched by the hand of a chaste woman, the rock would displace itself. Time after time it was touched by women in succession, and when no effect was produced, he ordered the women to be put to death for incontinence, the children for bastardy, and the husbands for consenting to the evil, until three *krors* of human beings were massacred. The miracle was at length effected by the hand of a chaste woman, a potter by trade and caused great wonder. The Rājā being afflicted by various diseases, burnt himself to death.

Rājā Gopadit possessed considerable learning and his justice increased the extent of his sway. The slaughtering of animals was forbidden throughout his dominions and high and low abstained from eating flesh. The temple which now stands on *Solomon's Hill* was built by his minister.

Rājā Judishthira in the beginning of his rule administered the state with an impartial hand, but in a short space through his licentious conduct and intimacy with base associates, his subjects became estranged from him, and the kings of Hindustān and Tibet were arrayed against him. The chiefs of Kashmir threw him into prison.

During the reign of *Rājā Tanjin* (Tunjin) snow fell when the sun was in Leo (July, August). The crops were destroyed and a terrible famine threw the country into disorder.

Rājā Jayandra possessed a minister wise, loyal and virtuous, and void of levity and dissimulation. His equals bore him envy, and the wicked at heart but specious in appearance, sought his ruin and undermined his influence by underhand misrepresentations. As princes are on these occasions apt to err and do not investigate closely, forgetful of former experiences of what envy can effect, the minister was overthrown, and banished in disgrace. His strange destiny, however, did not deprive him of his composure. He allowed not grief to encompass him, but gladdened his days with cheerfulness of heart. His wicked enemies represented him as aiming at the throne, and the Rājā,

ignorant of the real facts, ordered him to be impaled. After some time had elapsed, his spiritual preceptor happened to pass that way and read on the frontal bone of his skull that he was destined to disgrace and imprisonment and to be impaled, but that he should again come to life and obtain the sovereignty. Amazed at learning this, he took down the body and secretly kept it and continued in supplication to the Almighty. One night the spirits gathered round and by their incantations restored the corpse to life. In a short time he succeeded to the throne, but his experience of life soon induced him to withdraw into retirement.

Meghavāhan was renowned for his virtues and gave peace and security to Hindustān as far as the borders of the ocean. After the death of *Rājā Hiran* without issue, the chiefs of Kashmir paid allegiance to *Rājā Bikramājit* the ruler of Hindustān. *Rājā Mātrigupta* was a learned Kashmiri Brāhman. Bikramājit profited by his wisdom but did not advance his temporal interests. He, however, gave him a sealed letter to convey to Kashmir and furnishing him with a small sum of money for his expenses as he started, despatched him on his mission. The Brāhman set out with a heavy heart. On his arrival in Kashmir, the letter was opened. It ran thus. 'The bearer has rendered important services at my Court and has experienced many reverses of fortune. On the receipt of this letter, let the government of the country be entrusted to him, and be this mandate obeyed under fear of the royal displeasure.' The chiefs met in council and yielded their submission.

Rājā Pravarasena had withdrawn from the country and lived in retirement in Hindustān. A devout and enlightened servant of God predicted to him the good tidings of his future elevation to a throne. On the faith of this, he went to Nagarkot and possessed himself of that place. On hearing of the death of Bikramājit, *Mātrigupta* abdicated and setting out for Benares lived in seclusion. *Pravarasena* was universally distinguished for his justice and liberality. He founded *Srinagar*[1] the capital of the country and

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[1] The old capital previous to the erection of Pravarasenapura is stated to have been founded by Asoka (*Rāj Tarangini*, i, 104), (B.C. 263—226). It stood on the site of the present *Pāndrethān* and is said to have extended along the bank of the river from the foot of the *Takht i Sulaimān* to *Pāntasok*, a distance of more than three miles. It was still the capital in the reign of Pravarasena I, towards the end of the 5th century when the king erected a famous symbol of the god Siva, named after himself *Pravareswara*. The new capital was built by Pravarasena, II. in the beginning of the 6th century. *Anct. Geog. India*, 97.

rendered it populous during his reign with 600,000 houses. With surpassing munificence he sent to *Mātrigupta* the aggregate of eleven years' revenue of Kashmir which that personage bestowed upon the indigent. *Rājā Ranāditya* was a just prince and made many conquests. In the neighbourhood of Kishtawār near the river Chenāb, he entered a cave with all his family and many of his courtiers, and was seen no more; many strange legends are related regarding him. *Rājā Bālāditya* invaded Hindustān and extended his dominions to the borders of the sea.

In the reign of *Rājā Chandrāpira* the wife of a Brāhman appeared to him claiming justice, saying, that her husband had been killed and the murderer was undiscovered. He asked her if she suspected any one, to which she replied that her husband was of an amiable disposition and had no enemy, but that he often had disputations on points of philosophy with a certain person. This man was brought up but strenuously denied the accusation, and the complainant would not accept an ordeal by fire or water lest the man should employ some supernatural means of escaping it. The Rājā in his perplexity could neither eat nor sleep. An enlightened sage appearing to him in a vision taught him an incantation to be uttered over rice-meal scattered about, upon which the suspected person was to walk. If the footsteps of *two* people were observed as he passed over it, he was not to be suffered to escape. Through this suggestion the truth was discovered and punishment duly meted out. But as a Brāhman could not be put to death, an iron image of a man without a head was made and his forehead branded therewith.

Rājā Lalitāditya devoted himself to the prosperity of his kingdom and in the strength of the divine aid overran Irān, Turān, Fārs, Hindustān, Khata, and the whole habitable globe, and administered his dominions with justice. He died in the mountains of the north, and it is said that he was turned into stone by the curse of an ascetic, but others relate the story differently.

Rājā Jayāpira reached a lofty pitch of glory and his conquests were extensive. Ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine horses were bestowed by him in charity at Benares, and his gifts to the poor were on the same munificent scale. He asked of the elders whether the army of his grandfather Lalitāditya or his own were the

larger. They answered that his contained but 80,000 litters, whereas 125,000 of such conveyances were arrayed under his grandfather's standard, by which proportion he might judge of the numerical strength of his other retinue. When he had proceeded some distance on his march of conquest, his brother-in-law, *Jajja,* who was in Kashmir disputed the throne. The nobles of the king, in anxious fear for their wives and children, betrayed him and preferred their outward reputation before their true honour. The Rājā hastened alone to Bengal, and with the aid of troops from that country, repossessed himself of his kingdom, Jajja being slain in battle.

Rājā Lalitāpira took low companions into favour and associated with buffoons, and his wise councillors withdrew from the court. His minister finding remonstrance of no avail, retired from office.

Rājā Sankar Varmā conquered Gujarāt and Sind, and overran the Deccan, but left it in the possession of its ruler. Although in the beginning of his reign he followed a virtuous course, he lacked perseverance. The intoxication of worldly prosperity plunged him into every vice.

During the reign of *Rājā Jasaskardeva,* a Brāhman lost a purse of a hundred gold *mohurs.* Under the impulse of violent grief he resolved to make away with himself. The thief hearing of this, asked him how much he would be satisfied to take, if he discovered the purse. The Brāhman answered, "Whatever you please." The thief offered him ten *mohurs.* The Brāhman, sore at heart, appealed to the Rājā who inquired into the case, and sending for the thief ordered him to restore ninety *mohurs,* intending by this, that the amount the thief desired to keep for himself, should be the portion of the Brāhman.

In the reign of *Sinhadeva,* a Muhammadan named Shāh Amir who traced his descent to Arjun the *Pandava* was in the royal service. About this time Dalju the chief commander under the king of Qandahār, attacked and plundered the kingdom. The Rājā took refuge in the mountain passes and levied forcible contributions on the people, and sent them to him and entreated him as a supplicant. The invader withdrew, dreading the severity of the weather, and many of his troops perished in the snow. About the same time also, *Rinjan,* the son of the ruler of Tibet invaded the country which was reduced to great

distress. On the death of the Rājā, the sovereignty devolved on *Rinjan* who was distinguished for his munificence. He appointed *Shāh Mir* his minister whose religion, through intimacy and association with him, he eventually adopted.

When *Rājā Adindeva* died, the aforesaid Shāh Mir by specious flattery and intriguing, married his widow. In the year 742, A.H. (1341-2, A.D) he caused the *khutbah* to be read, and the coin to be minted in his own name and assumed the title of *Shamsu'ddin* and levied a tax of one-sixth on all imports into Kashmir. It had been revealed to him in a dream that he would obtain the sovereignty of the kingdom.[1]

Sultān Alāu'ddin issued an ordinance that an unchaste woman should not inherit of her husband.

Sultān Shahābu'ddin encouraged learning and proclaimed an equal administration of the laws. Nagarkot, Tibet and other places were overrun by him.

During the reign of *Sultān Qutbu'ddin* Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni arrived in Kashmir and was received with great favour.

Sultān Sikandar was a rigid follower of religious tradition and a bigot. He overthrew idolatrous shrines and persecuted people not of his faith. During his reign, Timur invaded Hindustān and sent him two elephants. *Sikandar* desired to pay his homage to that conqueror, but on his road to the interview he learnt that it was reported in Timur's camp that the sovereign of Kashmir was bringing with him a present of a thousand horses. Concerned at the untruthfulness of this rumour he returned and sent his excuses. Ali Shāh appointed (his brother) Zainul Abidin regent in his stead and set out for Hijāz. By the persuasion of foolish and evil advisers[2] and through inconstancy of purpose, he returned with the view of recovering his authority in Kashmir and aided by the Rājā of Jammu he took possession

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[1] Such is the literal translation according to the punctuation of the text which I suspect is in error. Ferishta states that Shamsu'ddin abolished the exactions of his predecessors and having repaired the ruin, caused by the invasion and exactions of *Dalfu*, by written orders fixed the revenue at 1/6th of the produce. The text as corrected runs as follows: "Assumed the title of Shamsu'ddin and fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce. Before his arrival in Kashmir, it had been revealed to him in a dream that he would obtain &c."

[2] These, states Ferishta, were his father-in-law the *Jammu Rājā*, and the chief of *Rajauri*.

of the kingdom. Zainul Abidin set out for the Panjāb and joined Jasrat of the Khokhar[1] tribe. Ali Shāh collecting a large army advanced into the Panjāb and a great battle took place in which Ali Shāh was defeated and fell into obscurity while *Zainul Abidin* recovered the sovereignty of Kashmir. Jasrat leaving Kashmir advanced against Delhi but defeated by Sultān Bahlol Lodi retreated to Kashmir and with the assistance of an army from its monarch, conquered the Panjāb.

Zainul Abidin overran *Tibet* and *Sind*. He was a wise prince, devoted to philosophical studies and it was his fortune to enjoy universal peace. He was regarded by high and low as a special servant of God and venerated as a saint. He was credited with the power of divesting himself of his corporeal form, and he foretold that under the dynasty of the *Chaks*, the sovereignty of Kashmir would be transferred from that family to the monarchs of Hindustān, which prediction after a period of years was accomplished. His benevolence and love of his people induced him to abolish the capitation tax (*levied on other than Muslims*) and to prohibit the slaughtering of cows, as well as penalties and presents of all kinds. He added somewhat to the measure of the *Jarib*. His private revenues were drawn from copper mines. He often personally administered medicinal remedies[2] and resolved all difficult undertakings with ease. Robbers were employed in chained gangs on public works. His gentleness of disposition dissuaded men from the pursuit of game, and he himself ate no flesh or meat. He caused many works to be translated from the Arabic, Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit languages. During his reign musicians from Persia and Turkestān flocked to his court; among them Mulla Uudi the immediate pupil of the famous Khwājah Abdu'l Qādir arrived from Khurāsān, and Mulla Jamil who in singing and painting was pre-eminent among his contemporaries. Sultān Abu Said Mirzā sent him presents of Arab horses and dromedaries from Khurāsān

[1] According to Ferishta *Jasrat Shaikha Ghakar* imprisoned by Timur in Samarkand, escaped and founded or acquired a principality in the Panjāb. Zianu'l Aābidin with his aid defeated Ali Shāh who, according to one account was taken prisoner by Jasrat, and to another was expelled from Kashmir by his successful brother. This freebooter gave considerable trouble to the Sayyid dynasty and held his own against Bahlol Lodi when that chief governed Multan under Sayyid Muhammad. See Vol. I, 456, n. for the Gakkhars (as it is there spelt) and the reference to Delmerick's history of this tribe.

[2] Ferishta says that for the encouragement of the study of medicine, he specially favoured *Sri Bhat* an eminent physician, by whose advice, the Brāhmans, expelled under Sikandar the Iconoclast, were recalled.

and Bahlol Lodi king of Delhi and Sultā Mahmud of Gujarāt were in friendly alliance with him.

Sultān Hasan, collecting an army invaded the Panjāb and encountering Tārtār[1] Khān (Lodi) in several actions devastated the country.

In the reign of *Fath Shāh,* Mir Shamsu'ddin one of the disciples of Shāh Qāsim Anwār,[2] came from Irāq and promulgated the *Nur Bakhshi* doctrines, from which period date the dissensions between *Sunnis,* and *Shias* in this country.

During the third reign of *Muhammad Shāh* when he recovered the kingdom by the help of Sultān Sikandar (Lodi of Delhi), Bābar invaded Hindustān.

During *Sultān Ibrāhim's* domination, Abdul Mākri[3] represented to Sultān Bābar that Kashmir might be conquered with little difficulty. Shaikh Ali Beg, Muhammad Khān and Mahmud Khān were therefore despatched to that country and obtained some success, but the intrigues of the people prevented a settlement and they returned with gifts and presents and *Nāzuk Shāh* succeeded to the government. Under the reign of *Muhammad Shāh* for the fourth time, the emperor Humāyun ascended the throne of Delhi, and when Mirzā Kāmrān[4] was at Lahor, the officers formerly despatched to Kashmir (Ali Beg and Muhammad Khān) persuaded him that Kashmir could be taken with little trouble. The Mirzā therefore, despatched Mahram (Beg) *Kokah* with a body of troops to that country which they occupied. Massacres were frequent and their intolerable tyranny drove the people to rise till the Mughal chiefs sued for terms and withdrew. In the year A.H. 930, (1523-4) by command of Sultān Said Khān of Kāshghar, his son

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[1] The Delhi governor of the Punjāb and the country at the foot of the hills.

[2] Ferishta places the accession of Fath Shāh in A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488-9), about which time occurred the arrival of Shāh Qāsim son of Sayyid Muhammad *Nur Bakhsh,* and the establishment of his doctrines as the prevailing creed. All religious grants and places of worship were made over to this sect, among the most illustrious converts to which were the Chak tribe

[3] He was the son of Ibrahim Mākri who was minister in chief to Muhammad Shāh during his second reign. Abdāl Mākri his son played a considerable part in the stirring events of this time and was eventually driven from court by the intrigues of the minister Malik Kāji. He went to India and incited Bābar to the conquest of Kashmir. Fearing that the inhabitants would be opposed to the foreign rule of the Mughals, the enthronement of Nāzuk the son of Ibrāhim was adopted as a pretext to conciliate the Kashmiris, who, on his instalment in authority, dismissed the troops of Bābar with conciliatory gifts.

[4] Brother of the Emperor, governor of Kabul and Qandahār, to whom Humāyun had ceded the government of the Panjāb and the Indus frontier.

Sikandar Khān and Mirzā Haidar advanced into Kashmir at the head of 10,000 troops by way of Tibet and Lār, and taking an enormous booty retired after a short time under terms of peace. In the year A.H. 948 (1541-2) Mirzā Haidar, by command of Humāyun a second time entered Kashmir, guided by some of the natives of that country, as has been related in former accounts, and took possession of a part of Great Tibet. Kāji Chak came to Hindustān and bringing with him the aid of an army from Sher Khān, engaged Mirzā Haidar but was defeated. The Mirzā won over the Kashmiris by peaceful and conciliatory measures, so that he succeeded in having the *Khutbah* read and the coin minted in the name of Humāyun, the Kashmiris having previously read the *Khutbah* in the name of Nāzuk Shāh.

At the present time under the sway of His Imperial Majesty it is the secure and happy abode of many nationalities, including natives of Persia and Turkestān as well as of Kashmir.

CORRECT LIST OF RULERS OF KASHMIR.*

Historical Kings of Kashmir.

Ruler	Date
Asoka	C. 260 B.C.
Jalauka.	
Kanishka.	
Gananda III.	
Mihir Kula.	

Karkota dynasty.

Ruler	Date
Durlabha Vardhana ...	627-649 A.D.
Pratāpāditya II or Durlabhaka. ..	
Chandrapida	713, 720.
Tārāpida.	
Lalitāditya Muktapida ...	736, 747.
Kuvalayapida	
Vajrāditya	Kalhana's *Chronicle* unattested by coin or other evidence.
Bāppiyaka	
Prithivyapida	
Samgrāmapida	
Jayapida	end of the 8th Century.
Cippata Jayapida ...	826-838.

* *Camb. Hist. of India*, iii. 277-293.

Ajitapida	850/1.
Anangapida	
Utpalapida	
Line of Utpala	855/856—939 A.D.
Utpala	died 853.
Sukhavarman	r. 855-56.
Avantivarman	856-883.
Sankaravarman ...	883-902.
Gopālvarman	902-904.
Sankata	rule for 10 days in 904
Sugandhā, Gopālvarman's widow	defacto ruler 904-'6.
Pārtha	906-921.
Pangu	921-923.
Chakravarman	923-933, 935-937.
Suravarman I	933-934.
Unmattāvanti	937-939.
Suravarman II	939.
Line of Viradeva	939-949.
Yasaskaradeva	939-948.
Sangrāmadeva	948-49.
Line of Abhinava	949-1003.
Parvagupta	949-950.
Kshemagupta(Diddā-Kshemā)	950-958.
Abhimanyu	958-972.
Nandigupta	973.
Tribhuvana	973-975.
Bhimagupta	975-980.
Diddā	980-81—1003.
Lohara dynasty	1003-1171.
Sangrāmarāja	1003-1028 A.D.
Harirāja	Rule for 22 days.
Ananta	1028-1063 A.D.
Kalasa	1063-1089.
Utkarsa	1089.
Harsa	1089-1101.
Period of civil war and internecine strife	1101-1339.
Uccala	1101-11.
Salhana	1111-12.
Sussala	1112-28.
Jayasinha	1128-1155.
Paramānuka	1155-1165.
Vantideva	1165-1171.

Line of Buppādeva	...	1171-1286.
Buppādeva ...	...	1171-1180.
Jassaka ...	...	1180-98.
Jagadeva ...	...	1198-1212-13.
Rājadeva ...	...	1212-13-1235.
Sangrāmadeva ...	...	1235-52.
Rāmadeva ...	...	1252-73.
Laksmandeva ...	...	1273-86.
Sinhadeva ...	...	1286-1301.
Tibetan dynasty		
Rinchana ...	...	1320-23.
Udyāndeva ...	...	1323-38.
Kotadevi ..	...	1338.
Muslim Sultans of Kashmir.		
Shamsuddin Shah	...	1346-1349.
Jamshed ...	...	1349-1350.
Alauddin ...	...	1350-59.
Shihābuddin ...	...	1359-1378.
Qutbuddin ...	...	1378-1394.
Sikandar ...	...	1394-1416.
Ali Shah ...	...	1416-1420.
Zain-ul-ābidin ...	...	1420-1470.
Haidar Shah ...	...	1470—Dec. 1471 or Jany. 1472.
Hasan Shah ...	...	1472-1489.
Muhammad Shah	...	1489, 1497, 1499-1526, 1529-1534.
Fath Shah ...	...	1489-1497, 1498-99.
Ibrāhim Shah, I	...	1526-27.
Nāzuk Shah ...	...	1527-29, 1540, 1551-52.
Shamsuddin Shah	...	1534-1540.
A new line.		
Mirza Haidar Shah	...	Nov. 1540-1551.
Ibrāhim Shah ...	...	1552-55.
Ismail Shah ...	...	1555-57.
Habib Shah ...	...	1557-61.
Ghāzi Shah ...	...	1561-1563, 64.
Nāsiruddin Husain Shah	...	1564-1569-70.
Ali Shah ...	...	1570-1579.
Lohar Chakk ...	...	1579-80.
Yusuf Shah ...	...	1579, 1580-86.
Yaqub Shah ...	...	1586-89

Peoples of Kashmir.

Bakhri—a clan claiming Rajput origin, found in several districts of the Panjab, converted to Islam by Bahauddin Zakariya, Rose, *Glossary of Panjab tribes and castes*, II, 39.

Khasa—Khasaka tribe, mod. Khakhas, Stein, *Chron.* II, 519.

Khawar—Var. *Kahu,—Either* Kahoi, a Jat clan found in Amritsar and Multan, *or* Kahut, another Jat clan found in Gujrat and Rawalpindi districts, Rose, 245.

Khamash—Rose mentions a Jat clan *Khamah*, resident in Multan, *ibid*, 491.

Bat, Bhat, or Bhatta,—Jarrett's classification of them as Muhammadans is not tenable, for there are Hindu Bhats as well, Rose, *ibid*, 94-101.

Kambah—Kamboh, "one of the finest cultivating tribes" found also in the Panjab, claiming descent from Raja Karan and saying that their ancestòr fled to Kashmir. They belong to different religious pursuasions. Rose, II, 442-446.

Doni—*Either* Dhunia, a weaver caste *or* Dun, so called from Duhna to milk, hence milkman, Rose, II, p. 251.

Chak—*Either* a Kamboh clan *or* a sept of Jats, Rose, II, p. 146.

Shal—conjectured *Chahal*, Rose, III.

Siyahi—Sahi ?, sometimes pronounced Chhahi in Ludhiana, a Jat tribe claiming descent from Solar Rajputs, Rose, III, p. 342. *Shahiya* ?

Rawar—is it Rayar, a Jat clan of Amritsar ? Rose, III, 332.

Sahasu—Sahasni ?, a Jat clan of Amritsar, Rose, III, 342.

Thakur—representing the high-caste population of Kashmir, Rose, III, p. 326-329.

NOTES ON PLACES IN KASHMIR.

(*Compiled by Prof. N. B. Roy*)

P. 351. Qambar Ver—possibly the hill of Kamelana Kotta (anc. *Kramavarta*), a watch-station on the Pir Pantsal range. Stein, *Chron.* II, 292.

P. 352. Hasti Bhanj—Stein (*Chron.* Book I, n. 302) derives the name from Sanskrit *hasti,* elephant and W. Panjabi *vanj* to go. He describes this route in *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 376 sq., *Chron.* II, 394.

Tangtalah—5 miles n. of Pir Pantsal pass. For details Stein (*Chron.* II, 398).

P. 356. *Behat*—Vyath or Vitasta, embodiment of Parvati. Stein, Bk. I, 29, its legendary origin and course above Srinagar. *Chron.* II, 411, 415. *Cam. Hist. Ind.,* III, 286.

Mar—ancient name *Mahasarit.* (Stein, *Chron.* ii. 416). This stream drains the Dal lake to the east of the city of Srinagar, and carries off the surplus waters of the lake towards the Vitasta (Jhelum)

Lacham-Kul—canal of Srinagar (Stein, *Chron.* II, 457).

Sayyid Ali Hamadoni,—For anecdotes about him, Vigne, I, 82-83; shrine, Moorcroft, II, 120, Percy Brown, II, 83.

P. 357. *Brang*—modern *Bring.*

Sendhbrar—mod. *Sundbrar.* Stein identifies it with the spring of the goddess *Samdhya.* The spring flows during uncertain periods in the early summer, three times in the day and three times in the night. (*Chron.* I, note 33. *Chron.* II). Sendhbrar—Vigne writes about this tirtha saying,—on the 15th of Har (corresponding to 13th June), several thousand people are assembled, nearly naked—and wait for the rising of the water; those who are nearest to it, shaking peacock's feather over it as an act of enticement and veneration. When the basin perceptibly begins to fill, the immense multitude exclaim Sondi, Sondi, (it appears), and then they fill their brazen water-vessels, drink and perform their ablutions and return towards their home. Read Bernier's description, *Travels,* Brock's ed., II, p. 153.

P. 357. Kokar Nag—a *tirtha* in the Bring valley, situated a mile above the village of Bidar. The seven fountains inside the temple, mentioned by Abul Fazl, are the

spring now known as *Sweda Nag*. (Stein, 1899, *J.A.S.B.*, 181, *Chron*. II, 469.

Iron mine—Located by Vigne, I, 337, he describes the route from Shahabad to Sof-ahun where the principal or in fact the only iron works of the valley are to be seen.

Vej Brar—modern Vija-brar, one of the most famous *tirthas* of Kashmir, so called from the ancient shrine of Siva Vijayeshwar. The place being situated on the way to Martand and Amarnath, is much frequented even at the present day. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, pp. 173-175. *Chron*. II, 463).

P. 358. *Nandi-marg*—a beautiful mountain down situated on the eastern slopes of the Pir Pantsal range, about 12 miles s.e. of Supyan, 33. 34 N. 75 E. Bates, *Kashmir Gazetteer*, 287. Vigne, I, 299.

Pampur—mod. Pampar, ancient Padma-pur, the chief place of the Vihi pargana. Stein, *Chron*. II, 450; Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 167.

P. 359. Zewan—mod. Zevan, ancient *Jaya-van*, in the Vihi pargana. Here is a pool sacred to Takshaka, the lord of snakes, which is visited annually by pilgrims. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 166, *Chron*. Bk. I, 220 *note*, 166).

Khriu—mod. *Khruv*, ancient *Khaduvi*. Stein noted an abundance of fine springs in and about Khruv, and a mystical diagram called Sayambhu chakra, above the village which is held sacred to Jvalamukhi Durga, *Chron*. II, 459.

Maru Adwin—*Madivād-van* valley situated along the range that forms the eastern frontier of Kashmir, running from the Zoji-la almost due south towards Kastawar. (Stein, *Chron*. II, 435). Vigne (*Travels*, i. 354) noticed here a tank, 100 yards square.

Achh Dal—misreading for *Achabal*, a short distance from Sundabrar. Here was formerly a country-house of the kings of Kashmir, and then of the Mughal Emperors. See Bernier's *Travels*.

Khattar—mod. *Kutahar*, in the valley of Arapath or Harsapath which opens to the east of Islamabad. Stein derives the word from *Kapateshwar*, a *tirtha* on the southern side of the valley close to the village of *Kother*. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 179, *Chron*. II, 467).

Kotihar—mod. *Kother*, near Achabal. Here is the deep spring of *Pāpa-sudan* (or Remover of sin), mentioned by Kalhan. Siva is believed to have shown himself here in the disguise of pieces of wood floating on the water.

(Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 179). The route to this *tirtha* is described fully by Vigne (i. 351).

Wular—*Vular*, ancient Holada. It is situated in the pargana of the same name, comprising the valley opening to the n.e. of the Vitasta, between Dachunpor and Vihi. (Stein, Chron. I, Bk. I, note 306, II, 460, *J.A.S.B.* p. 168).

Matan—Martand *tirtha*, situated in the eastern portion of the Lidar valley, at a distance of about 2 miles from Islamabad. For a description of its most famous temple, Vigne (i. 385-391), Moorcroft (ii. 255-256), Percy Brown (*Ind. Arch.* i. 181), Stein (*J.A.S.B.*, 176-178).

P. 360. Well of Babylon—The reference is to the imprisonment of two angels, Harut and Marut, in a well in Demavand for their submission to sin and temptation. (*Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 272). Vigne says that at a distance of 150 yards from the temple there was the residence of a faqir whose duty was to superintend the existence of a well called the *Chah-i-Babul*. (*Travels*, I, 361).

Kharwar-para—mod. Khovur-pur. The source mentioned here is a small river that feeds the northern branch of the principal tributary of the Behat. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 465).

Dachchhin-para—mod. Dachunpor, a district situated east of the confluence of the Vitasta and the Gambhira, and comprising the whole western side of the Lidar valley, and also the low-lying tract between the Vitasta and the lower course of the Visoka. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 170, Stein, *Chron.* II, 461).

Amarnath—Situated north of the Lidar valley but south of the high peak, (about 10 miles east-south of Zoji-La) that marks the eastern boundary of Kashmir. For a description of this tirtha which is the most popular of Kashmirian *pilgrimage places*, read, Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, p. 94, 163-4, *Chron.* Vigne, II, 7-8, Moorcroft, II, pp. 252-53.

P. 361. Dāl lake—Situated east of Srinagar, and forming one of the most favoured spots of the Srinagar valley. The floating gardens which covered its surface in Abul Fazl's time are described by Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 105, *Chron.* II, 417, Moorcroft, II, 115, 137-140, Vigne, II, 90-91, Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, 186.

Thid—ancient Thed which was adorned by king Aryaraja with *mathas*, divine images and lingas. Stein, *Chron.* II, 135. The seven springs mentioned by Abul Fazl

still exist, but other remains do not, Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 1879, *Chron.* II, 454.

Shalamar—Shalimar, this *bagh* along with *Nishat* and *Nasim,* form the three most delightful places on the Dal lake, Drew, *History of Jammu and Kashmir,* 187, described by Vigne, *Travels,* Vol. II, 100-101, Stein, *Chron.* II, 456 fn.

Ishibari—mod. Isabar, lying a short distance from the Nishat garden and Suresvari Ksetra, still sacred to Durga-Suresvari who is worshipped on a high crag to the east of the village. Of the several springs in and about Isabar, two are mentioned by Abul Fazl,—Suryasar and Shakarnag, one of them might be what is stated by Stein to be *Gupta-ganga,* forming the chief attraction of the place and filling an ancient stone-lined tank in the centre of the village, Stein, *J.A.S.B.,* p. 161, Stein, *Chron.* II, 455.

Rambal—mod. *Ranyal,* anc. Hiranyapur, north of Srinagar, situated at the foot of the ridge running down to the opening of the Sindh Valley. Stein mentions the existence of a spring to the south of the village. Stein, *J.A.S.B.,* 163, *Chron.* II, 456.

P. 362. Banihal—anc. Bansala. Stein says nothing about the temple of Durga mentioned by Abul Fazl, but he refers to a group of peaks sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 71, *Chron.* II, 393). The pass of the same name has always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Chenab valley and the eastern Panjab hill states, *Chron.* II, 392.

Ver—Old name of Shahabad pargana, comprising the valley of the Sandran river (Stein, *Chron.* II, 469).

Vernag—Situated in the Sandran valley. The stone temples of Abul Fazl's time have disappeared; their materials having been partly used for the construction of a fine stone enclosure which Jahangir built around the spring. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.,* 182, *Chron.* II, 411, 469. Vigne, *Travels,* i. 332. Moorcroft, ii. 249).

Kambar—Bates mentions a village Kammar in the Shahabad valley, near the left bank of the Sandran river. Below this village lies at present the ziarat of Qadam Rasul. *Kas. Gaz.,* 223, nothing is said about the spring.

Devsar—mod. *Devasar,* anc. *Deva-saras,* drained by the Visoka. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 183, *Chron.* II, 470).

Balau—probably anc. Bilava, about 4 miles north-east of Drabgam, Stein, *Chron.* II, 473.

Veshau—mod. *Visoka.* Stein refers to a place named Gudar where a small stream called the Godavari falls down the hill, as a *tirtha* of some repute (*J.A.S.B.*, 184).

Kuthar—Jarrett suggests Kausar-nag, a lake two miles long described by Stein (*J.A.S.B.*, 71). Stein, *Chron.* II, 393.

P. 363. Shukroh—Jarrett's identification with *Zuyru* (4 m. n. of the capital) is far-fetched. Stein identifies it with the modern *Sukru*, where the ancient *tirtha* of Kalyanpur (mod. *Kalampur*) still stands, on the high road from Pir Pantsal to Srinagar. The fountain of the *Ain* is that at the mod. *Buda-hrar* (anc. Bheda-giri). (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 186).

Nila-nag—situated in a valley between two spurs descending from the Pir Pantsal range. Stein points out that Abul Fazl has here made the mistake of transferring to this spring the legends of the famous Nila-nag at Vernag. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 190, *Chron.* II, 475).

Biruwa—mod. *Biru* (anc. *Bahurupa*), situated west of Dunts and towards the Pir Pantsal range. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 192).

Halthal—Halathal in Yech. Stein took it for *Salasthal* (*Chron.* II, 475).

Lar—anc. *Lahara*, comprises the whole of the valleys drained by the Sind and its tributaries. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 488).

P. 364. Shahab-ud-dinpur—*Shadipur*, at the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu, (Stein, *Chron.* II, 379).

Tulmula—mod. *Tulamul* (anc. *Tulamalya*) situated in the midst of the Sind delta. According to Stein, the spring here is still held sacred. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 210, *Chron.* II, 488).

Satpur—

Bhutesar—in the narrow gorge of the Kankanai river, which flows past the south foot of the spur. Two miles above Vāngath are found the ruins of some 17 temples of various size and dimension. These ruins were identified by Stein with the temple of Bhutesar. (Stein, *J.A.S.B.*, 211).

Khoihama--mod. *Khuyahom* (anc. *Khuyasrama*) stretching in a semi-circle round the north shore of the Volur lake. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 488, *J.A.S.B.*, 209).

Volur lake—anc. Mahāpadmasaras, 12 *kos* n.w. of Srinagar, a most striking physical feature in the western portion of Kashmir. For details, Stein, *Chron.* II, 423, Moorcroft, II, 111.

Zain Lanka—built by Sultan Zain-ul-abidin, in the midst of the Volur lake. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 423). Described by Moorcroft, II, 224.

Machhamu—Stein suggests that the village of *Ratasum* represents it, though there is a pargana of the name *Manchahom.* (*Chron.* II, 477).

Paraspur—anc. *Parihaspur,* the capital of Lalitaditya. The plateau on which it stood, is "about two miles from north to south and its greatest breadth is not much over a mile." The Badrihel canal bounds it on the north. In the S.W. part are the ruins of two large temples, much decayed but still showing dimensions which considerably exceed those of the great temple of Martand. On that part of the Udar which lies to the n.e. and towards the Badrihel *nala,* there is a whole series of ruined structures. The four great temples of Vishnu Parihasa-Keshava, Mukta-Keshava, Mahavaraha, and Govardhan-dhara, as well as the Rajvihar with its colossal image of Buddha, must all be looked for among the ruins. Extremely decayed condition." (Stein, *Chron.* II, 477, sec. iv, 194-204).

P. 365. Kamraj—anc. *Krama-rajya,* as distinguished from *Maraj* (*Madhya-rajya*). In modern times it designates only the parganas to the west and north-west of the Volur lake (Stein, *Chron.* II, 436).

Trahgam—anc. *Tri-gami,* mod. *Trigam,* 1½ miles n.e. of the Paraspur ruins. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 329, 479).

Kargon—Kherigam, a short way from Sardi (Stein, *Chron.* II, 282).

Soyam—(derived from *Swayambhu*) half a mile south-west of the village of Nichahom, in the Machipur pargana, where volcanic phenomena are observed in a shallow hollow formed between banks of clay and sand. Hot vapours issue from fissures in the ground. (Stein, *Chron.* I, Bk. I, note 34).

Haehamun—mod. *Hayahom,* on the pilgrim route to Sarada (Stein, *Chron.* II, 280, 486).

Padmate—miswritten for *Madmati* (=Madhumati). Stein suggests that Abul Fazl here confuses the Madhumati

with the Kishanganga, which (latter) alone flows from the Dard country. The notice of gold being found in the river, clearly refers to the Kishanganga, which drains a mountain region still known as auriferous. (Stein, *Chron.* II, 247).

Dardu—mod. Dard.

Sarada tirtha—situated on a small hill above the junction of the Kishanganga and the Madhumati. (Stein, *Chron.* I, Bk. I, note 37, for temple ii. 284-287).

P. 368. Phak—comprising the tract lying between the east shore of the Anchiar, the range towards the Sind valley and the hills which enclose the Dal on the east and the south.

Khattar—Kutahar pargana, comprising the valley Arupath or Harsapatha opening to the east of Islamabad. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, p. 467.

Matan—comprising the plateau on which the temple of Martand stands. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 466.

P. 369. Adwin—Adavin, lies north of Divasar, reaching from the western end of Khur-Naravao to the lower course of the Visoka. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 471.

Itch=Yech—anc. Iksika, comprises the tract to the immediate vicinity of Srinagar. Stein, *Chron.* II, 475.

Batu—Bot, adjoining Adavin on the north-east, Stein, *Chron.* II, 472.

Devsar—Divasar, adjoins the pargana of Shahabad Ver on the west and comprises the tract of alluvial plain drained by the Vesau, Stein, *Chron.* II, 470.

Zinahpur—Zainapur, comprising the northernmost portion of Adawin, Stein, *Chron.* II, 471.

Soparsaman—Suparsamun, comprising the villages lying at the foot of the spurs descending into the plain west and north-west of Supiyan. Stein, *Chron.* II, 472.

Nagam—(anc. Nagram), situated north of Chrath Pargana, Stein, *Chron.* II. 474.

Zinahkar—Zaingir, comprises the fertile Karewa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohur River, Stein, *Chron.* II, 487.

Khoihama—Khuyahom, stretches in a semi-circle round the north shore of the Volur lake. Stein, *Chron.* II, 488, Bates, 233.

P. 370. Indarkol—Mod. Andarkoth, (anc. Jayapura) comprises the marshy tract south of the Volur. Stein, *Chron.* II, 480).

Paraspor—comprising the well-defined little tract lying between the marshes on the left bank of the Vitasta immediately to the south-west of Shadipur. Stein, *Chron.* II, 300. According to Stein, the Paraspor Udar, until some sixteen years ago, continued to form a separate pargana, *ibid*, p. 333.

Patan—Anc. Samkarapur, situated on the direct road between Srinagar and Baramula. Stein, *Chron.* Vol. II, 481.

Bankal—Bangil, anc. Bhangila, situated between Firozpur and Patan, sloping down from the mountains to the morass on the left bank of the Jhelum.

Telkam—Tilgama, a very small pargana, adjoins Patan.

Dinsu—Dunts, west of Yech and close to Srinagar. Stein, *Chron.* II, 470.

Sair-ul-Mawazi—lying on the left bank of the Vitasta with Chrath. Stein, *Chron.* II, 474.

Khoi—Khuhy, north of Patan and Tilagam.

Karohan—Karnav, anc. Karnaha, north-west of Kashmir lying between the Kishanganga and the Kajanāg range. Stein, *Chron.* II, 405.

P. 378. Solomon's Hill—mod. Takht-Sulaiman, anc. Gopadri. The temple referred to is the shrine of Siva Jyesthesvara, built on the summit by Gopāditya; for the description of this tirtha, Stein, *Chron.* II, 159.

Sarkār of. Pakli.

Its length is 35 and its breadth 25 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by *Kashmir*, on the north by *Kator*,[1] on the south by the territory of the *Gakhars*, and on the west by *Atak Benāres*. Timur left a few troops to hold this tract, and their descendants remain there to this day. Snow lies perpetually on these mountains and at times falls on the plains. The period of winter is longer than the summer. The rainfall is somewhat similar to Hindustān. It is watered by three rivers, the *Kishan Ganga*, the *Bihat* and the *Sindh*. The language of the country differs from that of Kashmir, Hindustān or Zābulistān. Vetches and barley are the principal crops. Apricots, peaches and walnuts grow wild, it not being the custom to plant fruit trees. Game and horses, camels and buffaloes are of middling account: goats and poultry, plentiful. The rulers of this district generally paid tribute to Kashmir.

Sarkār of Sawād (Swāt).

It comprises three districts, those of *Bimbar*, *Swāt* and *Bajaur*. The first is 16 *kos* long by 12 broad and is bounded by *Pakli* on the east, *Kator* and *Kāshghar*[2] on the north, *Atak Benāres* on the south and *Swāt* on the west. Two roads approach it from Hindustān, *viz.*, the *Sherkhāni* pass and the *Balandari Kotal*: although both routes are difficult to traverse, the first is the more rugged.

The second district (Swāt) is 40 *kos* in length by 5 to 15 in breadth. On the east lies *Bimbar*; to the north *Kator* (Kunar) and *Kāshghar*; to the south *Bigrām*[3] and on the west *Bajaur*. It possesses many defiles. Near the *Damghār* pass which leads to *Kāshghar* is the town of *Manglor*[4] the

[1] Ferishta says (p. 144) that Kattor or Katār is a place of note in the Kafiristān country, but in the maps Kunar occupies a corresponding position.

[2] By Kāshghar cannot be meant the well-known town of E. Turkestān which is too far removed, but Chitral or Kāshkar, which, according to Erskine, (*Bābar's Memoirs*) is a corruption of Kāshghar with the territory of which it was long included. The *Kasia* or *Akhassa regio* of Ptolemy beyond Mount Imaus has perhaps given its name to both Kāshghar and Kashmir.

[3] *Bigrām* is said by Cunningham (p. 29) to signify "the city" *par excellence* and is applied to 3 other ancient sites near Kābul, Jalālābād and Peshāwar. Masson derives the name from the Turki *bi* or *be* "chief" and the Hindi *grām*.

[4] *Manglaur* was the capital of Udyāna, the Sanskrit name for the modern districts of Panjkora, Bajaur, Swāt and Buner. It is mentioned by Hwen Thang as Mung-kie-li or Mangalu.

residence of the governor. It is entered by two routes from Hindustān, *viz.*, the passes of *Malkand Baj* [Malakand] and *Sherkhānah*. It has no extremes of heat or cold, and though snow falls, it does not lie in the plains for more than three or four days; in the mountains it is perpetual. It is springtime here during the periodical rains of Hindustān. Rainfall occurs and the spring and autumn are very delightful. Its *flora* are those of Turkestān and India, wild violets and narcissus covering the meadows, and various kinds of fruit trees grow wild. Peaches and pears are excellent, and fine hawks and falcons are obtained. It also possesses an iron mine.

The third district (Bajaur) is 25 *kos* in length by 5 to 10 in breadth. On the east lies *Swāt*, on the north *Kator* and *Kāshghar*, on the south *Bigrām*, and on the west *Kuner* (and) *Nurkil*.[1] Numerous passes lead from Kābul.

An ancient mausoleum[2] exists here, and there is a strong fortress which is said to be the residence of the governor. Amir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni died here and his body was conveyed to *Khutlān* by his last testament. Its climate is similar to that of Swāt, but the extremes of cold and heat are greater. It has only three roads, one from Hindustān called *Dānishkol*, and two from Kābul, one called *Samaj* and the other *Kuner* and *Nurkil*, the easiest of these being *Dānishkol*. Adjoining this and between the mountains and the Indus and Kabul rivers, is a plain, 30 *kos* in length by 20 to 25 *kos* in breadth.

The whole of this tract of hill and plain is the domain of the *Yusufzai* clan. In the time of *Mirzā Ulugh Beg* of Kābul, they migrated from Kābul to this territory and wrested it from the Sultāns who affected to be descended from a daughter of Alexander Bicornutus. It is said that this monarch left some of his treasures in these parts with a few of his kindred and to this day the descendants of this band dwell in these mountains and affect to show their genealogical descent from Alexander.[3]

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[1] Erskine states that *Kuner* and *Nurgil* form another Tumān situated in the midst of Kafiristān which forms its boundary. Nurgil, says Bāber, lies on the west and Kuner on the east of the Cheghān sarāi or Kāmeh river, p. 143.

[2] The text is here confused, and the translation has been made after correction from Babar's *Memoirs*.

[3] See Elphinstone's *Cabul*. App. C, p. 617.

Under the present ever-during Imperial sway, of the lawless inhabitants of this country, some have been put to death, others imprisoned, while some happily dwell under their tribal rule.

Sarkār of Daur, Banu and Isakhel.

This territory is to the south-east of *Kābul,* and is inhabited entirely by Afghāns. It is the principal settlement of the Shirāni, Kararāni and Waziri tribes.

Sarkār of Qandahār..

It is situated in the third climate. Its length from *Qalāt Banjārah* to *Ghor* and *Gharjistān*[1] is 300 *kos*: its breadth from *Sind* to *Farah* is 260 *kos.* On its east lies *Sind*; to the north *Ghor* and *Gharjistān;* on the south *Siwi,* and on the west *Farah; Kābul* and *Ghaznin* on the north-east. Its mountains are covered with perpetual snow which seldom falls in the city.

Eighteen *dinārs* make a *tumān,* and each *tumān* is equivalent to 800 *dāms* [=Rs. 20]. The *tumān* of Khurāsān is equal in value to 30 rupees and the *tumān* of Irāq to 40.*

Grain is for the most part taken in *kharwārs,* the *kharwār* being equivalent to 40 Qandahāri *man,* or 10 of Hindustān.

The capital of the district is *Qandahār.* Its longitude is 107° 40′, and the latitude 33° 40′. It has two forts. The summer heats are extreme and the cold in winter is inconsiderable, but the ice-pits are filled in December and January. Once in three or four years a fall of snow occurs and is hailed with delight. Flowers and fruits are in abundance. Its wheat is extremely white, and is sent as a present of value to distant countries. At a distance of five *kos* is a hill called *Azhdarkoh* (the Dragon Hill) in which is a wonderful cave known as the *Cave of Jamshid.* People

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[1] Its limits are defined by Erskine, (p. 152), within Herat on the west, Farah on the south and Ghor on the east. *Encyclo. Islam,* ii. 141, gives "Ghardjistan, a tract on the upper valley of the Murghāb in Afghan Turkistan, . . . the country now occupied by the Firoz Kohis." [J. S.]

* *Tumān. Encyclo. Islam,* iv. 836. In the period of Mongol dominion, the *tumān* was 10,000 *dinars*=60,000 *dirhems.* Value varied from country to country.

enter with lighted lamps, but the oppression of its atmosphere prevents exploration of its extent. Eight *kos* from *Qālāt* is a large mountain in the side of which is a huge cave called *Ghār i Shāh* (the King's Cave). Within it are two natural columns, one of which touches the roof of the cave and is 30 yards high. Water flows down it and enters a basin at its foot. The other is 11 yards in height. The waters of the *Hirmand* (Helmand) which rises between Balkh, and Kābul, flow in this direction along the skirts of the mountains. The meaning of *Hirmand* is 'abounding in blessings'. *Maulānā Muinu'ddin* in his history of Kurāsān records that it feeds a thousand streams. At a distance of 16 *kos* is a mountain, at the base of which is an area of land called *Natil* [Tānil], formerly full of watercourses, where melons are grown in great quantity and perfection. The mountain has several clear springs. There is also an iron-mine, and at the foot of the mountain is an iron-foundry for the smelting of the ore, a work of ancient times.

West of Qandahār is a long torrid tract of country, (*Garmsir*) through which flows the *Hirmand*. One side of it touches the *Dāwar*[1] territory, and on the other *Sistān* There are many forts and much cultivation on both sides of the river. In this neighbourhood once stood a large city, the residence of the Sultāns of Ghor, and many ruins still exist of the palaces of its ancient kings.

Between the *Hirmand* and Qandahār is the well-known city of *Maimand*, described in old astronomical tables.

Wheat and barley are called *Safedbari*.[1] The *jarib* of sixty (square) yards is used for measurements, but they reckon 30 yards of this according to the *Hijāzi jarib*, each yard of 24½ digits, the *gaz* there in use; equal altogether to 54 *gaz* of Qandahār. In the exchequer, out of every ten *kharwārs*, two are taken for the minister of finance on account of revenue and *jihāt* cesses. Cultivation is reckoned under seven heads. In the registers, the best kind of land is marked with an *'Ain* [Arabic letter] and calculating the

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[1] *Dāwar* or *Zamin Dāwar*, lies west of the Helmand, below the hills, in S.W. Afghanistan.

[2] Var. and G. *safedtari*. I am disposed to think the marginal reading correct and that it signifies *white crops* in contradistinction to the *sabzbari* or *green crops* that follow lower down, though it is not easy to see why rice should be relegated to the green, rather than the white class. There are, however, two kinds of *shāli* rice, the white requiring deep water and the red needing only a moist soil.

produce of each *jārib* at 3 *kharwārs, 24 man* are taken as revenue. Thus:

No.	Kind of land.	Distinguishing Marks. Arabic letter.	Produce in *Kharwārs.*	Revenue in *mans*
1	Best.	'ain	3	24
2	Best and Medium.	toi 'ain	2½	20
3	Medium.	toi	2	16
4	Medium and Poor.	dal toi	1½	12
5	Poor.	dal	1	8
6	Poor and Poorest.	dal-dal, dal	30 *man.*	6
7	Poorest.	dal-dal	8	4

But if the husbandman is incapable of sustaining this class of assessment, the produce is divided into three heaps, two of which are taken by the tenant, and the third is again subdivided into three shares, two of which go to the revenue department and the third is charged to incidental expenses.

The revenue from grapes also is taken by agreement and by paying a special rate. In the latter case experts appraise the average outturn of the vineyard and exact 4 *bābaris* for each *kharwār.* Under the reigns of Bābar and Humāyun the rate was fixed at 2 *bābaris* and 4 *tangahs.* The *babari* is one *miskāl* weight and 2½ are equivalent to the rupee. Besides these three (wheat, barley, grapes), upon nine other articles called *sabzbari*, 7½ *bābaris* are taken for every *jarib*, formerly rated at 5 *bābaris*, *viz.*, rice (Shāli), musk-melons, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, turnips, carrots and lettuce. On other crops than these, two *bābaris* were formerly taken, the Turkomāns exacting three.

In the torrid tract (above-mentioned, between Dāwar and Sistan), the *safedbari* crops are divided into three heaps according to the Qandahār custom and all crops paying special rates are registered under the *'Ain* and *Toi* class (No. 2), and for every *jarib*, 50 *man* of the torrid tract (*Garmsir*) equalling 20 *man* of Qandahār, are taken. The *kharwār* of this district is 100 *man*, equivalent to 10 *man* of Hindustān. Grapes are treated in the same manner as at Qandahār. All articles under *Sabzbari*, pay two *babaris* on each *jarib.*

In the *Dāwar* tract, produce under *safedbari* is apportioned in three heaps as described above and the exchequer receives for every 4 *jaribs*, one *kharwār* weight of *Dāwar*,

which is equavalent to one *kharwār* and ten *man* of Qandahār, and for other produce, one *kharwār* on three *jarībs*.[1]

Sarkār of Qandahār.

Containing 24 *Mahals*. Revenue 8,114½ *tumāns*, 39,600 *dinārs*; 45,775 *sheep*; 45 Balochi horses; 3,752,977 *kharwārs* of grain; 420 *man* of rice; 2 *kharwārs* of flour; 20 *man* of clarified butter. It furnishes 13,875 Cavalry and 25,260 Infantry. Qandahār city—5,270 *tumāns* in cash; 35,120 *kharwārs* of corn; 550 horse; 1,000 foot.

Dependencies east of Qandahār.

Territory of Duki,[1] has a fort of unbaked brick. 6 *tumāns* in money; 1,800 *kharwārs* of grain; 12,000 sheep; 15 Balochi horses; Afghāns of the *Tarin* and and *Kākar* tribes; 500 horse, and 1,000 foot.

,, *of Pashang;* has an old fort of unbaked briek. 33 *tumāns* in money; 3,200 sheep; 500 *kharwārs* of grain; 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot.

,, *of Shāl*, has a mud fort; 4½ *tumāns* in money; 940 sheep; 780 *kharwārs* of grain; Afghāns of *Kāst* and *Baloch;* 1,000 horse, and 1,000 foot.

,, *of Mashtang*, (Mastang) has a mud fort; 10 *tumāns* and 8,000 *dinārs* in money; 470 *kharwārs* in grain. Afghāns of *Kasi*, and *Baloch* 100 horse and 500 foot.

,, *of Khelgari*, 12 *tumāns* in money; 415 *kharwārs* of grain; 200 horse, 300 foot.

Tribe of Pani, 60 sheep, an Afghān clan, 1,000 horse, 1,000 foot.

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[1] Under the Caliphs, the land-tax was usually rated at 2/5 of the produce of wheat and barley if the fields were watered by public canals; 3/10 if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and ¼ if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid 1 *dirhem* per *jarib* and 1/10 of probable produce. Of dates, grapes, garden produce, ⅓ was taken either in kind or money; and ⅕ of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls and generally of products not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind or paid in value even before the expenses had been defrayed. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers paid a double rate, and the taxes on trades, manufactures and handicrafts were also sources of public revenue. Sir H. Elliot. (*Arabs in Sind*, p. 78). For Aurangzib's revenue regulations, based on Islamic orthodox doctrines, see J. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Ch. XI.

Tribe of Abdāli, formerly paid revenue 1,000 sheep; fixed in the time of the *Qāzilbāshis*[2] at 100 *tumāns*, 400 horse, 600 foot.

,, *of Abdāli*, 2,800 sheep, 5 *kharwārs* of butter. Afghāns 2,000 horse, 3,000 foot.

,, *of Jamandi*, responsible for 11 *tumāns* and 4,000 *dinārs*. Afghāns, 30 horse, 20 foot.

Surkh Rābāt i Balochān, revenue included under city of Qandahār. 50 horse, 50 foot.

Dependencies south of Qandahār.

Qalāt Banjārah, has a strong mud fort. 30 Balochi horses, 30 camels,—Baloch—500 horse, 500 foot.

Shorābak, 1,200 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 100 foot.

Tribe of Bisakh, 225 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 300 foot.

,, *of Mirkhāni*, 9 *tumāns* in money, 3,250 sheep. Afghans. 200 horse, 400 foot.

,, *of Maswāni*, 200 sheep. 7 *man* of butter. Afghans. 50 horse, 100 foot.

Dependencies north of Qandahār.

Territory of Qalāt Tartuk [? Barluk] has a very strong mud fort. 520 *tumāns*, 9,600 *dinārs* in money. 4,346 sheep; 1,171 *kharwārs* (of grain?) 1 *man* of butter; 1 *kharwār* of rice. Ghilzai Afghāns. 2,200 horse, 3,820 foot.

Hazārah Dahlah, [*Duhna*] 1,454 sheep; 20 *kharwārs* of grain; 200 horse, 500 foot.

Hazār Banjah Banii, [?] 160 sheep; 15 horse, 50 foot.

Territory of Tarin, has a strong fort. 15,000 sheep; 1,000 *kharwārs* of grain. Hazārah tribe. 1,500 horse, 3,000 foot.

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[1] *Duki* signifying a hill in the language of the country and may be opposed to *Deshi*, or plain Erskine's *Bāber*, p. 164.

[2] This name (*Qizil*, red, *bāsh*, head) was given to the seven Turkish tribes, descendants of the captives released by Timur at the request of Safiu'ddin ancestor of Shaikh Ismail the first of the Suffavean monarchs. To the gratitude of these Carmanian captives the *Safi*, (*Anglice* Sophy) dynasty of Persia owed its elevation to the throne. See the XIVth Chapter of Malcolm's *History of Persia*. Round the red cap was twisted a turban in 12 plaits to the memory and in honour of the 12 Imāms. D'Herbelot. The term is applied generally to the Persians, and is so employed by Bāber, p. 181.

Dependencies west of Qandahār.

Territory of the torrid tract (Garmsir). 602 *tumāns*, and 8,000 *dinārs* in money; 12,000 *kharwārs* of grain. 200 horse, 2,000 foot.
,, *of Zamin Dāwar*, 1,200 horse, 1,000 foot.
Tribe of Siāhkhānah, 42 *tumāns;* 30 horse, 70 foot.
Fort of Kushk Nakhod, has a mud fort, revenue included under city of Qandahār.

Sarkār of Kābul.

It is situated in the third and fourth climates. Its length from *Atak Benāres* on the Indus to the *Hindu koh* is 150 *kos;* its breadth from *Qarābāgh*[1] of *Qandahār* to *Cheghān Serā*, 100 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by Hindustān; on the north-west by the mountains and Ghor; between to the north lies *Anderāb* of Badakshān, the *Hindu koh* intervening; on the south by *Farmul* and *Naghr*. Adequate praise of its climate is beyond the power of pen to express, and although its winter is severe rather than moderate, it occasions no distress. The torrid and cold belts are so contiguous that the transition may be made from one to the other in a single day. Such approximation of summer and winter pasturage in an inhabited country is uncommon. Snow falls both in the plains and on the mountains; in the former from November and on the latter from September: Bāber states that the snowfall in the direction of Hindustān does not pass the crest of the *Bādām Cashmah*.[2] This doubtless was the case in those days, but at the present time it extends to the crest of the *Nimlah*, and indeed as far as the *Khaibar* pass. Even in summer

[1] According to Tieffenthaler 11 royal miles from Ghazni (about 19⅓ common miles) on the road to Qandahār, I, 21. The greater part of the account of this province is taken without acknowledgment by Abul Fazl from the *Memoirs of Bābar*, which should be in the hands of the reader for comparison and illustration of this brief sketch. Chenghānserāi contains one village only, according to Bābar, and lies in the entrance of Kafiristān. The large river known as the Chenghānsarāi river comes from the north-east behind Rajaur. Another smaller stream from the west after flowing through Pich, a district of Kāfiristān, falls into it. Naghr is sometimes written Naghz. It is now unknown but Erskine conjectures it to have been on the upper course of the Kurram, and Farmul probably Urghun where the Persian race of Farmulis still exist. Niamatu'llah (Dorn's *History of the Afghāns*, p. 57) says that Farmul was originally the name of a river running between the borders of Kābul and Ghazni and the dwellers on its banks were called Farmulis. See Elphinstone's *Cābul*, p. 315 for a fuller account of this division of the Tājiks.

[2] The pass of Bādām Chashmah lies south of the Kābul river between Little Kābul and Bārikāb. Erskine.

time covering is needed during the nights. There are various delightful fruits, but the melons are not so good.[1] Agriculture is not very prosperous. The country is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, so that the sudden invasion of an enemy is attended with extreme difficulty.

The *Hindu koh* separates Kābul from Badakshān and Balkh, and seven routes are employed by the people of Turān in their marches to and fro. Three are by the *Panjhir*[2] (valley), the highest of which is over the *Khawāk* pass; below this is *Tāl,* and the next lower in succession, *Bāzārak.* The best of these is *Tul* but it is somewhat long as its name implies. The most direct is over the heights of *Bāzārak.* Between the high range and *Parwān* are seven other heights called *Haft Bachah* (*the Seven Younglings*). From *Anderāb* two roads unite at the foot of the main pass and debouch (on Parwān) by the *Haft Bachah.* This is extremely arduous. Three other roads lead by Parān up the *Ghorband* valley. The nearest route is by the pass of *Yangi-yuli,*[3] (the new road) which leads down to *Waliyān* and *Khinjān;* another is the *Qibchāk pass*, also somewhat easy to traverse, and a third is the *Shibertu.* In the summer when the rivers rise, it is by this pass that they descend by way of *Bāmiān* and *Tālikān,* but in the winter the *Abdarah* route is chosen, for at this season, all other routes but this are closed.

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[1] Bābar confirms or originates this fact, and adds that those raised from seed brought from Khurāsān are tolerable. He praises those of Bokhāra, but pronounces those of Akhsi, a district north of the Jaxartes, to be beyond comparison the best.

[2] The word is so written by Bābar, but, according to Cunningham, (p. 32), the true name is *Panchir*, the Arabs writing *j* for the Indian *ch*. The modern spelling is *Panjshir*.

[3] I have corrected the inaccuracies of the text by the true readings in Bāber. Bāber himself passed through Bāmiān and by the Shibertu Kotal on his march from Khorasan to Kabul in February 1507. Three of these roads, the τριοδον of Strabo, leading to Bactria parted at Opiān near Charikār, the Hupiān of Bāber, identified with Alexandria Opiana by Cunningham who gives the routes as follows:

1. The north-east road, by the Panjshir valley, and over the Khāwak pass to Anderāb.
2. The west road by the Kushān valley, and over the Hindu Kush Pass to Ghori.
3. The south-west road up the Ghorband valley and over the Hājiyak (Hājigak) Pass to Bāmiān.

The first of these roads, he continues, was taken by Alexander on his march into Bactriana from the territory of the Paropamisadæ, and by Timur on his invasion of India. The second road, he supposes Alexander to have followed on his return from Bactriana, as Strabo mentions the choice of another and shorter route over the same mountains. The third was taken by Changiz Khān after his capture of Bāmiān; by Moorcroft and Burnes on their journey to Bokhara.

There is also a road leading from *Khurāsān* to *Qandahār* which is direct and has no mountain pass.

From Hindustān five roads* are practicable. 1. *Karapah*, which after traversing two defiles, leads to Jalālābād. This route is not mentioned by Bāber and doubtless was not used in his time. 2. *Khaibar*, this was formerly somewhat difficult, but by the command of His Majesty it has been made easily practicable for wheeled conveyance, and at the present time travellers from Turān and India take this route. 3. *Bangash* which is reached by crossing the Indus at the Dhankot ferry. 4. *Naghr*. 5. *Farmul*, by which the Indus must be crossed at the *Chaupārah* ferry.

Eleven languages are spoken in this province, each nationality using its own, *viz.*, Turkish, Mughal, Persian, Hindi, Afghāni, Pushtu, Parāchi, Geberi, Bereki, Lamghāni and Arabic.[1] The chief tribes are the *Hazārahs* and *Afghāns*, and the pasturage of the country is in the hands of these two clans. The *Hazārahs* are the descendants of the Changhatai army, sent by *Manku Qāān* to the assistance of *Hulaku Khān*. These troops were sent to these parts under the command of his son *Nikodār Oghlān*. Their settlements extend from Ghazni to Qandahār and from Maidān to the confines of Balkh. They number more than 100,000 families,[2] and the third part of which consists of cavalry. They possess horses, sheep and goats. They are divided into factions, each covetous of what they can obtain, deceptive in their common intercourse and their conventions of amity savour of the wolf.

The Afghāns consider themselves the descendants of the *Israelites*. They assert that their remote progenitor, named *Afghān*,[3] had three sons, *viz.*, *Saraban* to whom the *Sarabani* clan trace their lineage; the second, *Ghurghusht* from whom the *Ghurghustis* claim descent, and the third *Batan* to whom the pedigree of the *Batani* tribe is ascribed. From these three branches they developed into their several

* The best account of the passes between India and Kābul is C. R. Markham's paper on "The Mountain Passes on the Afghan Frontier of British India", in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society, 1879. Also Holdich.

[1] Babar adds Pashāi; Gabri is said in the Khulāsatu'l Ansāb, to be a place in Bajaur. Dorn, *p. 131*.

[2] Lit. houses; the Tartars reckon the numbers of their families by households, tents and sometimes by kettles. Erskine's *Bāber*.

[3] In Dorn, Abdur Rashid, surnamed Pathān. Rose's *Glossary of Punjab Castes and Tribes*, for more accurate information.

clans, each distinguished by its eponymous tribarch. The following septs unite in SARABAN, *viz.*, *Tarin*, *Baraich*, *Miyānah*, *Kharshin*, *Shirāni*, *Urmar*, *Kāsi*, *Jamand*, *Kheshgi*, *Katāni*,[1] *Khalil*, *Mohmandzai*, *Dāudzai*, *Yusufzai*, *Kaliyāni*,[2] and *Tarkalāni*. From GHURGHUSHT spring the *Surāli* (var. Surāni), *Jilam*, *Orakzai*, *Afridi*, *Jagtāni*, *Khattaki*, *Kararāni*, *Bāwar*, *Mansub*, *Kākar*, *Nāghar*, *Bāni*, *Maswāni*, *Pani*, and *Tāran*. To BATAN are ascribed the *Ghilzai*, *Lodi*, *Niyāzi*, *Lohāni*, *Sur*, *Bani*, *Sarwāni* and *Kakbor*.

It is said that *Mast Ali*[3] *Ghori* whom the Afghāns call *Mati* had illicit intercourse with one of the daughters of Batan. When the results of this clandestine intimacy were about to become manifest, he preserved her reputation by marriage, and three sons were born to him, *viz.*, *Ghilzai*, *Lodi*, and *Sarwāni*.

Some assert the Afghāns to be *Copts*, and that when the Israelites came to Egypt from Jerusalem, this people passed into Hindustān. The tradition is too long to be condensed within narrow limits, but it is noticed in passing as a fanciful digression.

There are many wild tribes, such as the *Khwājah Khizri*, *Qāqshāl*, *Maidāni*, *Uzbek*, *Kalatki*, *Parānchi*, *Nilpurchi*, *Bakderi*, *Bahsudi*, *Sidibāi*, *Tufakandāz* (matchlockmen), *Arab*, *Gilahbān* (shepherds) and *Tuqbai* but not as numerous as the first mentioned, and most of them at the present time have become settled colonists.

The *City of Kābul* is situated in the fourth climate. Its longitude is 104° 40′, and its latitude 34° 30′. It is one of

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[1] According to the *Khulāsat-u'l Ansāb* (Dorn, p. 127) the Katānis possess no territory but are scattered in single families. From Niāzi descend the Musakhail, Isakhail, Sambal Saharangh, conjointly called Niāzis: they reside about the town of Makhad on the banks of the Indus as far as Dera Ismail Khān. The descendants of Pani reside about Shikārpur. Another account places them, after their expulsion from their country, about Jeypur and Jodhpur where they subsist by traffic and carry merchandise to the Deccan. Nāghar's descendants reside about Dera Ghāzikhān, and Kākaris near Qandahār. The word 'zai' or 'zacy' as Raverty writes the word, signifies son', and answers to Mac, Fitz, and O. Suffixed to the tribal name, it means 'a man' of the particular clan.

[2] Probably a misscript for Gagiyāni.

[3] According to Dorn, Shāh Husain, Prince of Ghor, (pp. 46, 48, Part II). Matu was the name of Shaikh Patni's daughter and Shāh Husain not being of Afghān extraction, his descendants were called by the maternal name of Mati. The name of Ghilzai was given on account of the clandestine amour, *'ghil'* signifying thief, and *'zai'* born, a son.

the finest of ancient[1] cities, and is said to have been founded in the time of *Pashang*. It possesses a double earthwork fortress of considerable strength. To the south-west of the fortified town is a low hill which is a source of much beneficence, called *Shāh Kābul*,[2] doubtless with reference to an edifice erected upon it by one of its former kings. Upon its summit stands the citadel, and there was a separate ridge named *Aqābain*. As it somewhat overlooked the fort, it was included within its precincts by royal command. Skirting its base are fair embankments, pleasure-gardens and delightful groves, amongst which the *Shahr Ārā* (Pride of the City) are especially beautiful. The city is watered by two streams. One of these, called the Jui Khatibān, enters from *Lalandar* and flowing through the *Shahr Ārā* passes by the city; the other, the *Jui Pul Maṣtān*,[3] more wholesome and limpid than the former, from the narrows of the *Deh i Yaqub* winds past the Delhi Gate and runs on to *Deh i Mamurah*. Near this a canal called *Mahum Anagah*[4] has been brought, which is of extreme convenience, and adjacent is the *Gulkanah* quarter fair to the eye and dear to the heart. From the hill (of Shāh Kābul) flow three streams citywards; at the head of one is the shrine of Khwājah Hamu [Shams]; the second, according to popular belief, had been visited by the prophet *Khizr;* the third is over against (the tomb of) *Khwājah* Abdu's Samad known as *Khwājah Roshanāi*. The wise of ancient times considered

[1] It was the old capital of the country, says Cunningham, before the Macedonian conquest, and Ibn Haukal states that inauguration at Kābul was a necessary qualificaiton for government in a king. Tieffenthaler names 4 gates, *viz.*, *Lahor, Kābul, Nalbandi* and *Fatouhi*, adding that near this last was an ancient castle with mud walls. It was pulled down by Ahmed Abdāli, and the houses in front of the Fatouhi gate razed to the ground. A new fort was then erected of brick work 'sur un lieu elevé', and its garden laid out by the governor.

[2] Erskine says that there is a hill *south* of Kābul on which Qābil (Cain) the founder, is said to have been interred, but the only hill south-west is that known as Bābar Badshāh where Bābar himself was interred, and is the great holiday resort of the people. Bābar's description is as follows: "There is a small ridge which runs out from the hill of Shāh Kābul and is called Aqābain, and there is besides another small hill on which stands the citadel. The fortified town lies on the north of the citadel." Erskine identifies Aqābain with that now called Ashikān Arifān, which connects with Bābar Bādshāh. The Bālā Hissār is on the same ridge further east and south-east of the town. The beneficence of the Shāh Kābul mentioned in the text, is due to three streams that issue from it, two of which are in the vicinity of the shady and retired Gulkanah, the scene, as Bābar not regretfully notes, of many a debauch. The position of the citadel and of the conjoined hills, has been carefully described by Forster, Travels, p. 73.

[3] It is a canal derived from the river Logar as it enters the plains of Shevaki and has a course of about five miles. *I. G.*

[4] The name of Akbar's nurse (Anagah) who attended him from his cradle and exercised a backstair influence that affected many political fortunes.

Kābul and Qandahār as the twin gates of Hindustān, the one leading to Turkestān and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders, and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travel.

In Kābul as well as in Samarqand and Bokhāra, a *parganah* which comprises towns and villages is called a *Tumān*. The *Tumān of Bigrām* is called *Parashāwar*, the spring season of which is delightful. Here is a shrine greatly venerated called *Korkhatri*,[1] visited by people especially *yogis* from distant parts.

The *Tumān of Neknihāl*[2] is one of the dependencies of *Lamghān*. The residence of the governor was formerly at *Adinahpur* but is now at *Jelālābād*. There is here no snowfall and the cold is not so severe. Nine streams irrigate the cultivated lands; the pomegranates have no seed-stones. Near Jelālābād is the *Bāgh i Safā*[3] (*The Garden of Purity*) a memorial of Bābar, and adjacent to *Adinahpur* is the *Bāgh i Wafā* (*The Garden of Fidelity*) another relic of the same monarch. To the south lies the stupendous range of the *Safed koh* (*The White Mountain*) with its perpetual snows from which it derives its name. In this neighbourhood is a low hill[4] where when it snows in Kābul, a similar snowfall occurs.

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[1] This shrine, is mentioned by Bābar as one of the holy places of the Hindu jogis who came from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this spot. He rode out to Bigrām to see the great tree but was not shown the shrine in 1505. Fourteen years later his curiosity was gratified. Gor Khatri was once a Buddhist monastery, (*I. G.*) then rebuilt into a Hindu temple, and now used as a *sarāi*.

[2] In the *I. G. Nangnihār* and by Bābar Nangenhār or Nekerhār, the district south of the Kābul river in the province of Jelālābād, that on the north, bounded on the west and east by the Alingār and Kunar rivers, being Lamghān. It lies along the Kābul river on the south, and the name is said to mean 'nine rivers'. The *I. G.* affirms it to be a distortion of the ancient name of *Nagarahāra*, identified by Lassen with the *Nagara* of Ptolemy regarded by Cunningham as identical with Jelālābād. Adinahpur is south of the Kābul river.

[3] A garden of this name was planted by Bābar at Keldeh-Kehār (Kuller Kaher) near Pind Dādan Khān, eleven years after that of the Bāgh i Wafā near Adinahpur south of the Kābul river. It was situated 10 *kos* from Bahrah in the middle of the hill of Jud on a level plot of ground in the centre of which was a lake which received the water of the surrounding hills and was about five miles in circumference. *Bahrah* or *Bhira* is marked in the maps 20 *kos* from Kuller Kaher, but the name is said to be common in the district.

[4] Bābar is more explicit. 'On the south of the fort of Adinahpur is the *Surkh-rud* (runs into the Kābul river between Jagdalik and Gandamak). On the north is a detached mass of mountain dividing Nangenhār and the Lamghānāt. Whenever it snows at Kābul, the snow falls also on the top of this mountain by which means the people of the Lamghānāt can tell when it snows at Kābul.

The *Tumān of Mandrāur*: monkeys here abound. The *Alishang* river uniting with the Alingār joins the *Bārān*, while the *Cheghān Sarāi* river flowing through the north-east quarter enters *Kator*.[1]

The *Tumān of Alishang* is surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow in which is the source of the *Alishang* river. The inhabitants are called *Kāfirs*. In the vicinity is a tomb asserted by the people to be that of *Lām* the father of Noah, called also Lamek (Lamech). The people here pronounce the *kāf* like a *ghain*, and hence the currency of the name (Lamghān).

The mountainous *Tumān of Najrāo*[2] also is peopled by the *kāfirs*. Instead of lamp they burn the *chilghozah*.[3] There is also an animal called the *Flying Fox*,[4] which flies upward about the height of a yard. There is also a rat which exhales the smell of musk.

Charkh is a village of the *Tumān of Loghar* which gives its name to *Maulana Yaqub Charkhi*. *Sajāwand* is also one of the well-known villages of this *Tumān*.

The mountains of the *Tumān of Badrāo* (?) are the home of *kāfirs* and wild Hāzarahs and Afghāns.

The *Tumān of Alsā*[5] is situated intermediately between the torrid and cold belts. Birds cross this tract about the beginning of spring and good sport is had.

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[1] Bābar's words are: 'The river of Cheghansarāi, after passing through Kaferistān from the north-east, unites with the river Bārān, in the *Baluk* of Kāmeh and then passes onwards to the east.'

[2] It lies north-east from Kābul in the hill country according to Bābar, who adds that their inhabitants are wine drinkers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their usages.

[3] The seed of the *Pinus gerardiana*; the cone, which is as big as a man's two fists, and also the tree itself, said to be derived from *chihal* 'forty' and *ghoza* a 'nut'.

[4] Copied from Bābar whose account is as follows: "It is an animal larger than a squirrel with a kind of leathern web stretching between its fore and hind feet like a bat's wing. It is said that they can fly a bowshot from a higher tree to a lower one. I myself have never seen them fly, but have let one go beside a tree which it quickly clung to and ascended, and when driven away, expanded its wings like a bird and came to the ground without injury." This must be the flying squirrel, which does not fly though wing-handed, but is supported by its membrane as it leaps.

[5] Bābar, *Alah-sāi*, which Erskine says is now called Tugow. "It lies two or three farsangs east of Najrāo from which you advance straight towards Alah-sāi." Bābar places it between the cold and warm belts, and says that the birds take their flight across in the spring. Fowlers sit behind, scream and raise nets as the flights of fowl approach and intercept them. In the winter season the birds come down to the skirts of the hills and if in their flight they happen to pass over a vineyard they are no longer able to fly and are caught. A similar story is told of some fields near Whitby. (Notes to *Marmion*). The pomegranates of Alah-sāi are famous in the country, and are sent to Hindustān.

The *Tumān of Bangash*[1] furnishes 7,000 Cavalry and 87,800 Infantry, *viz.* :—

	Cavalry	Infantry
Mohmand	500	500
Khalil	500	6,500
Dāudzai	3,000	37,000
Gagiyāni	500	4,500
Muhammadzai	400	4,000
Sini	100	1,400
Utmānkhail	50	850
Ghilzai	100	2,900
Khizrkhail	30	950
Sherzād	20	1,400
Kharguni [Khar Kuli] ...	10	200
Khattaki	200	4,000
Abdu'r Rahmāni ...	100	2,500
Afridi	500	10,500
Oruk, (Orakzai) ...	500	5,500
	6,510	82,700

The *Tumān of Gardez*[2] has a strong fort. The houses are for the most part three and four stories high.

Ghaznin is situated in the third climate, and is also known as *Zābul*, and was the capital of Sultān Mahmud, Sultān Shahābu'ddin and several other monarchs.

This territory was formerly called Zābulistān, and some reckon Qandahār as included within it. Here is the last resting-place of *Hakim Sanāi*[3] and many other saintly personages. The winter season is said to resemble that of Samarqand and Tabriz. A river runs from north to south which waters all the arable tracts. The cultivators are put

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[1] Occupies the lower grounds from Gardez to Kohāt. Bābar says it is infested by Afghān robbers such as the Khugiāni, Khirilchi, Buri and the Linder.

[2] Upwards of sixty-five miles south-east from Kābul. Bābar says that the Daroghā of the Tumān of Zurmat, south of Kābul and south-east of Ghazni, resides at Gardez which is not named as a separate Tumān. Next follows the Tumān of Farmul omitted by Abul Fazl. It is notable only in the fact that the Shaikhzādahs, who were treated, as Babar says, with such distinguished favour in Hindustān during the time of the Afghāns, were all of Farmul and descended from Shaikh Muhammad Musalmān.

[3] This tomb is mentioned by Elphinstone, *Cābul*, 433. He was a mystic of high authority and repute whom the great Ṣufi Maulanā Rum looked up to as his master. He flourished under Bahrām Shāh, son of Masaud Shāh of Ghazni (A.D. 1118-52) to whom he dedicated his *Hadiqat ul Haqāiq*. He left also the usual Diwān which is necessary to every Persian poet's fame or ambition. He is said to have died in 1131 at the age of 62. *Encyclo. Islam*, iv. 146; Browne, *Lit. History of Persia*, ii. 317.

to great trouble as fresh soil has to be supplied each year to fertilize the land and it becomes then more productive than that of Kābul. The metal called *ruin*[1] is here abundant and is imported into Hindustān. In the time of Bābar there was here a tomb which shook whenever the praises of Muhammad were recited. The investigations of acute observers discovered that this was effected by fraud of relic-mongers.[2] There is also a spring into which if any filth be thrown, a thunderstorm ensues with a fall of snow and rain.

The *Tumān of Dāman i koh*[3] has a profusion of flowers and its spring and autumn are matchless in beauty.

In the *Tumān of Ghorband* the variety of floral hues is beyond expression. Three and thirty species of tulips here bloom and one kind named the *rose-scented tulip* breathes the fragrance of the blush-rose.[4]

Mines of silver and lapis-lazuli are also found. Near the mountains is a sandy tract called *Khwājah Reg i Rawān*[5] and from this quicksand, the sound as of drums is heard in the summer time.

In the *Tumān of Zohāk* and *Bāmiān*, the fortress of *Zohāk* is a monument of great antiquity, and in good preservation, but the fort of Bāmiān is in ruins. In the mountain-side caves have been excavated and ornamented with plaster

[1] Composed of four *sers* of copper to 1½ of lead. See Vol. I, p. 41.

[2] Albiruni in his *Chronology*, Chap. XIII alludes to the "famous well in the mountains of Farghāna" which causes rain if contaminated and adduces several similar traditions. Bābar says that he made strict inquiry for the well, but no one could give him the slightest information about it. The discovery of the fraud at the tomb is due to his observation. A scaffolding had been erected over it, so contrived, that it could be set in motion when any one stood upon it, so that a lookeron imagined it was the tomb that moved. He directed the persons who attended the tomb to come down from the scaffolding, after which no number of prayers or praises could persuade it to stir.

[3] The beautiful plain is better known as *Koh Dāman*, the *hill skirt* of the Paghmān range. The gardens of Istalif at its north extremity, gay with flowers, its limpid ice-cold streams, the Arghwān trees with their vivid blossoms of scarlet and yellow seen in no other part of the country its groves of oak and spreading plane trees have excited the eloquent admiration of Bābar.

[4] It is needless to say that the nomenclature of native flora by Persian or Indian writers is extremely unscientific and vague, and beyond a few well-known kinds, the rest are indiscriminately expressed by a shuffling of the few botanical terms they possess, and the same name does duty for more than one flower. The etymology of Ghorband is given by Bābar from *band*, a steep hill pass, and *ghor*, the country to which it mainly leads.

[5] This is mentioned by Bābar. The name of Khwājah *Reg i rawān* (Khwājah quicksand) appears in the margin of Elphinstone's Turki copy of Bābar's *Memoirs* as that of one of three personages known as the *Seh Yārān* or Three Friends who have given this name to a fountain in the *Koh Dāman* (Khwājah Seh Yārān) mentioned by Bābar. The other two are Khwājah Maudud Chashti and Khwājah Khawend Said, p. 147.

and paintings. Of these there are 12,000 which are called *Sumaj* and in former times were used by the people as winter retreats. Three colossal figures are here : one is the statue of a man, 80 yards in height; another that of a woman 50 yards high, and the third is that of a child measuring 15 yards. Strange to relate, in one of these caves is placed a coffin containing the body of one who reposes in his last sleep.[1] The oldest and most learned of antiquarians can give no account of its origin, but suppose it to be of great antiquity. In days of old the ancients prepared a medicament with which they anointed corpses and consigned them to earth in a hard soil. The simple deceived by this art, attribute their preservation to a miracle.

The territory of Kābul comprises twenty *Tumāns*. The Emperor Bābar in his Memoirs sets down the revenue at twenty *lakhs* of *Shahrukhis*, inclusive of *Tamgha*[2] imposts, equivalent to three *lakhs* and twenty thousand *Akbar Shāhi* rupees, the rupee being reckoned at forty *dāms*.

At the present time notwithstanding the remission of various taxes, by the blessing of this ever-during rule, the revenue has reached the amount of six *krors*, seventy-three *lakhs*, six thousand, nine hundred and eighty-three *dāms*. (Rs. 1,682,674-9). The increase is to be attributed to the improved state of the cultivation, and also that *Parashāwar* and *Ashtaghar*[3] were not included in the former account, and lastly, that the revenue officers of that time were not as capable as they are at present.

Sarkār of Kābul.

Containing 22 Mahals : Revenue 80,507,465 *Dāms* in money : *Suyurghāl* 137,178 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 28,187. Infantry, 212,700.

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[1] The punctuation in the text is clearly misplaced.

[2] Inland tolls. See Vol. I, 189, but Bābar's words are : "The amount of the revenue of Kābul, whether arising from *settled lands or raised from the inhabitants of the waste*, is eight *lakhs of Shāhrukhis*." The word 'twenty' *bist* must be a copyist's error for *hasht* eight, as the Akbar Shāhi rupee being equal to 2½ Shāhrukhis, the whole would give exactly three *lakhs* and twenty thousand rupees. Erskine notes *tamgha* as the stamp tax. All animals, goods, clothes &c. brought into the country are stamped or marked and a tax collected.

[3] A corruption of Hashtnagar, now a *tahsil* of the Peshāwar district. The "eight towns" of which it was composed were Tangi, Shirpao, Umrzai, Turangzai, Usmānzai, Rajur, Chārsada and Parāng. The last two are seated close together in a bend of the Kābul river and the sites of all are shown in Map IV. of Cunningham's *Anct. Geog.*, p. 46.

City of Kābul—Revenue, 1,275,841 *Dāms*. Cavalry, 7,000 Infantry, 15,000.

Dependencies east of Kābul.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Bigrām	9,692,410	...	...		...
,, Neknihāl (Nangnihar)	11,894,003	1,224	200	5,000	...
Buluk i Kāmah (not recorded)	...	...	...		...

North.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Mandrāur ...	2,684,880	...	50	500	...
,, Alishang ...	3,701,150	1948	50	5000	Alishāng.
,, Alingār ...	1,544,670	...	500	1000	Lamghāni.
Buluk Najrāo	2,045,451	...	3000	3000	Kāfir.
Tumān of Loghar	3,193,214	22,960	50	500	...
,, Badrāo	413,885	...	50	500	...
,, Alsāi	600,000	...	...	5000	Dilazāk.
,, Panjhir (Panjshir)	461,940	...	...	35,000	Pani.

South.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Bangash	3,332,347	...	7,087	87,800	Afghān.
,, Kohat. (var. Kohast, Karbast) ...	701,620	...	300	5000	Orakzai &c.
,, Naghr (var. Naghz)	854,000	...	1000	7000	Afghān, Banukhail.*
,, Gardez	2,030,002	...	200	1000	Afghān.
,, Maidān	1,606,799	1,864	2000	...	Hazārah Maidāni.
,, Ghaznin	3,768,642	1,076	1000	5000	...

* Variant, *Shahu Khail.*

West.

	Revenue. D.	Suyurghāl. D.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Tribes.
Tumān of Farmul	325,712	..	1000	5000	...
" Dāman i koh ...	16,461,785	...	5000	30,000	...
" Ghorband ...	1,574,760	...	3000	5000	Hazārah and Turkomān.
" Zohāk Bāmiān ...	861,750	...	200	1000	...

In the year 77 of the Flight (A.D. 696-7) Abdu'l Malik b. Marwān removed Umayyah b. Abdu'l Malik from the government of Khurasān and conferred it upon Hajjāj b. Yusuf of the tribe of Thakif, and sent Abdu'llah b. Abu Bakr to Sistān, who levied an army, marched against Ranthel, king of Kābul. The latter unable to withstand him took refuge in the depths of the mountains. Abdu'llah not realising the difficulties of his undertaking eagerly pursued. The mountaineers barricading the passes with stone breastworks, blocked his road. The invading force was hard-pressed and reduced to extremity through want of provisions. Abdu'llah was therefore compelled to purchase a retreat with the sum of 700,000 *dirhams*, equivalent in present money value to 3,00,000 rupees. Shuraih b. Hāni in indignation at the compact advanced to an engagement notwithstanding his being stricken in years, and fell bravely fighting. Hajjāj on hearing of the event, reprimanded Abdu'llah and removed him from his command. In the year 80 (A.D. 699) he appointed Abdu'r Rahmān b. Muhammad Ashath to conduct the war against Ranthel and bestowed on him the government of Sistān and the adjacent territory. Abdu'r Rahmān on his arrival in Kābul adopted the former tactics, but prudently occupied each defile with his pickets and performing prodigies of valour, secured a large booty. The difficulties of the country, however, prevented its permanent occupation. Hajjāj disapproving his retreat sent him a severe reprimand in the following terms: "Although your exertions during the present year have been strenuous, the retribution demanded by your dishonourable retreat is that immediately on the receipt of this letter, you take possession of the country. Should you, through persistence in your own opinions or through fear of

the consequences to yourself, refuse to comply and defer operations till the coming year, you are removed from your command, are hereby required to look upon Ishāq b. Muhammad as your commander and to place yourself under his orders." Abdu'r Rahmān, confiding in the strength of possession, disloyally formed a compact with his officers and refusing submission, made peace with the king of Kābul and marched against Hajjāj. The conditions of peace were that Abdu'llah if victorious should altogether withdraw from Kābul and in no way molest it, but if defeated, the king should on his part afford him protection and assistance. Hajjāj was enraged at this rebellious conduct, and gave him battle outside the walls of Tustar.[1] Abdu'r Rahmān was victorious, and Hajjāj retreated to Basrah. A second engagement took place in which the rebel was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Bast [in Luristan] which was held by one of his lieutenants. This accursed of God and man, with a view to ingratiate himself with Hajjāj, seized him with the intention of surrendering him to Hajjāj. The king of Kābul, on being informed of the circumstance, set out with the greatest expedition and releasing him, returned with him to Kābul. On several subsequent occasions, with the assistance of the king, he continued the war but without success. In the lunar year 84, (A.D. 703) Ranthel overcome by the persuasion and seductive promises of Hajjāj, sent Abdu'llah to him as a prisoner. The latter resenting the dishonour, whilst on the road, threw himself from a precipice and was killed.

In A.H. 107 (A.D. 725-6) under the caliphate of Hishām b. Abdu'l Malik, Amin b. Abdu'llah Qashari, governor of Khurasān conquered Ghor, Gharjistān, the territory of Nimroz[2] and Kābul and made (the latter) his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbās, it was held by the governor of Khurasān, until under the Sāmānis, Alptegin a slave of that House, withdrew from their obedience, took possession of Ghaznin and Kābul and asserted his independence. On his death Sabuktegin father of the great Mahmud succeeded to the kingdom, and it continued under the House of Ghazni. From this it passed to that of Ghor and thence into the pos-

[1] Now *Shuster* in Khuzistān. It was first conquered in A. H. 20 in the Caliphate of Omar.

[2] Usually applied to Sejestān. Elliot. *Arabs in Sind*. p. 172.

session of their slaves, one of whom was Tāju'ddin Eldoz. The kings of Khwārizm succeeded, yielding in turn to the Great Qāān Changiz Khān. From him it reverted to Timur and is held by his descendants. May its fortune, through the enduring justice, unstinted clemency and ever increasing wisdom of the Imperial House, be blessed by an unfading prosperity.

AIN 16.

The Karoh or Kos.

The system of survey and measurement, as promoting the interests of civilization having deeply engaged the attention of His Majesty, directions were issued for the ascertainment of distances and their determination by the standard measure of the *kos*. The *kos* was fixed at 100 *tanābs,*[1] each consisting of 50 *Ilāhi gaz,* or of 400 poles (*bāns*) each pole of 12½ *gaz*. Both of these measurements give 5000 *gaz* to the *kos*.

Whenever His Majesty travels, the distances are recorded in pole-measurements by careful surveyors, and their calculations are audited by the superintendent and inspector.

Sher Khān fixed the *kos* at 60 *jaribs*, each of 60 *Sikandari gaz* which measurement is employed in the *Delhi* country. In *Mālwah* it consists of 90 *tanābs* of 60 *gaz* each and in *Gujarāt* is called the *cow kos*, that is, the greatest distance at which the ordinary lowing of a cow can be heard, which is put by experts at 50 *jaribs*. In *Bengal* it is called

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[1] See p. 61 of this Volume. This subject is discussed by Elliot. (*Races, N.-W.* p. II. 194). Cunningham (*Anct. Geog. of Ind.* App. B. p. 571) and Tieffenthaler (I. 23). To the measurements of Abul Fazl, I may add the length of the *kos,* as fixed by Bābar. On Dec. 19th. 1526 he gave orders, as his Memoirs record, to have the distance measured between Agra and Kābul; that at every 9 *kos,* a *minār* should be raised 12 *gaz* in height surmounted by a pavilion; that at every 10 *kos,* a post-house for 6 horses should be placed. The *kos* was fixed in conformity with the *mil* according to the following verse in Turki.

> Four thousand paces are one *mil*
> Know that the men of Hindustān call it a *kuroh.*
> This pace is a cubit and a half ;
> Every cubit is six hand-breaths;
> Each hand-breadth is six inches; and again each inch
> Is the breadth of six barleycorns. Know all this.

The measuring *tanāb*, was to consist of 40 *gaz* or paces, each measuring one and a half of the cubit that has been mentioned and so equal to nine hand-breadths, and 100 of these *tanābs* were to go to one *kos*.—Erskine adds that the larger *gaz* or pace was 9 hand-breadths; the smaller or cubit, 6 hand-breadths.

dhapiyah,[1] which is the distance that a fast runner can traverse at one breath. Some assert that it is the distance within which a green leaf placed on the head of one who walks rapidly, will become dry.

In ancient tables of measurement by *farsakh* of distances and magnitudes, it is recorded that the circumference[2] of the globe according to the method of the old geographers, was 8,000 *farsakh*, but 6,800 of the modern school, while all agree in defining a *farsakh* as three *kos*. The former made the *kos* 3000 *gaz*, each *gaz* of 32 digits. The latter fixed it at 4000 *gaz*, each of 24 digitis. The digit with both was the breadth of six ordinary barley-corns placed front to back in succession, and the breadth of each barley corn was equal to the thickness of six hairs of the mane of a Turki horse. To short-sighted superficial observers, it would appear that these two systems differ in their estimate of the *kos*, but it is clear to the perspicacity of the far-seing that their conclusion is the same, and the apparent difference is caused by the variance in the number of the digits as may be proved by the rule of proportion. This consists of four numbers, the first bearing the same ratio to the second, as the third does to the fourth, as for instance, two is to four as eight is to sixteen. Of the properties of this relation one is this that the product of the extremes is equal to the product of the means, as is evident from the example above mentioned. The proof is given in the 19th proposition of the 7th book of Euclid[3] where the apparent contradiction is removed. The ratio of 3000 to 4000 is the ratio of 24 to 32. Although the four numbers are here

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[1] The word is Hindi and means a short run according to Wilson's *Glossary*, about ¼ of a *kos* or half a mile.

[2] The circumference of the earth, according to our calculations is 24,897 miles and the *farsakh* is about 3¼ English miles; there are of course many local variations. Hamdu'llah Mustaufi, the author of the *Nuzhat'ul Qulub*, says that the *farsakh* under the Kaianian dynasty contained 3 miles of 12,000 feet; that of Khwarizm was 15,000 yards; in Azarbijān and Armenia, 12,000 yards, while in the two Ira'ks and the neighbouring provinces it was reckoned at 6000 yards, and in some other places at 8000.

[3] The *Elements* of Euclid were restored to Europe by translations from the Arabic which were begun to be made under the Caliphs Harun and Mamun at a time when the very name of that geometrician had disappeared from the West. Nasiru'ddin Tusi (see p. 4, n. 4 of this Volume) in the preface to his Arabic Edition of the thirteen books of the Elements, describes their original composition by Euclid and the subsequent addition of two books by Hypsicles. From it I transcribe the enunciation of the proposition referred to in the text.

"When four numbers are proportionals, the product of the 1st and 4th = the product of the 2nd and 3rd, and *if* the product of the 1st and 4th = the product of the 2nd and 3rd, the ratio of the 1st is to the 2nd as the ratio of the 3rd to the 4th."

severally distinct, the product of 3000 and of 32 which are the extremes, is equal to the product of 4000 and of 24 which are the means, namely, 96,000. Thus the result in both is the same, and the discrepancy in the number of yards is through the difference in the number of digits. Each *farsakh* therefore consists of 12,000 *gaz* (of 24 digits) according to the measure of the moderns or of 9000 (of 32 digits) according to the *gaz* of the ancients. The properties and virtues of these proportional numbers are manifold. Among them are the following: If one of the extremes be unknown, multiply the means together and divide by the known extreme, and the quotient is the unknown extreme. For instance in the given example, if 2, the first extreme, be unknown, by multiplying the means together which are 4 and 8, we get 32. Dividing this by 16, the quotient (2) is the unknown extreme. In the same way, if the other extreme, which is 16, be unknown, by dividing the product of the means by 2, the known extreme, the quotient is 16. Again, if the unknown quantity be one of the means, we divide the product of the extremes by the known mean, and the quotient is the unknown mean. For example, if 4, the first mean, be unknown, by dividing the product of the extremes, which is 32, by the known mean which is 8, the quotient is 4. And if the second mean, 8, be unknown, by dividing the product of the extremes by 4, the quotient is 8.

By the same means the distance and altitude from the base of a given object can be ascertained. A staff of a given height is fixed upright. Its shadow and that of the elevate object are measured. The ratio of the shadow of the staff to the staff is proportional to the ratio of the shadow of the object-height to the height itself. Again, a staff is fixed in the ground in the same line with the height to be measured and regarded from such a point that the line of vision may pass over the top of the staff to the summit of the object-height; the ratio of the distance from the standpoint of vision to the base of the staff is to the height of the staff as the ratio of the distance from the same point to the base of the object is to the height of the object. And if the altitude of an object be measured in a mirror or water and the like, a position must be taken whence the incident line of vision may strike the summit of the (reflected) object-height. The ratio of the distance of the reflected summit from the foot of the spectator is to his height as the ratio of the distance

of the same point from the base of the object is to the height of the object. And if it be required to find the depth of a well, the observer must stand where his line of vision traversing the brink of the well touches the level bottom of the well on the side opposite to him. The ratio of the distance of the brink of the well from the foot of the observer is to his height as the breadth of the well is to its depth.*

Some take the *barid* as the standard measure of length and make.

1 *barid*	equal to	3 *farsakh.*
1 *farsakh*	,,	3 *mil.*
1 *mil*	,,	12,000 *bāa* (pole).
1 *bāa*	,,	4 *gaz.*
1 *gaz*	,,	24 digits.
1 digit	,,	6 barleycorns.
1 barleycorn	,,	6 hairs of a mule's tail.

According to the Hindu philosophers—

8 barleycorns stripped of husks and laid breadth-ways	make	1 digit (*angusht*).
24 digits	,,	1 *dast* (cubit).
4 *dast*	,,	1 *dand* (pole or perch) or *dhanuk.*
2000 *dand*	,,	1 *karoh* or *kos.*
4 *karoh*	,,	1 *yoojana.*

Some measure by the steps of a woman with a water-jar on her head and carrying a child in her arms, reckoning a thousand such steps to a *kos.*

Praise be unto God that the institutes of imperial administration have been completed and a general survey of the Empire, by the aid of divine grace, placed upon record. The numbers of the tribal contingents and the chronology of the ancient kings with some other particulars have cost considerable labour, and from the conflicting accounts received, I was well nigh relinquishing the task, but the decrees of fate cannot be resisted. I have set down what has best commended itself to my judgment, hoping that it may win lustre from the light of public acceptance and its errors escape the carping of illiberal criticism.

END OF VOLUME II.

* This method of calculating distance and altitudes is more scientifically given with illustrations in the *Siddhanta Stromani* of Pundit Bapu Deva.

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11. The Legend of the Topes (THŪPAVAMṢA)—Translated by Dr. B. C. Law.
12. Maāsir-i-Alamgiri, Eng. tr. by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar.

THE

Ā'ĪN-I AKBARĪ

3

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

'AIN-I-ĀKBARI

OF

ABUL FAZL-I-'ALLAMI

VOL. III

(An encyclopædia of Hindu philosophy, science, literature and customs, with the life of the Author and Akbar's wise sayings)

Translated into English

By COLONEL H. S. JARRETT

Secretary and Member, Board of Examiners, Calcutta.

Revised and further annotated by

SIR JADU-NATH SARKAR,

Kt. C.I.E., Hony D Litt., M.A.,

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Colonel Jarrett's English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III. (first published in 1893-'96) has been long out of print, though there is always a demand for it and second-hand copies are now selling at fancy prices. But a mere reprint of his edition would not do justice to the present state of Oriental scholarship and would naturally disappoint the modern reader. Jarrett began the preparation of his translation about 1890, that is fully 57 years ago. Among the authorities he most frequently quotes in his notes are D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale* (1697 A.D.), D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), De Guignes's *Histoire Generale des Huns* (1756), Max Muller's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), Davies's *Hindu Philosophy*, Colebrooke's *Essays* (1805-37) and Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841).

Since then a complete revolution in our knowledge of these branches of orientology has been effected by the publication of Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Grundriss* (Indo-Aryan ed. by Buhler and Iranian by Geiger and Kuhn), Winternitz's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, and the histories of Hindu Philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S. N. Das Gupta, besides many learned special monographs. In Oriental geography, the work of the modern French and German explorers in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Africa is, except for one or two of the earliest published, entirely unrepresented in Jarrett's notes, and how valuable their information is we can judge by contrasting his remarks on any place-name with the account of it given in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

Thus, the first task of an editor of Jarrett's translation is to modernise his notes and elucidations by sweeping away his heaps of dead leaves. My second aim has been to lighten the burden of his notes, many of which are not only obsolete in information but prolix to the extent of superfluity. It is, I hold, a mistake of the translator's duty to try to make a modern reader get all his ideas of Hindu philosophy, literature, science and mythology, or Islamic hagiography, topography and science from an English translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Abul Fazl's original work was meant to serve as a handy encyclopædia for readers of Persian who knew no other language and had no access to standard works even in the Persian and Arabic languages. The modern reader, versed in English, will find very much fuller and far more accurate information on these subjects in the voluminous encyclopædias and standard monographs in the English language which have been published in our own times. The law of copyright would probably not permit me to transfer column after column of matter from these modern works to my footnotes, as Jarrett has done with the works of D'Herbelot and other antiquated sources. I have, therefore, totally omitted his lengthy quotations from these authors and given instead exact page references to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and other modern authorities, which are available to serious students in the libraries of learned societies and Universities.

I have also economised space and saved the reader from frequent unnecessary interruptions by the omission of the notes on the emendations of the printed Persian text made by the translator. The editing of many of the volumes in the Persian and Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series, was not done with the necessary care and accuracy, as learned circles have found to their vexation. Therefore all obvious misprints and wrong readings have been silently corrected in this new edition of the translation and hundreds of notes of the first edition under this head eliminated. For example, on p. 68, we had "Lakhnauti, in Bengal" followed by the translator's note "The text has *Nek* for *Bang*." Such errors, due to the careless placing of dots (*nuqta*) by copyists or proof-readers, are too obvious to raise any doubt ; this note has been excluded by me as unnecessary. But in every really important case, where the emendation of the text raises a vital question or leaves room for difference of opinion, the notice of such emendation has been retained in the new edition.

Abul Fazl's copyists or their successors made many errors and omissions in the matter of the latitude and longitude of places, all of which were corrected with meticulous care by Jarrett ; I have retained all his corrections but dropped his references to the errors in the Persian text. On p. 104, Jarrett himself admits in despair, "The whole (geographical) list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer".

Abul Fazl's professed aim in writing the *Ain-i-Akbari* was to give the Persian-reading world of his day a clear idea of the literature, philosophy, arts and sciences of the Hindus, and the saints and heroes of India; but he also tried to adorn the subject by giving a brief account of the Muslim world, both in and out of India,—by means of a short compilation from well-known Arabic and Persian authorities composed outside India. The portions of the *Ain* which serve the second purpose, make no claim to originality and have no historical value; their accuracy is vitiated by Abul Fazl's possession of very poor manuscripts of the Arabic works used by him. It is therefore not worth the while to note every one of the mistakes he (or his copyists) made for this reason.

No remark made above should be taken to cast any reflection on Col. Jarrett's scholarship or belittle the stupendous task that he accomplished with immense industry and deep and varied learning,—combining the wisdom of the East and the West,—in translating and annotating the *Ain-i-Akbari*, volumes II and III. He had to translate a very difficult book from a few badly transcribed and unhelpful texts, and to throw light on a wide range of technical subjects current in the middle ages but now obscure.

As will be seen, I have ventured to differ from him and given my own version in only four cases of importance,—*viz.*, the trick for curing gluttony (p. 432 of this edition), Alexander's stratagem against Porus (p. 440), the benefits of hunting (p. 451), and Akbar's principles of marriage (p. 449); the remaining examples of change are mostly verbal. In all other places the changes made in the present edition consist merely of the omission of obsolete or useless notes, the compression of prolix or partly irrelevant ones, and the modernisation of the information in all the notes that remain. Jones's translation of the *Hitopadesa* (p. 438, *note* 11), has been corrected as he had dropped the word *iba* (= as if) of the original Sanskrit verse. The next most noticeable difference in this edition is the omission of all Greek extracts and literary quotations from Latin. This change has been rendered necessary by the difference between the class of readers whom Jarrett had in view in 1890* and those who will mostly consult this second edition of 1947. The present conditions of paper supply and printing in Calcutta

* On p. 54 of his edition, Jarrett, in referring to the holy city of Medinah, distinguished it not by the English epithet of the "best known", nor by the French phrase *par excellence*, but by a Greek phrase meaning the same thing and printed in Greek type!

made such compression and omission necessary, if this edition was to be printed at all.

Abul Fazl, unlike Al Biruni, admittedly had no personal knowledge of the Greek and Sanskrit languages. Therefore, with Sachau's English version of Al Biruni in our hands, we do not require the detailed correction or amplification of Abul Fazl's notes on Indian science and philosophy down to the time of Al Biruni, where the ground is better covered by that greater scholar. The real value of the *Ain-i-Akbari* lies in what it tells us about India under Muslim rule after Al Biruni's time (c 1020 A.D.) and the much ampler details about Hindu philosophy and manners that Abul Fazl derived from the pandits engaged for his "Imperial Gazetteer" by order of Akbar. This latter portion alone has been fully annotated in the present edition.

The considerable amount of space saved by the rejection of hundreds of useless notes and the compression of many others of the first edition, has been put to a better use by employing a larger type and clearer spacing. This is of a special value in a book bristling with oriental proper names and technical terms. The reader of this new edition will, I hope, also appreciate the help that I have tried to provide for him by dividing the book into numbered chapters and sections, and adding descriptive section headings and summaries of contents, in imitation of the device employed in Professor Cornford's recent translation of Plato's *Republic*, which has been highly commended in England.

The elaborate system of transliteration at present followed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in its *Journal*, could not be observed in this edition for three reasons: (1) The Society has changed its system several times during the last sixty years, so that no particular method can be rightly regarded as definite and final. In the case of a long volume in the Bibliotheca Indica series which has been issued in periodical fasciculi and completed after many years, (such as Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnamah*), two different methods of romanising Oriental words are found in the earlier and latter parts of the same book!

(2) Jarrett has not been uniform in his system of transliteration in this volume and his system (or systems) are not the one ruling in the Society at present. He represents *ḳāf-i-qalmun* sometimes by *ḳ* with a dot below it, and sometimes by *q*. His *'ain* is *a* with a dot below it, and his *hamza* is *a* with an inverted comma, and so

on. If we had to follow the latest system of romanisation throughout this second edition, the press-copy prepared from the printed first edition would have been scrapped up and the whole book typed again and the typescript collated with infinite labour. Hence, too, certain breaches of uniformity on some pages.

(3) Only two presses here possess all the diacritical marks, and they can use them only in hand setting up, while linotype composition was considered necessary for this edition. To get over this difficulty, I have been compelled to follow a simple and practical method of romanising, using only two diacritical marks, namely *ā* for the long vowel and an inverted comma to mark *'ain*, while the two *ḳāfs* have been represented by *q* and *ḳ* respectively. But no distinction could be made between the two *t*'s, the two *h*'s, the three *s*'s, and the four *z*'s of the Arabic alphabet ; nor has the underlining and underdotting of letters been possible. As this is not a book on Arabic philology, the general reader will hardly feel any loss from the absence of the host of diacritical marks, while the learned will be easily able to trace the Persian (or Sanskrit) equivalents of the words in question, as they are mostly well-known.

The index has been prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy. Instead of giving merely the names of places and persons or oriental terms without any explanation as in the index of the 1st edition, he has tried to help the reader by inserting the positions of places and the English renderings of most of the oriental words, besides plenty of cross references (*e.g.*, *Yajna* and *Sacrifice*, *Jyotisha* and *Astronomy*, &c.) In order to save paper the obscure place and personal names which occur only once in the book have been omitted in my index. For the same reason, only the significant portions of Jarrett's preface to the third volume are reprinted below.

Dec. 1947. JADUNATH SARKAR.

ABUL FAZL AND AL BIRUNI COMPARED—THE GREAT MERITS OF THE *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The range and diversity of its subjects (*i.e.*, of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) and the untiring industry which collected and marshalled, through the medium of an unfamiliar language, the many topics of information to their minutest details, treating of abstruse sciences, subtile philosophical problems, and the customs, social, political and religious of a different race and creed, will stand as an enduring

monument of his learned and patient diligence . . . Though there is much to be desired, his comprehensive and admirable survey yet merits the highest praise . . . .

He laboured under the disadvantage of unfamiliarity with Sanskrit, and he had to take the statements of his Pandits tested through translations at second-hand. He found his Hindu informants, as he says, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like silk worms, a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own opinions, conceding the attainment of truth to no other, while artfully insinuating their own views, till the difficulty of arriving at any correct exposition of their system left him in a bewilderment of despair. His description of the nine Schools of Philosophy has the merit of being, as far as it goes, scrupulously precise . . .

After a careful study of both these authors (Al Biruni and Abul Fazl), I am the more convinced that Abul Fazl borrowed the idea and arrangement of his work from his great predecessor. I have shown in his account of the Sarkār of Kābul instances of direct plagiarism from the Memoirs of Baber, and in his lives of Moslem Saints in the third Volume, verbatim extracts without acknowledgment from the Sufic hagiography of Jāmi'. The same volume displays other examples suggestive rather than definite, of his indebtedness to an author whom he never names. The difference between the two men in this particular is most remarkable. Al Biruni's reading was far more extensive and scholarly. The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has a list of the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography, and astrology. He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the Timaeus and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability. And he rarely fails to record his authorities. With Abul Fazl it is the reverse. He rarely names them, and borrows from every side without scruple as without avowal. The difference in the manner of the two authors is not less conspicuous. Al Biruni quotes freely from his authorities, and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages . . .

His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of

the exact sciences. Abul Fazl, on the contrary, transcribes either from existing works or from oral communication. His compilation is extremely careful and carried out with the most laborious and marvellous exactitude, but it is unenlivened by those masterly criticisms which give Al Biruni his unique position among Eastern writers . . . .

When all is said, however, which a strict impartiality must weight in counterpoise to Abul Fazl's sterling merits, there remains ample justification for the high place held by this great work in the West as well as the East, and as a record of the extension of the Mughal empire of India under the greatest of its monarchs and the ability with which it was administered, it must always remain of permanent and fascinating interest. It crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions, and indigenous lore, which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind. Above all, as a register of the fiscal areas, the revenue settlements and changes introduced at various periods, the harvest returns, valuations and imposts throughout the provinces of the empire, its originality is as indisputable as its surpassing historical importance. The concluding account of the author and his family and the persecutions to which they were subjected will, perhaps, be read with as much interest as any other portion of the work.

H. S. Jarrett.

Calcutta, 17th May, 1894.

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF HINDUSTAN

PREFATORY REMARKS

[The author's object in writing this account is to show that the Hindu religion has true and sublime conceptions of the Deity.]

[P. 1] It has long been the ambitious desire of my heart to pass in review to some extent, the general conditions of this vast country, and to record the opinions professed by the majority of the learned among the Hindus. I know not whether the love of my native land has been the attracting influence or exactness of historical research and genuine truthfulness of narrative, for Banākiti, Hāfiz Abru and other ancient chroniclers have indulged in vain imaginings and recorded stories that have no foundation in fact. Nor were the motives altogether these, but rather that when I had arisen from the close retirement of studious application and discovered somewhat of the ignorance and dissensions of men I formed the design of establishing peace and promoting concord. My original desire now renewed its possession of me, but a multiplicity of occupations prevented its gratification until the turns of fate brought about the composition of this striking record which has already branched out into such numerous details. Although my pen had occupied itself with the description of the Subahs and had briefly recorded the annals of Hindustan, and now that the ambition of my heart had attained the time of its realisation, not content with [P. 2] the information I had already acquired, I had recourse to the knowledge of others and set myself to gather instruction from men of true learning. As I was unfamiliar with the science of terms in the Sanskrit language and a competent interpreter was not available, the labour of repeated translations had to be undertaken, until by good fortune and my own steadfastness of purpose, my object was at length

attained. It then became clear that the commonly received opinion that Hindus associate a plurality of gods with the One Supreme Being has not the full illumination of truth, for although with regard to some points and certain conclusions, there is room for controversy, yet the worship of one God and the profession of His Unity among this people appeared facts convincingly attested.[1] It was indispensable in me, therefore, to bring into open evidence the system of philosophy, the degrees of self-discipline, and the gradations of rite and usage of this race in order that hostility towards them might abate and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that dissensions within and without be turned to peace and the thornbrake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord. Assemblies for the discussion of arguments might then be formed and gatherings of science suitably convened.

[The various causes of misunderstanding and quarrels between different religions in India.]

Notwithstanding that at all periods of time, excellent resolutions and well-intentioned designs are to be witnessed and the extent of the world is never lacking in prudent men, why does misunderstanding arise and what are the causes of contention?

---

[1] This is confirmed by Colebrooke. "The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indicated in the Veda. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system: nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have yet seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators." H. H. Wilson in commenting on this passage admits that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic, addressed to unreal presences and not to visible types, and not idolatry. *Vishnu. P.* Pref. ii. [H. S. J.] See also Max Muller on *henotheism*, and Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vi. 283 and 289; viii. [illegible]-811. [*J. Sarkar.*]

The *First* cause is the diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes, and thus the alloy of ill-will is introduced and the dust of discord arises.

Secondly, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them together, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical result. An accomplished linguist capable of mastering the intricacies of science and the abstruse speculations of philosophy among various nations and competent to give them luminous and efficient expression, is very rare. Even at the present time, when through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found. Such as thirst after the sweet waters of wisdom and who leaving their native land undertake the wanderings of travel and with diligent assiduity employ their energies in the acquisition of various languages, are indeed uncommon. It needs a seeker such as Anushirwān, who amidst the pomp of empire should yet search for the jewel of wisdom, and a minister like Buzurjmihr, void of envy, as his counsellor, and both king and minister combined, to discover a coadjutor so unique and one so upright and intelligent as the physician Barzawaih, and then to send him with abundant means disguised as a merchant to Hindustan in order that with this capital stock-in-trade he might obtain the interest of acquired wisdom; and again this sagacious personage, making no distinction between the absence or presence of his employers, must be diligent in his inquiries and succeed in the accomplishment of his desire through the frankness of his demeanour and his largesse of gold. Or the occasion would demand an indefatigable and lofty intellect like that of Tumtum the Indian, who to receive the instruction of the divine philosopher Plato, passed from Hindustan into Greece and freighting

his caravans with the requisites of travel, set himself to face the dangers of seas and deserts, and with the medicinal simples of wisdom perfected his spiritual health and the harmonious [P. 3] balance of his soul. Or a powerful mind and vigorous body such as Abu Maashar of Balkh, enamoured of wisdom, who holding exile and his native country and toil and ease undissociated, travelled into India from Khorāsān and garnered a store of knowledge at Benares and carried it as a gift of price to the learned of his own land.

Thirdly, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification, for men regard the absence of beauty in an object as placing it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign peoples even by way of apologue. And forasmuch as their moral obliquity refuses to lend an ear and the glitter of this deceptive world lets fall a veil of ignorance before their eyes, what must be their state and how may grace illumine for them the lamp of guidance?

Fourthly, indolence. Men account what is ready to hand as more precious than the chance of future possession and prefer ease to exertion. They will not undertake the trouble of profound investigation, and content with a superficial view, will not move a span's length to acquire a deeper insight. He alone is the true promoter of wisdom who, setting before his resolve the investigation of the concealed beauties of meaning, under the guidance of assiduous research and undaunted desire, plants his foot in the dread wilds of research, and reaches the goal of his ambition undismayed by countless labours, sustaining the burden of the road by the force of capacity on the shoulders of his ever resolute will.

Fifthly, the blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom. From immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors

of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour, is considered as a deposit under Divine sanction and a malcontent is reproached with impiety or irreligion. Although the few among the intelligent of their generation admit the imbecility of this procedure in others, yet will they not stir one step in a practical direction themselves.

[It is only by meeting on a common platform of study and discussion that different religions can be correctly understood and their true worth appreciated. This book will promote that aim.]

Sixthly, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution have stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy, and from distinguishing[2] commonalty of bond from vital estrangement, under the guidance of impartiality, in order that error may be severed from truth and the why and the wherefore weighed in the scales of sound judgment. Even just monarchs, unconscious of their obligations, have herein neglected them. Arrogance and self-interest have intervened and occasions of intercourse have been marred by perplexities. Some have taken refuge in silence; others have found evasion in obscurity of language, while others again have extricated themselves by time-serving utterances. If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions [P. 4] have waxed high. Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of

[2] I select a variant relegated to the notes, in place of the text, and amend the doubtful reading that follows by omitting the *be* before *āzaram*. With this alteration the difficulty is cleared and its simplicity recommends the correction.

other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Were the eyes of the mind possessed of true vision, each individual would withdraw from this indiscriminating turmoil and attend rather to his own solicitudes than interfere in the concerns of others. Amidst such unseemly discord, main purposes are set aside and arguments disregarded. If the doctrine of an enemy be in itself good, why should hands be stained in the blood of its professors? And even were it otherwise, the sufferer from the malady of folly deserves commiseration, not hostility and the shedding of his blood.

Seventhly, the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude. Such as these do much harm and truths are obscured through unrecognition.

Cease, Abul Fazal, cease! The manifestations of divine wrath are illimitable and infinite are the marvels of their record. Loose not thy hand from the cord of peace seized by thy good intention. Follow out thy long projected design. Though some of thy hearers will attain to wisdom and meet in rejoicing union, yet many will fall into sorrows and reap bewilderment. Thanks be to God that thou art not a hostage to the lament of ignorance nor the extoller of those that are in bonds.

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES OF HINDUSTAN AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION THEREOF.

INDIA—ITS BOUNDARIES, SEASONS, NATURAL BEAUTY, AND CROPS

Hindustan is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas, Malacca and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent. To the north is a lofty range of mountains, part of which stretches along the uttermost limits of Hindustan, and its other extremity passes into Turkestan and Persia. An intermediate region lies between this and the vast frontiers[1] of China, inhabited by various races, such as Kashmir, Great and Little Tibet, Kishtāwar and others. This quarter may therefore be likened to another ocean. With all its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequalled in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is cultivated throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a *ḳos* without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages, nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs. In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage. During the rainy season which extends from the close of the Sun's stay in Gemini to his entry into the sign of Virgo[2], the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age. Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil?

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[1] Lit. Chin and Māchin, feigned or believed by Orientals to be the descendants of Japhet and applied by metonymy to express the full extent of the Chinese dominions.

[2] Middle of June to end of August.

[Noble character of the people of India, monotheism the universal root of their religious belief, while their image-worship is not idolatry, but an "aid to fixing the mind and keeping the thoughts from wandering".]

Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field. When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the fight.

They are capable of mastering the difficulties of any subject in a short space of time and surpass their instructors, and to win the Divine favour they will spend body and soul and joyfully devote their lives thereunto. They one and all believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence they pay to images of stone and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so. The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God, are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering, while the worship of God alone is required as indispensable. In all their ceremonial observances and usage they ever implore the favour of the world-illumining sun and regard the pure essence of the Supreme Being as transcending the idea of power in operation.

Brahmā, of whom mention was formerly made, they hold to be the Creator; Vishnu, the Nourisher and Preserver; and Rudra, called also Mahādeva, the Destroyer. Some maintain that God who is without equal, manifested himself under these three divine forms, without thereby sullying the garment of His inviolate sanctity, as the Nazarenes hold of the Messiah. Others assert that these were human creatures exalted to these dignities through perfectness of worship, probity of thought and righteousness of deed. The godliness and self-discipline of this people is such as is rarely to be found in other lands.

They hold that the world had a beginning, and some are of opinion that it will have an end, as will be mentioned hereafter.

An astonishing circumstance is this, that if an alien wishes to enter the Brahman caste, they would not accept him, and were one of these to adopt another religion and subsequently desire to revert to his own, he would not be suffered so to do save in case of his apostasy under compulsion. They have no slaves. When they go forth to battle or during an attack by an enemy, they collect all their women in one building, and surround it with wood and straw and oil, and place on guard some trusty relentless men, who set fire to it when those engaged in fight despair of life, and these chaste women vigilant of their honour are consumed to death with unflinching courage.

In times of distress, moreover, should any one, though unconnected by ties of intimacy, implore their protection, they are prompt to aid and grudge neither property, life nor reputation in his cause[3].

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[3] The same things were observed by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang in the 7th century: "The ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable . . . They are faithful to their oaths and promises . . . In their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness." (Beal, i. 83.) And of the Marathas: "The disposition of the people is honest and

It was also the custom in former times for each warrior in battle to challenge a foe and to encounter none other than him. [P. 6]

[*The Soil and its Produce—Arts and Crafts of the People of Hindustan.*]

The soil is for the most part arable and of such productive power that the same land is sown each year and in many places three harvests and more are taken in a single twelve-month and the vine bears fruit in its first year.

Mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound. The variety of its fruits and flowers proclaim its luxuriance. Its perfumes and melodies, its viands and raiment are choice and in profusion. Its elephants cannot be sufficiently praised, and in parts of the country the horses resemble Arabs in breed and the cattle are uncommonly fine. But for its lack of cooled water, its excessive heats, the scarcity of grapes, melons and carpets, and of camels, it was open to the cavils of the experienced.[4] His Majesty has remedied these deficiencies. Saltpetre is now extensively used for its cooling properties, and high and low appreciate the benefit of snow and ice brought down from the northern mountains. There is a slender fragrant root called khas (the odoriferous grass *Andropogon Muricatum*) of which, under His Majesty's instructions, the fashion of constructing trellised chambers has come into vogue, and upon this if water be sprinkled, another winter arises amid the summer heats. Skilled hands from Turkestan and Persia under His Majesty's patronage, sowed melons and planted vines, and traders began to introduce in security the fruits of those countries, each in its season and with attention to their quality, which occasioned an abundance here when they were not procurable in their own. Through the favour of His Majesty, all

simple ; . . . to their benefactors they are grateful ; to their enemies relentless. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance." (ii. 256) J.S.

products of art, and the manufacture of woollen and silken carpets and of brocades were extensively encouraged, and by means of the royal countenance so fine a breed of camels has been produced as to be equal to the dromedaries of 'Irāq.

A summary view of India having been now given, I shall proceed with more particularity, still proffering but little out of much and recording one among a thousand details.

THE COSMOGONY OF THE HINDUS: STORIES OF CREATION.

More than eighteen opinions on this point have been professed and extraordinary narratives put forward, and each describes a different genesis. It will be sufficient to mention three of them. The *first* is that God who has no equal, taking upon himself the form of man appeared under the special manifestation called *Brahma* already alluded to, and by his mere volition produced four sons, *Sanak*, *Sanandan*, *Sanātan*, and *Sanatkumār*. Each of these was commanded to engage in acts of creation, but lost in rapture of contemplation in the divine essence they neglected to comply. In anger, the Supreme being formed another design and came forth from his own forehead under another semblance and name as *Mahādeva*. His sublime immensity unfitted him for creative action. Ten[5] other sons issued from his volition and then from his body he fashioned the forms of male and female. The former was called *Manu* and the latter Satarupā. These two are the progenitors of mankind. [P. 7.]

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[4] The reference is to Babur, who writes in his memoirs: "Hindustan is a country of few charms: there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water . . . There are no running waters in their gardens and residences." (Beveridge's tr. 518. J.S.)

[5] A variant has, "two".—The text has incorrectly *Satruka*, for which error Abul Fazl is responsible. The *Vishnu Purāna* says that he divided his male being into eleven persons. Next he created himself the Manu Swayambhuva and the female portion of himself he constituted Sata-rupā whom the Manu took to wife. There are also other complications of birth and intercourse which may be pursued by the curious in the Purāna itself. p. 51 et seq.

Secondly, it is maintained that God[6] the Creator of the world, manifested himself under the form of a woman whom they call-*Mahā-Lachhmi*. Three qualities are incorporated with her, *Satva, Raja* and *Tama*. When she willed to create the world, through the instrumentality of *Tama*, she manifested herself under another form which is called *Mahā-Kāli* and also *Mahā-Māyā*. By her union with *Satva*, a further genesis proceeded called *Saraswati*, and at her command each brought forth a male and female and these two forms she herself inspired with life. Thus two beings were born of each. From *Mahā-Lachhmi* sprung *Brahma* under the form of a man, and *Sri* under the guise of a woman who is also called *Sāvitri*. From *Mahā-Kāli*, were brought forth *Mahā-deva* and *Tri* the latter of whom is also distinguished as *Mahā-bidya* and *Kāmdhenu*, and from *Saraswati* came forth *Vishnu* and *Gauri*. When these six forms took birth, *Mahā-Lachhmi* proceeded to their conjugal union, and joined *Brahma* with *Tri, Gauri* with *Mahā-deva*, and *Sri* with *Vishnu*. The conjunction of *Brahma* and *Tri* produced an egg[7] which *Mahā-deva* divided into two parts, from one of which originated the *devatās, daityas* and the like super-

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[6] Hari, the lord of all, called also Janardana (from *Jana*, "men" and Arddana, 'worship'—'the object of adoration to mankind'). He is the one only God, taking the designation of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, according as he creates, preserves or destroys :—This is the invariable doctrine of the Purānas. See Wilson, *Vishnu, P.* p. 19. The three qualities or attributes are shared by the Hindu Triad ; Brahma being the embodiment of *Raja-guna*, the desire that created the world ; Siva that of *Tama-guna*, the attribute of wrath ; and Vishnu is *Satwa-guna* or the property of mercy and goodness.

[7] The *Brahmānd* or egg of Brahma is applied by Albiruni to the whole æther on account of its supposed spherical shape and its division into upper and lower and he says that when the Hindus enumerate the heavens they call them in their entirety, *Brahmānd*.

[The latest and best account of Hindu Cosmogony and Cosmology is the one by H. Jacobi in Hastings's *Encyclo. of Religion*, iv. 155-160. Varāha-Mihir the author of *Surya-Siddhānta*, died in 587 A.D. The old notes of Jarrett based on Bentley have been omitted here. J. S.]

natural beings; from the other, men, animals, and the vegetable and mineral worlds.

The *Third* opinion is accounted the most authentic. In the work called *Surya-Siddhānta* composed some hundreds of thousands of years ago, it is circumstantially related that towards the end of the *Satya-yuga*, flourished the great Demon Maya. That sage was lost in astonishment at the wonders of creation, and confounded by his own ignorance, applied himself to a supplication of the Sun to discover the mode in which creation was effected and passed some thousands of years in these entreaties and desires. After he had undergone surpassing trials, that bestower of radiance on the heavens and the earth appeared to him under a beautiful form and asked him what he desired. He said, "Draw back the veil from the marvels of the stars and the skies and from the mysteries of wisdom and illuminate the darkness of my understanding with the light of knowledge.' It was answered : "Thy desire shall be granted. In a certain shrine unite in spirit with me and a celestial being shall appear and instruct you in wisdom." The seeker was comforted. He waited in expectation at the shrine appointed and near the close of the *Satya-yuga*, the giver of his desire appeared. The sage entered into much questioning regarding the mysteries of heaven and earth and received replies that satisfied him. [8]. The questions and answers were compiled in one volume under the name of the *Surya Siddhānta*, and to this day the astronomy, of entire Hindustān is based upon it. In this work the origin of creation is said to be from the Sun, which is regarded as a divine manifestation. The Almighty Creator of the world formed a hollow sphere of gold composed of two parts which he rendered luminous with somewhat of His own glory and it was called the Sun. The Sun produced the signs of the Zodiac and from the same source sprung the four *Vedas*, and afterwards the moon, the ethereal fluid, air, fire, water and earth, in this order. From

the ether he produced Jupiter; from the air, Saturn; from fire, Mars; from water, Venus; and from the earth, Mercury. Through the ten portals of the human frame-work he brought various matter into being. The ten portals are thus numbered: the two eyes, the two ears, the nose, the mouth, the navel, the anterior and posterior foramina, and the tenth, the crown of the head, which last is closed. It opens, however, at the time of death in some of those who are about to quit life and body, and this is considered singularly auspicious. His Majesty has increased the number of portals by the two breasts, and counts the number as twelve. After a long course the human race became of four kinds as shall be presently related.

On the Inferior and Superior Cosmic Phenomena.

The Hindu philosophers maintain that the elements have a spherical form[8] and they have added Ether to the number. They hold it to pervade all things and that no space is void of it. They do not incline to the notion of a celestial substance (*āsmān*) but adopt the account of the spheres on the system of the Almagest of Ptolemy.[9] The Zodiac is divided into twelve signs, each of which is termed "*rās*."

They are as follows:—

1. Mesha.	1. Aries.
2. Vrisha.	2. Taurus.
3. Mithuna.	3. Gemini.
4. Karkata.	4. Cancer.

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[8] The authorities for this are Arya-bhata, Vasistha and Lāta. Albiruni, 26.

Ether is so called by the Greeks from its being in perpetual flow. Arist., *De Cælo*, iii.

[9] Ptolemy's first book of the Almagest treats among other matters of the spherical form and motion of the heavens, the spherical form of the earth and its location in the centre of the heavens and of the two circular celestial motions which all the stars have in common.

5.	Sinha.	5.	Leo.
6.	Kanyā.	6	Virgo.
7.	Tulā.	7.	Libra.
8.	Vrischika.	8.	Scorpio.
9.	Dhanu.	9.	Sagittarius.
10.	Makara.[10]	10.	Capricornus.
11.	Kumbha.	11.	Aquarius.
12.	Mina.	12.	Pisces.

The Persian, Egyptian and Greek sages affirm the existence of a colourless body which is transparent and is not subject to growth, increase, decrease, disruption, conjunction nor dissolution, neither does it admit of tenuity nor density nor generation nor decay. It is not compounded of bodies variously organised, neither is it affected by heat, cold, moisture, nor dryness, nor can lightness or gravity be predicated of it.[9] It possesses life and continuity of existence, and is not subject to desire or anger. It is called "asmān."[11] The general opinion is that the Universe (*to pān*) includes nine spheres, but some think eight, others, eleven,

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[10] Capricornus was represented on ancient monuments with the fore part of a goat and the hind part of a fish. The Hindu *Makara*, according to the Sanskrit verses of Sripati, quoted by Sir W. Jones, (I, 336) is a sea-monster with the face of an antelope. The question at once presents itself as to the relative antiquity of the Greek and Indian Zodiacal signs. [H. S J.] On the relation between Greek and Hindu astronomy, see Kaye in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 759 and *J.A.S.B.*, 1911, p 813, and the volume on Astronomy in the *Grundriss*. The relation between Hindu and Arab astronomy is best described briefly in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xii. 95, the writer of which article has treated the same subject again in *Ency. Islam*, i. 497-502. [J. S.]

[11] These are the attributes of the Pradhāna, (chief principle or primary crude matter) ascribed to it by the Sankhya philosophy. It is independent and co-ordinate with primary spirit. See *Vishnu P*, p. 9 *et seq*. The greater part of this passage is almost identical with the description of the word, *falk*, the Arabic equivalent of *āsmān*, in the *Istilāhāt u'l Funun*, pp. 1134-5 quoted from the Hidayat u'l Hikmat (Institutis philosophiæ recta) of Maibudi. I have not been able to trace the passage in the latter work verbatim, but in scattered references only. The notion is taken from Aristotle, *De Cælo*, iii.

others, seven, and it is even affirmed that there is but a single Kosmos.

The Hindu philosophers acknowledge the existence of the planets and fixed stars, but assert that their substance is of water[12] congealed like hail, and that they receive their light from the sun. Others maintain that it is from the moon, and that these luminous bodies dominate the aspects of fortune. They also hold the connection of a celestial spirit with each. Some suppose the stars to be human beings, who by suppressing the emotions of anger and desire, and by mortification and moral beauty of life, have reached this exalted eminence.

NAMES OF THE PLANETS[13] AND THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sanichar is Saturn (Saturday). *Brihaspati* is Jupiter (Thursday). *Mangal* is Mars (Tuesday). *Aditya*, the Sun (Sunday). The Hindus have more than a thousand names for the sun. His Majesty knows by heart the whole of these and uses them in his prayers, but the name *Suraj* is the one in common use among all classes. *Sukra* is Venus (Friday) *Budh* is Mercury (Wednesday). *Soma* is the Moon (Monday).

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[12] Albiruni mentions this in his LV Chap. "The Hindus believe regarding the bodies of all the stars that they have a globular shape, a watery essence, and that they do not shine, whilst the sun alone is of fiery essence, self-shining and *per accidens* illuminates other stars when they stand opposite to him. They reckon according to eyesight among the stars also, such luminous bodies as in reality are not stars, but the lights into which those men have been metamorphosed who have received eternal reward from God. The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them in the night. Those who by their pious deeds have obtained a place on the height, sit there on their thrones, and when shining, they are reckoned among the stars!" Sachau's Trans. II, 64.

[13] The 19th Chap. of Albiruni's *India* begins with the same subject and the similarity of treatment and expression, though not of the *order*, is so striking that, as I have before had occasion to observe, there is little doubt of Abul Fazl's indebtedness to this author. Albiruni's handling of any subject he discusses is that of a philosopher who is master of it; Abul Fazl is purely the compiler and scribe.

Each of these planets has several names, and each day of the week has a special connection with and is named after its planet, with the addition of the word '*wār*.' Thus, Sunday which begins the week is called *Aditya-wār*; Monday, *Soma-wār*; Tuesday, *Mangal-wār*; Wednesday, *Budh-wār*; Thursday, *Brihaspati-wār*; Friday, *Sukra-wār*; Saturday, *Sanichar-wār*.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE *Gharyāl*.

This is a round gong of mixed metal,[14] shaped like a griddle but thicker, made of different sizes; and suspended by a cord. It may not be sounded except by royal command, and accompanies the royal equipage.

The Hindu philosophers divide the day and night into four parts, each of which they call *pahr*. Throughout the greater part of the country, the *pahr* never exceeds nine *gharis* nor is less than six. The *ghari* is the sixtieth part of a nychthemeron, and is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a *pal* which is again subdivided into sixty *bipal*.

In order to ascertain and indicate the time, a vessel of copper or other metal is made of a hundred *tānks*, weight. In Persian it is called *pingān*, as an ancient sage sings,

[10] Why reck'st thou of a world whose span
A clepsydra doth mete to man?[15]

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[14] Lit. *Haft-josh*, a metal compounded of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver. The ordinary bell-metal is an alloy of 80 parts of copper and 20 of tin, though some English bells have been found to consist of copper, tin, zinc and lead.

[15] These lines are from *Hadiqah* of Hakim Sanāi, p. 298, of the lithographed edition. The clepsydra was known in Greece in the time of Aristophanes and was used for regulating the time allowed for speeches of accused persons before courts of justice. But in this, the water was allowed to escape through the orifice of the vessel. (See Lewis' *Ast. of the Ancients*, p. 182.)

It is in the shape of a bowl narrower at the lower part, twelve fingers in height and breadth. A perforation is made below to admit of a golden tube being passed through of the weight of one *Māshā*, and in length the breadth of five fingers. It is placed in a basin of pure water in a place undisturbed by the wind. When the bowl is full of water, one *ghari* is elapsed,[15a] and in order that this should be known to far and near, the gong is struck once, and for the second time, twice, and so on. When a *pahr* has elapsed, the number of *gharis* expired therein is first sounded and then more deliberately from one to four (according to the *pahr*), thus announcing the *pahr* struck. Thus when it is two *pahr*, (twelve o'clock), the gong is struck twenty-sixth times, taking the *pahr* at eight *gharis*. The Emperor Baber in his Memoirs writes: "When at the end of a *pahr* a certain number of *gharis* had elapsed, this number was sounded while the *pahr* just expired was unknown. I ordered that the number of the *pahr* should be repeated after a brief interval." The Hindu philosophers account 360 breathings of a man in good health as a *ghari* of time, and each is formed of six inspirations and respirations, of which 21,600 are drawn in the course of a nychthemeron.

[15a] The Hindu hour-glass is thus described in the *Surya Siddhānta*, Chap. XIII. "The copper vessel (in the shape of the lower half of a water jar) which has a small hole in its bottom and placed upon clean water in a basin, sinks exactly sixty times in a nychthemeron, is called the Kapāla Yantra. In the *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 631, it is said to be "a vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, in the bottom of which there is to be a hole made with a tube of gold, of the weight of 4 *Māshas* and 4 inches long." A commentary is more explicit. "A vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, and holding a Prastha, (a Magadha measure) of water, broad at top and having at bottom a tube of gold of 4 *Māshas* weight, 4 fingers long, is placed in water, and the time in which the vessel is filled by the hole in the bottom is a *Nādika*." It is therefore clear that there must be a pipe of the metal and of the length given, and not a simple aperture only. See a paper on Horometry in the *As. Res.* V. 87.

THE ORDER OF THE SPHERES.

The first is the Earth, over which is Water, but not encompassing it entirely. Above this is Fire, towards its northern extremity shaped like a myrobalan. Above this again is the Air, but its concave surface is not spherical. The Air is of nine kinds. *Bhuvāyu*, is the atmosphere extending up to the height of forty-seven *kos* from the globe of the earth. It is volatile in every direction and is the region wherein rain, thunder and lightning take their origin. *Avaha* is the air from the last-mentioned body to the moon. *Pravaha,* from the second to Mercury. *Udvaha* from the third to Venus. *Samvaha,* from the fourth to the Sun. *Suvaha*, from the fifth to Mars. *Parivaha,* from the sixth to Jupiter. *Parāvaha,* from the seventh to Saturn. *Pravahānila,* from the eight to the fixed stars. Day and night are formed by the revolution of this wind, with a movement from east to west, the other seven winds reversing this order of motion.[16] But their more authoritative opinion is that those seven form the *Pravahānila,* and are named after the seven planets and all revolve from east to west.[17] Their knowledge does not extend beyond the fixed stars. Ether transcends all other spheres and is unfathomable.

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[16] I am uncertain of this meaning. The elements in successive order are supposed to acquire the property of causality one to the other. The order in all the Purānas but one is the same according to Wilson (*Vish P.*), and agrees with the text. The seven winds occur in this order in the *Siddhānta Siromani* which adds ; "The atmosphere extends to the height of 12 *yojanas* from the earth. Within this limit are the clouds, lightning, &c. The Pravaha wind which is above the atmosphere moves constantly to the westward with uniform motion As the sphere of the universe includes the fixed stars and planets, it therefore being impelled by the Pravaha wind is carried round with the stars and planets in a constant revolution." Wilkinson's Translation, p. 127.

[17] Compare with this the direction of the planes of the winds and their names according to the Moslem theory, in Albiruni's *Chronology of Anc. Nations*, Sachau, p. 341. In Vol. I of his *India*. (p. 280 Sach.) Brahmagupta says "The wind makes all the fixed stars and the planets revolve towards the W. in one and the same

The mean motions of the planets which they call *Madhyama* differ from the Greek reckoning in the seconds and thirds. Thus, in a nychthemeron [P. 11] extending from midnight to midnight, the Surya-Siddhānta gives the following calculations.

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon	13	10	34	53
Mercury, Venus, Sun	0	59	8	10
Mars	0	31	26	28
Jupiter	0	4	59	9
Saturn	0	2	0	23

According to the Greeks.

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon			35	2
Mercury, Venus, Sun				19
Mars			27	40
Jupiter				16
Saturn				35

revolution, but the planets move also in a slow pace to the E. like a dust atom moving on a potter's wheel in a direction opposite to that in which the wheel is revolving." Albiruni considers their speaking of the wind as a *motor* is intended only to facilitate the idea to the vulgar comprehension, but when they come to speak of the *first mover* (God) they at once lay aside comparison with the wind whose essence is not *moving* but is a body acted upon by external influence. According to the *Surya-Siddhānta* the rapid movement of the planets is caused by the wind *Pravaha*.

The motion of the Planets is considered of their essence and is of equal velocity in all. When calculated in *kos* their rate of motion is said to be 11,858 *yojana*[18] and 3 *kos* in the space of a nychthemeron, and their direction is from west to east. The difference in their periods arises from the greater or less extent of their orbits, the superior being greater than those lower in position.

The progression of the fixed stars they consider to be somewhat similar to that of the planets, but differing from the Greeks, they assert that with regard to the Lunar stations, there is a motion of 54 seconds in one year, or one degree in 66 years and 8 months. They compute that the asterisms advance 27 degrees from the beginning of Aries, or according to another calculation, having advanced 24 degrees, they have a retrograde motion till they reach the 28th degree of Pisces whence they return to Aries, and the same movement re-commences.[19] The Ursa Major which is called in Sanskrit *Sapta-rishi* (the seven Sages) has a precession in one year of 17 seconds, 47 thirds from west to east, or one degree in

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[18] A *yojana* is four *kos*. Albiruni in his *India*, Chap. XV, (Sach. I. 167) makes 1 *krosa* = 1 mile or 4,000 yards, and 1 *yojana* = 8 miles or *kroh* or 32,000 yards. Some, he adds, thinks that the *krosa* = ¼ *farsakh*, and so make the *farsakh* of the Hindus 16,000 yards, but this is not so, as this latter (*farsakh*) is = ½ *yojana*. Sachau has made a slight oversight in this last passage by translating 1 *krosa* = ½ *yojana*. But this cannot be as he already says above that 1 yojana = 8 *krosa*. The *Farsakh* is reckoned by Albiruni in his V Chap. as 3 miles, and = ½ *yojana* which being reckoned above at 32,000 yards, gives the length of the *farsakh* necessarily at 16,000. But with this result he appears to quarrel.

[19] In the *Surya-Siddhānta*, the precession of the equinoxes is thus described: "The circle of Asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga (that is, all the Asterisms at first move westward 27°. Then returning from that limit they reach their former places. Then from those places they move eastward the same number of degrees, and returning thence come again to their own places. Thus they complete one libration or revolution as it is called). Bapu Deva. Burgess has a long note on this mode of statement in his translation, p. 100.

200 years and 6 months, and accomplishes its revolution. One sect considers the operation of these forces to depend solely on the power of the Almighty.

The ancient Greeks, including Aristotle, were ignorant of the motion of the fixed stars and Hipparchus observed a few[20] with a motion from east to west in the Zodiac, but he was unable to calculate their dimensions. Ptolemy determined the motion of the stars in longitude to be one degree in a hundred solar years. Ibn Aalam and others reckoned sixty. The observations of Nasir'uddin Tusi agree with this last, but Muhyiddin Maghrabi[21] and a number of experts at the same observatory discovered that *Aldebaran*, the Heart of Scorpio (*a* Scorpii), and others, advanced a degree in 66 years. In the Gurgāni Tables (of Ulugh Beg) this is made to occur in 70 Yazdajirdi years, each of which is 365 years without a fraction.

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[20] M. Montulca observes that Hipparchus, according to Ptolemy, suspected that only the stars in the Zodiac or in its vicinity had been disturbed in position as if, being the nearest in some measure to the great route of the planets, they had been more exposed to share in their motion. But he soon discovered that the movement was general around the poles of the Zodiac, and he transmitted a large number of observations on the fixed stars for the use of his successors. They served to assure Ptolemy of the perfect immovability of the fixed stars with regard to each other and of the movement of the whole starry sphere around the poles of the Zodiac. *Hist. des Math.* 265, I.

[21] Called al Maghrabi from his residence in Spain and Africa. He was spared in the sack of Aleppo by Holāgu and associated with Tusi at Marāgha in A. H. 658. He thus took part in forming the Ilkhāni Astronomical Tables. He had a wide reputation as a philosopher and mathematician. D'Herb.

Ptolemy following the steps of Hipparchus, established conclusively his theory of the movement of the fixed stars. In comparing the longitudes of several of these with those found by Hipparchus, he showed that they had advanced parallel to the Ecliptic by 2° 40′ since his day and as 265 years had since then elapsed, he concluded the movement to be one degree in 100 years. The more exact calculation of modern days shows it to be one in 72. *Hist. des. Math.* I. 225.

CIRCUMFERENCES OF THE SPHERES.[22]

The Planets.	Yojanas.	Kroh.
Moon	324,000	...
Mercury	1,043,207	3
Venus	2,664,636	2· and a fraction
Sun [12]	4,331,500	a fraction
Mars	8,146,908	3
Jupiter	51,375,764	1
Saturn	127,668,255	2 less a fraction
Fixed Stars	259,890,012	...
Ether, beyond which the sun's rays do not traverse	18,712,080,864,000,000	...

The minutes of the diameters of each of the planets bear a proportionate ratio to the minutes of their circumference.[23]

3 Mustard seeds	make one.	Barley corn.
8 Barley corns		Digit.
24 Digits		Cubit (Dast).
4 Cubits		Dand.
2000 Dand		Kos.
4 Kos.		Yojana.

LUNAR STATIONS.

Each of these is called *Nakshatra*, and they are 27 in number, severally divided into 13 degrees and 20 minutes.

[22] These distances are given in Albiruni's LV Chap. in two computations with some variance between each other and those of the text. They are also given in 12th chapter of the *Surya-Siddhānta* with some slight variation from the text.

[23] This sentence is not in two MSS. and as it stands, appears incomplete. The remaining terms of the proportional are missing, and are probably the number of *yojanas* of the diameters, to the *yojanas* of the circumferences. Thus the minutes of the diameter of the moon are to the minutes of her circumference, *i.e.*, 21600, as the number of the *yojanas* of the diameter, *i.e.*, 480, are to the *yojanas* of the circumference of her whole sphere, and in the same way with the Sun, as shewn by Albiruni, Chap. LV.

Altogether 221 stars. The moon never tarries in any one station more than 65½ *gharis* or less than 54½.

Three degrees and twenty minutes of the 21st *Nakshatra* to 48′ of the 22° Nakshatra have, for certain purposes, been separately designated *Abhijit.*[24]

Asterisms.	No. of stars.
1. Aswini (Arietis)	3
2. Bharaṇi (Musca)	3
3. Krittikā (Tauri Pleiades)	6
4. Rohini (Tauri Aldabaran)	5
5. Mrigasira (Orionis)	3
6. Ardrā (Orionis)	1
7. Punarvāsu (Geminorum)	4
8. Pushya (Cancri)	3
9. Aslesha (1 and 2 Cancri)	5
10. Maghā)Leonis Regulus)	5
11. Purvā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
12. Uttarā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
13. Hastā)Corvi)	5
14. Chitrā (Virginis, Spica)	1
15. Swāti (Bootis ; Arcturus)	1
16. Visākhā (dibra)	4
17. Anurādhā (Sccrpionis)	4
18. Jyeshthā (Scorpionis, Antares)	3
19. Mula (Ccorpionis)	11
20. Purvāshādhā (Sagittarii)	4
21. Uttarāshādhā (Sagittarii)	3
22. Abhijit (Lyri)	
23. Sravana (Aquilæ)	3
24. Dhanishthā (Delphini)	4
25. Satabhishā (Aquarii)	
26. Purvābhadrapadā (Pegasi)	
27. Uttarabhadrapadā (Andromedæ)	
28. Revati (Piscium)	

Note. I have taken the stars from Bapu Deva's translation of the *Surya-Siddhānta.*

[24] 'A complete revolution of the moon,' says Sir W. Jones in his paper on the Indian Zodiack (*As. Res.* II. 293) with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days, odd hours, minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained or required by the Hindus, they fixed on the number 27 and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. It consists of 3 stars between the 21st and 22nd stations." According to Albiruni, Abhijit is the Falling Eagle. An Nasr al Wāqi.

The Greeks reckoned 28 Lunar Stations and assigned 12 degrees, 51 minutes and 26 seconds to each. They are as follows.[25]

	Names of the Lunar Stations.	No. of Stars.	Magnitudes.
1.	Al Sharatān (Arietis)	2	3rd.
2.	Al Butain (Arietis)	3	5th.
3.	Al Thurayya (Pleiades)	6	5th.
4.	Aldabarān (Tauri)	1	1st.
5.	Al Hakaah (Orionis)	3	nebular[26]
6.	Al Hannah (Germinorum)	2	3rd and 4th.
7.	Al Dhirāa (Geminorum)	2	2nd.
8.	Al Nathrah (Pæsepe et duo Aselli Cancri)	2	4th.
9.	Al Tarfah (the eye of Leo ; two close together, one belonging to Leo, the other to the stars outside the figure of Cancer)	2	4th
10.	Al Jubrah (Leonis)	4	one of the 4th.
11.	Al Zubrah (Leonis)	2	2nd.
12.	Al Sarfah (Leonis)	1	1st.
13.	Al Awwā (Virginis)	5	3rd
14.	Al Simāk (ul Aazal) (Spica)	1	1st.
15.	Al Ghafr (Virginis)	3	4th.
16.	Al Zubānā (Libræ)	2	2nd.
17.	Al Iklil (Scorpii)	3	4th.
18.	Al Kalb (Sorpii)	1	2nd.
19.	Al Shaulah (Scorpii)		2nd.
20.	Al Naāim (Sagittarii)	4	3rd.
21.	Al Baldah, a blank circular space of the heavens	...	....
22.	Saad Al Dhābih (Capricorni)	2	3rd.
23.	Saad-Bulaa (Aquarii)	2	3rd and 4th.
24.	(Saad) Al Suud (Aquarii)	2 or 3	3rd and 5th.
25.	(Saad) Al Akhbiyah (Aquarii) ..	4	3rd.
26.	Mukaddam (Alfargh al Awwal (Pegasi) ..	2	2nd.
27.	Muakkhar (Alfaragh Althāni (Pegasi. and Andromedæ)	2	2nd.
28.	Rashā (Batu Alhut) (Andromedæ) ...	1	3rd.

In all 66 or 67 stars.

In the following table will be found various particulars regarding the Planets.

[25] Abul Fazl gives only the Arabian names. I take the Greek equivalents from Albiruni's *Chronology*, Sachau, p. 343.

[26] Ptolemy considered them one cloudy star and called them the nebulæ in the head of Orion. Albiruni. See also Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. III, pp. 120-22, Otte.

[14] [The form is given but the particulars are wanting in all the MSS. The entries were probably left to be made at a later time, and either forgotten or the information was never obtained. The details were the diameters and dimensions of the planets and their distances from the earth's centre in *farsakhs* and *yojanas* according to the Hindus, to Ptolemy and to modern astronomers, but as Albiruni observes, the Hindu astronomers themselves are not agreed in their computations. Pulisa reckons the diameter of the earth as 1,600 *yojanas*, and its circumference as 5026 14/15, whilst Brahmagupta reckons the former at 1,581 and the latter at 5,000 *yojanas*. The table of Yaqub-b-Tārik, will be found in Albiruni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 68.]

Magnitudes of the Fixed Stars.

The Hindu philosophers reckon seven magnitudes as follows :—

Magnitudes.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Yojanas.	Kos.	Dand.	Cubit.	Digit.
Diameter of the 1st	7	30	90,239	2	700	...	...
,, ,, 2nd	6	15	75,199	2	1,250	...	...
,, ,, 3rd	5	30	66,175	2	1,580	...	...
,, ,, 4th	4	0	48,127	3	238	2	2
,, ,, 5th	3	0	36,095	0	678	3	13
,, , 6th	2	0	24,063	3	1,119	1	1
,, ,, 7th	1	0	12,031	3	1,559	2	12

The Greeks mention six. The first they call the greatest (Akbār) and the sixth, the least (Asghar), and each comprised three degrees, the great, the mean and the less, each more

[31] Humboldt remarks that at the period of Mongolian supremacy in the 15th century, when astronomy flourished at Samarkand under Ulugh Beg, photometric determinations were facilitated by the sub-

important in proportion to its degree.[27] The intervals of the hexade were measured by sixths. Some supposed that a diameter of a star of the 1st magnitude was six times the diameter of the smallest; but a manifest error occurred in calculating the volumes and distances intervening, by concluding that the volume of a mean star of the 1st magnitude must therefore be six times larger than the volume of a star of the 6th magnitude. But Euclid has demonstrated in the last proposition of the 12th Book of the Elements, that circles are to one another as the squares on their diameters, that is, if the ratio of one diameter to another be one-half or less, there will be three times the ratio between the spheres. For instance, if the diameter of one sphere be half the diameter of another, the smaller sphere will be ½ of ½ of ½ or ⅛ of the larger; and if the diameter be ⅓, the smaller sphere will be ⅓ of ⅓ of ⅓ or 1/27 of the larger, and so on. Therefore, if the case be as those have conjectured, the volume of a star of the 1st magnitude will be greater than that of one of the 6th by a very considerable difference.

The largest of the fixed stars that have been observed, is 222 times, and the smallest of them twenty-three times as large as the earth. From their multitude they cannot be numbered, but the position of 1022 has been fixed.[28]

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division of each of the six classes of Hipparchus and Ptolemy into three subordinate groups: distinctions being drawn between the small, intermediate and large stars of the second magnitude.

[28] This is the catalogue of Hipparchus which gives the longitudes and latitudes of the number described, by their position in the constellations as shown in the 8th book of the *Almagest*. Montucla observes that only 1,022 were observed, though there are a great many more, and some among them visible to the naked eye, but the number is far below what is vulgarly imagined. *Hist. des Math.* I, p. 295. I add on the authority of Humboldt. (*Cosmos* III, 143) that Pliny could count only 1,600 stars visible in the fine sky of Italy. In this enumeration he had descended to stars of the 5th, whilst half a century later Ptolemy indicated only 1,025 stars down to the 6th magnitude. The number of stars visible to the naked eye in the horizon of Berlin, Humboldt gives as 4,022 and in that of Alexandria 4,638.

Of these—

15 are of the 1st Magnitude.		474 are of the 4th Magnitude.	
45 ,, ,, 2nd ,,		217 ,, ,, 5th ,,	
208 ,, ,, 3rd ,,		49 ,, ,, 6th ,,	

There are besides, 14 whose magnitudes are not catalogued, nine of which are obscure and five nebular. This is the theory of Ptolemy. According to Abdul Rahmān-b-Omar al Sufi,[29]

37 are of the 2nd magnitude
200 ,, ,, 3rd ,,
421 ,, ,, 4th ,,
267 ,, ,, 5th ,,
70 ,, ,, 6th ,,
and four nebular.

[29] There is little known of this astronomer, but that he was a native of Rai, and according to D'Herbelot, preceptor of Adhadul Daulah of the Bowide dynasty. Hammer Purgstall gives the date of his death in A. H. 376, (A. D. 986) at the age of 85. He was the author of a work on the fixed stars with illustrations and two [three] others less important. [See *Ency. Islam*, i. 57.]

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH

The Earth is spherical and its centre is the centre of the Universe. The elevations and depressions caused by the action of water or violence of the winds do not affect its spheroidity. Its circumference is 5,059 *yojana*,[1] 2 *kos*, 1,154 *dand*. The ancient Greeks reckoned the circumference to be 8,000 *farsakh*[2] and its diameter 2,545 5/11 *farsakh*. Modern geometers give [16] 6,700 *farsakh* for the circumference and 2,163 7/11 *farsakh* for the diameter. All concur in making one *farsakh* equal to 3 miles.

The Hindu philosophers have the following rule for determining the diameter and circumference. *To find the circumference.* Multiply the given diameter which they call *biyāns* by the multiplier 3,927 termed *gunit*, and divide the product by the divisor 1,250 called *bhāg;* and the quotient, *labdhi* will be the circumference.[3] *To find the diameter.* Multiply the given circumference by 1,250 the former divisor, and divide the product by 3,927, the former multiplier, and

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[1] The calculations are discrepant. Pulisa reckons 5,026 14/15 and its diameter 1,600, while Brahmagupta gives 5,000 and 1,581 respectively and Ibn Tārik 6,596 9/25 and 2,100. Albiruni, *India*, I, p. 312, II, p. 66.

[2] The calculation of Eratosthenes (276-196 B. C.), determined by a method identical with that which would be employed by a modern astronomer, gives the circumference at 250,000 stadia; Posidonius (135 B. C.) made it 240,000 stadia or 30,000 miles. Lewis. *Astron. of the Anc.*, pp. 199-215.

[3] व्यास, *byāsam*. Sansk. *biyāns*. गुणक, *gunak*. Sansk. *gunit*. भाजक, *bhājaka*. Sansk. *bhāg*.

The rule in the *Surya-Siddhānta* is to multiply the square of the diameter by 10, and the square root of the product will be the circumference. The diameter is taken at 1,600 *yojana*. Pulisa reckons the relation of the diameter to the circumference as 1,250 : 3,927, and Brahmagupta as nearly 12,959 : 40,980. Albiruni, II. 71—72.

the quotient will be the diameter. The rule of Archimedes as given in Greek works, is accepted by the Hindus in the same manner, as an approximate calculation. The gist of the rule is that the relation of the diameter to the circumference is the ratio of 7 : 22, or about thrice the diameter and one-seventh. Any given diameter is multiplied by 22, and divided by 7, the quotient being the circumference. Again the circumference multiplied by 7 and divided by 22 gives the diameter. The fraction,[4] however, is really less than 1/7 and greater than 10/71. It is evident that the Hindu rule was unknown to the Greeks or they would have vaunted it in their own praise. Glory be to Him who alone knoweth the relation of the diameter to the circumference.

Now the method of ascertaining the diameter of the (earth's) circumference was after this manner. On a level plain by means of instruments like the astrolabe, the armillary sphere or the quadrant of altitude, taking the elevation of the north pole of the Equinoctial, they proceed northwards, or southwards on the meridian line guided by the astrolabe, and raise the vertical indices above the plane of the circle so that they cover one another. And thus a distance is traversed which exceeds, or is less than the elevation above-mentioned by one degree. If the advance be to the north, it will increase; if to the south, the reverse. The distance from beginning to end is measured and the result forms a degree Thus the circumference is found.

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[4] According to Albiruni, Archimedes defined it to be something between 10/70 and 11/70. (Chap. XV, p. 80), but the statement of Abul Fazl is correct. The book of Archimedes on the Dimensions of the Circle consists of three propositions. 1st, every circle is equal to a right angled triangle of which the sides containing the right angle are equal respectively to its radius and circumference. 2nd the ratio of the area of the circle to the square of its diameter is nearly that of 11 to 14. 3rd, the circumference of the circle is greater than three times its diameter by a quantity greater than 10/70 of the diameter, but less than 1/7 of the same. Smith. Art. Archimedes.

The ancients by this operation found the degree to be 22 *farsakh* and 2/9 or 66⅔ miles. When the plain of Sanjār near Mausil, was selected by the Caliph Al Māmun for this experiment, Khālid-b-Abdu'l Malik Marwarudi with a body of scientific men went towards the north, and Ali-b-Isā [17] Usturlābi with another to the south. The former party found the degree longer than the latter; for when each had measured their respective distances, it was found to be 18 *farsakh* or 56⅔ miles. The difference between the two was ⅔ of a mile.[5] Māmun as a test, asked the two parties the distance between Mecca and Baghdad. According to the above calculation, multiplying 12° 40′ by 56⅔ miles which is a degree, they made the distance to be 720 *kos*.[6] By the order of the Caliph the most level and shortest route between the two cities was measured and the difference was found to be slight. It is strange that the accurate (Nāsiruddin) Tusi in his *Tazkirah* (*u'l Nāsiriyah. Liber Memorialis de astronomia*) should ascribe to the ancients what is related of the astronomers of Māmun's age regarding the measurement of a degree in the plain of Sanjār. Mulla Qutbu'ddin Shirāzi[7] in his *Tuhflat* (*u'l Shāhiyah, Donum regium*) and other works, expresses the opinion of the moderns in regard to the astronomers of that Caliph, in the manner I have related. There has been undoubtedly a slip of the pen in the *Tazkirah*. The Hindu astronomers make the degree 14 *yojanas*, 436 *dand*, 2 cubits and 4 digits, and explain it after the former manner.

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[5] Mr. Reuben Barrow [in his notes in Gladwin's trans. of the *Ain*,] here remarks, that from the spheroidity of the earth, the degrees ought to increase towards the north: but this difference is much greater than it ought to be according to theory.

[6] Mr. Barrow here notes in Gladwin's work, that as the true length of a degree is between 69 and 70 miles, and there is reason to believe that the measures could not be far wrong, it follows that we have not the true length of their measures.

[7] Hāji Khalifah gives the year of his death as A. H. 720 (A. D. 1370). He composed the astronomical work alluded to, for the Emir Shāh Muhammad-b.-Mutazz-b.-Tāhir.

Also on a level plain at sunrise they regulate the course of *gharis* by means of the *Siktajantra* which is an instrument like an hour-glass, measured for 60 *gharis*. With this they walk eastwards. After 84 *yojanas* and a fraction, there is a difference of one *ghari* and the day advanced *by that time*.[8] This multiplied by 60 gives the circumference of the Earth.

Description of the Insular Continents.

The Hindu philosophers describe the terraqueous globe as comprising seven insular continents and seven seas, the whole area of land and sea measuring 7,957,750 *yojanas*.

1. *Jambu Dwipa*[9] is an island surrounded by the ocean, and is the habitation of the human race and the greater part of the animal creation. They consider it together with half the ocean, as equal to a half of the whole globe. The breadth of the ocean is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of the island is

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[8] Mr. Reuben Barrow's note on this is as follows: "Their intent was evidently to measure a degree of longitude in a parallel circle. The principle of the method was the same as that of our modern longitude watches ; and the general practice was to adjust the *Siktajantra* to the time of the meridian they set out from : and to go eastward till the difference of the times shewn by it and by observation appeared to be one *ghari*. For if the instrument was exact, whatever meridian it was carried under, it would still continue to show the time under the meridian of the first place : and if the place arrived at was one degree more to the east, the time found at that place (whether by the sun's rising or any other method) would be one *ghari* more, and so in proportion ; and this is what is meant by the day being more advanced. The Hindus must doubtless have observed the necessity of allowing for the change of declination in the time of sunrise ; but according to the mode prescribed by the author, it would be requisite to restrict the time of making the experiment to that of the solstice."

[9] The description of these islands, their extent, position and reference to European Geography, form a literature of their own, too disputed and uncertain in their details for dogmatism, were the Puranic Cosmography credible enough to be worth it. "Manifold are the opinions of people," says Brahmagupta, "relating to the description of the earth and to Mount Meru, particularly among those who study the Purānas and the religious literature." I content myself with indicating for reference, Chaps. XX to XXXII of Albiruni, and the *Vishnu Purāna*.

1,265 *yojanas*, of which 65 are water, and the superficial area of this island with the sea is 3,978,875 *yojanas*, of which 417,360 are water. They say that in the centre of the Earth is a mountain of gold like an axis, and that part of it which with reference to *Jambu Dwipa* is above the Earth, is called *Sumeru* and is 84,000 *yojanas* [18] high. They believe that the degrees of paradise are on its summit and around its sides. It is said to be the same depth below the surface, and this is known as *Badwānal* and extraordinary fables are told of it. This is the account of the fanatical traditionists of this people, but the learned among them, like the Greeks, do not admit of a height over 2⅓ *farsakh*.

2. *Shāka-dwipa*: half the sea bounds it on one side, and its superficial extent is 427,424 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of milk, of 801,097 *yojanas*.

3. *Shālmali Dwipa*; 320,120 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of curds, of 633,553 *yojanas*.

4. *Kusha Dwipa*: 286,749 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of butter, of 459,792 *yojanas*.

5. *Krauncha Dwipa*: 181,684 *yojanas*. The sea beyond is the juice of sugarcane, of 250,504 *yojanas*.

6. *Gomedaka Dwipa*: 86,580 *yojanas*. The sea beyond is of wine, of 71,648 *yojanas*.

7. *Pushkara Dwipa*: 14,204 *yojanas*. Beyond is the sea of sweet water, of 28,160 *yojanas*.

The breadth of each sea is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of each island, 70 *yojanas*. In these six last *Dwipas*, are located the degrees of the lower regions. The seven seas measure together 3,079,474 *yojanas* and the dry land 4,878,278 *yojanas*.

The habitation of men and animals extends to the 53rd degree of latitude, being 728 *yojanas*.

DESCRIPTION OF JAMBU DWIPA.

The legends regarding the six islands being beyond the limits of credibility, I put them aside and confine myself to a few particulars regarding Jambu.

Dividing the ocean, at each of the four cardinal directions with relation to the equatorial line, stands a city whose fenced walls are of bricks of gold. 1. *Yamakoti*. The earth's longitude is reckoned from this, but in the Greek treatises the Hindu canon is said to be based (as 0° of longitude) on *Gangdizh*,[10] the Greeks being really unaware from what point their [19] longitude was taken. 2. *Lanka*.[11] 3. *Siddhapura*. 4. *Romaka*. Each of these is distant 90 degrees from its neighbour and 180° from that which is opposite to it. The mountain *Sumeru* is distant 90° from each. The northern sides of these lie under the equinoctial circle which in Sanskrit is called *Vishuva-vritta*. This circle passes over the zenith of the inhabitants of these four cities, and the sun twice in the year reaches the zenith, and day and night throughout the year are nearly equal. The greatest altitude of the sun is 90°. His progression is from Lanka to Romaka, from thence to Siddhapura, continuing to Yamakoti and back to Lanka. When the sun is in the meridian of Yamakoti, it is sunrise at Lanka, sunset at Siddhapura, and midnight at Romaka, and when it is midday in Lanka, it rises at Romaka, sets at Yamakoti, and is midnight at Siddhapura. When he is in the meridian of Romaka, it is sunrise at Siddhapura, sunset at Lanka and midnight at Yamakoti. When in the meridian of Siddhapura, the sun rises at

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[10] This is said to be a fortress built by Zohāk in the city of Babylon. Some account of it will be found in the 2 Vol. (Macan's edit.) of the *Shāhnāmah*. According to Albiruni, Abu Maashar based his canon on this place as a first meridian.

[11] Lanka and Ujjain. With Adelard de Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Albert the Great and Roger Bacon the name appears as Arim or Arym, and this place received the name of the Cupola of the earth which was also applied to Lanka. Rein, ccxlvii. I.

Yamakoti, sets at Romaka and [illegible]
there is a difference of 15 gharis between each of these four places.

Again, north of Lanka towards Sumeru there are said to be three mountains Himachala, Hemakuta and Nishadha. These three mountains in this order stretch across from the shore of the eastern sea to the western quarter. From Siddhapura to Sumeru also are three other ranges. *Sringavanta*, *Sukla*, and *Nila*. There is another mountain between Yamakoti and Sumeru, called *Mālyavanta* adjoining Nishadha and Nila, and another between Romaka and Sumeru called *Gandhamādana* whose extremes meet the same two ranges.

Extraordinary are the legends regarding these mountains which cannot here be particularised, but something shall be set down of the region between Lanka and Himāchala, and a little stand exemplar for much. This intervening country is called *Bhārata-khanda*. *Bhārata* was a mighty sovereign and this tract was named after him. From Lanka to Himāchala which is 52 degrees, the country is inhabited, the settlements being particularly frequent up to the 48th degree, and less so through the remaining four, on account of the extreme cold.

[20] According to their supposition a celestial degree is equal to 14 *yojanas* on earth; the whole fifty-two degrees therefore are 728 *yojanas* which they consider to represent the habitable world. Between Himāchala and Hemakuta lies *Kinnara-khanda* comprising 12 degrees of latitude. Between Hemakuta and Nishadha is *Harikhanda* comprising the same number of degrees. Between Siddhapura and Sringa-vanta is *Kuru-khanda* occupying 52 degrees. Between Sringavanta and Shukla lies *Hiranmaya-khand* with 12 degrees of latitude, the whole of which is of gold. Between Shukla and Nila is the tract called *Ramyaka-khanda* comprising the same number of degrees of latitude, and between Yamakoti and

Mālyavanta is *Bhadrāsva-khanda* with an extent of 76°. Intermediate between Gandhamādana and Romaka is *Ketumāla* of 76°. Between Mālyvanta, Gandhamādana, Nishadha and Nila is *Ilāvrita* and extends 14° on each quarter.[12] The superficial measurement of these nine divisions is said to be equal, though the breadth of some is less than that of others.

On the four sides of Sumeru are four other mountains; that on the side of Yamakoti is called *Mandara;* that towards Lanka, *Sugandha Parvata;* on the Romaka quarter, *Vipula,* and towards Siddhapura, *Suparsva.* The height of each is 18,000 *yojanas.*

The nine divisions of Jambu-dwipa having been recorded, I now proceed to relate some particulars of the first division, *Bhārata-khanda.* Between Lanka and Himāchala are said to be seven mountain ranges, extending from east to west and smaller than the former ranges. These are, *Mahendra, Sukti, Malaya, Riksha, Pariyātra, Sahya, Vindhyā.*[13]

The tract between Lanka and Mahendra is called *Indra-khanda;* between it and Sukti, *Kaser;* between Sukti and Malaya, *Tāmravarna;* between Malaya and Riksha, *Gabhastimat;* between Riksha and Pāriyātra, *Nāg-khanda;* between Pāriyātra and Sahya, *Saumyakhanda.* The tract between Sahya and Vindhyā is divided in two parts, the eastern of

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[12] These tracts are named after the nine sons of Agnidhra, the king of Jambu-dwipa, who were named, Nābhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilāvrita, Ramya, Hiranvat, Kuru, Bhadrāsva, and Ketumala. Vishnu Pur. See also the Siddhānta Siromani where all these names and divisions occur.

[13] I correct the readings of the text from the *Vishnu Purāna.* The Mahindra chain extends from Orissa to Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra. Sukti or Suktimat is doubtful. Sahya is the northern portion of the W. Ghats, the mountains of the Konkan; Riksha, the mountains of Gondwana. Vindhya is here restricted to the eastern division of the chain. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra is the northern and western portion. The classification seems to have been known to Ptolemy. See Wilson's note. *Vish. P.* 174.

which is called *Kumāra-khanda*, and the western *Vāruna-khanda.*[14]

The upper half of the globe would be represented by the accompanying plate.

Lacuna.

The Hindus also divide the world into three regions. The upper is named *Swar-loka*, where the good receive the reward of their virtuous life. The middle region is *Bhur-loka*, which is the abode of mankind. The lower is called *Pātāla-loka*, where the wicked receive the punishment of their evil deeds.

The religious teachers of this creed conceive the world to be a superficies divided into fourteen parts. Seven superior, *viz.*, *Bhur-loka, Swar-loka, Mahar-loka, Jana-loka, Tapo-loka* and *Satya-loka* and the same number inferior, *Atala, Sutala, Vitala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala*, and *Pātala*. They relate extraordinary legends regarding the inhabitants of each region which cannot be inserted in a summary narrative.

This people also speak of seven seas and seven islands (*dwipas*), and nine divisions of Jambu-*dwipa*, but there is considerable diversity in their order, extent and other particulars; as for instance, the mountain Sumeru is reckoned to be 84,000 *yojanas* above ground, and 32,000 in breadth and 16,000 below the surface of the earth and the same in breadth. The habitable earth is not confined, they think, only to Bhāratakhanda nor even to Jambu-*dwipa*. They say that beyond the ocean there is a land of gold[15] which is the abode of men. Their duration of life extends to a thousand years, neither more nor less. Sickness and grief come not nigh them, neither have they fear nor greed nor ignorance. They follow not evil speaking nor jealousy nor calumny and live in peace, in rectitude and in charity. They lose not the

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[14] For Kumāra, which is Kumārika in Wilford, the *Vishnu P.* has Gāndharva.

[15] This is Pushkara the 7th *Dwipa*, and recalls "the land of Hevilath where gold groweth" in the 2nd Chap. of Genesis.

vigour of youth, neither are they invaded by [P. 22] weakness or decrepitude. They are of the same creed and race and have no distinction of food or clothing, and their wishes are gratified without toil. Of the other islands in like manner are wonderful legends told which the ordinary rigid formalist would not admit to a hearing, but do not surprise the adoring believer in Divine Omnipotence.

They also divide Kumārakhanda into two parts. The country where the black antelope is not found they call *Mlechchha-des,*[16] and regard it with contempt and unworthy of existence. The region where that animal is indigenous is called *Jag-des,* and it is subdivided into four parts. 1. *Arya-varta,* bounded on the east and west by the ocean, and north and south by two mountain ranges of Hindustān: 2. *Madhya-des,* to the east of which is Illahābās and to the west the river Vināsā, twenty-five *kos* from Thanesar, and bounded to the north and south by the same ranges. 3. *Brahmarikh-des* (Brahmarshi), comprises five places: 1. Thanesar and its dependencies; 2. Bairāth (*var.* Pairāth); 3. Kampila (*var.*

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[16] The Mlechchhas are the *Kirātas* of the *Vishnu Pur.*, the inhabitants of the mountains east of Hindustan according to H. H. Wilson. Wilford places them in the mountains of the Deccan. All this passage is taken from the ordinances of Manu and the names are marred in the taking. Manu writes as follows in Sir W. Jones' translation: Chap. II.

(17.) Between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drishadwati lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmāvarta because it was frequented by gods.

(19.) Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchāla or Kānyakubja Surasena or Mathura form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmāvarta.

(21.) That country which lies between Himavat and Vindhyā to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayāga, is celebrated by the title of Madhya-desa or the central region.

(22.) As far as the eastern as far as the western ocean, between the two mountains just mentioned lies the tract which the wise have named Ariavarta, or *inhabited by respectable men.*

Burnell in his translation explains Vinasana as the terminus of the Saraswati. Prayāga is of course, Allahabad. Wilford identifies the Drishadwati as the Caggar or Gagar, but the courses of these rivers must have considerably altered. Cf. Wilson, *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 181, note.

Kanilah), 4. Mathurā; 5. Kanauj. 4 *Brahmāvarta*, the fertile tract between the Sarsuti (Saraswati) and Rākasi (Drishadwati) rivers.

On Terrestrial Longitude.

The Hindus term longitude *lambana*, and make it consist of 180° after the manner of the Greeks. They reckon its beginning (as 0° of longitude) from *Yamakoti* in the farthest east, apparently because following the movement of night and day, the nearest point to its origin is selected. The Greeks reckon from the Islands of the Blest. There are six[17] islands of the western ocean formerly inhabited, but now submerged beneath the sea. From their delightful climate, their choice production of fruits and flowers and the luxuriance of their vegetation, they were accounted a paradise. Men call them the Eternal Islands (*Khāldāt*) or the Fortunate (*Sa'dā*). Some assert that the Fortunate Isles are 24 in number between the Eternal Islands and the sea-shore. Of the Greeks, some take the reckoning of longitude from the shore of the western (Atlantic) ocean which they call *Okeanós*[18] which is 10° east

[17] The number mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny instead of seven, the actual number of the *ai ton Makāron nysoi*. A table of their ancient and modern names will be found in W. Smith's Dict.

Reinaud notices the distinction or confusion made by the Arabs between the Eternal Isles or Islands of the Blest, and the Fortunate Isles. Abulfeda confounds them, but Ibn Sayd places the Fortunate Isles among the Eternal and about them, making the latter 6 in number and the former 24 and distributing them among the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates between the 16th and 30th degrees of north latitude, thus allowing the inference that the Fortunate Isles are the Canaries and the Eternal the Cape de Verde. *Geog. Abulf.* Intro. ccxxiv.

[18] According to a fragment of Phavorinus, not a Greek word, but derived from the barbarians probably connected with Sanskrit. Among the Greeks the son of Uranus and Gaia, became in physical geography, a *river* or stream circumfluent round the earth, and the large expanses of water are distinguished by Herodotus as *seas*. But the idea of the encircling waters became transferred as a secondary meaning to the ocean and specially to the Atlantic which was called the Great Sea, the Outer Sea, the Atlantic or simply the Ocean. Smith's *Dict. Geog.*

of the Eternal Islands. The distance of the shore from the islands is 222 2/9 *farsakh* according to the system of the ancients, or 189 8/9 *farsakh* according to the moderns, the latter being guided to this conclusion by observation of the motion of the Zodiacal signs in succession and the proximity of the place. In the longitudinal reckoning of places both are agreed. The longitude is an arc of the equatorial between its point of upper intersection with the meridian measured from the beginning of the habitable earth (the first meridian), and its point of upper intersection with the meridian of the given place, and the interval is the distance between the place and the first meridian at its nearest side.[19]

To find the longitude; at the first meridian or a place whose longitude is known, observe the exact time of the occultation of light in a lunar-eclipse, its duration and initial or total reappearance, and let a similar observation be made at the place whose unknown longitude is required. If the time be the same on both, their longitude will be the same. If the time be later at the place required, the city is more to the eastward.[20] The difference of the times of observation is taken, and an excess in the number of degrees over the place whose longitude is known, is allotted on the calculation of six degrees for every *ghari* and fifteen degrees for every hour, reckoning 4 minutes to the degree. If the time be earlier, the city is more westerly and the calculation is the

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[19] This is the literal translation, but it must be taken to include the meaning that the arc of the equator intercepted between the two meridians may be reckoned on any parallel of latitude as well as on the equator. It must be remembered with reference to what is termed the point of upper intersection that all south of the equator is supposed to be water and uninhabited and that therefore the upper half circle only of the equatorial is considered.

[20] The rule in the *Surya Siddhānta* is as follows:

At the given place if the Moon s total darkness (in her eclipse) begins or ends after the instant when it begins or ends at the Middle line of the Earth, then the given place is E. of the Middle line, (but if it begins or ends) before the instant (when it begins or ends on the Middle line, then) the given place is west of the Middle line.

reverse of that for the east. According to the system of the Hindu astronomers who begin their reckoning of longitude from the east, in the first instance, the number of degrees will diminish, and in the second case, increase.

ON TERRESTRIAL LATITUDE.

This is called by the Hindus *Akṣha*. It is reckoned from Lanka and carried to the 52nd degree of latitude. All within this region is populous, but less so up to 14° further (north) on account of the severity of the cold. The Greeks reckon their latitude from the equator, and and as their circle passes through Lanka, there is no discrepancy and the result is the same. The latitude of a place is an arc extending from the equator between the meridian of the place, and its upper intersection with the equinoctial. In short it is the distance of the meridian of the city from the equinoctial, and that is the degree of the elevation of the pole (above the horizon of the place).

To find the latitude.[21] Take the latitude of a (circumpolar) star that is constantly visible, and ascertain its highest and lowest points of ascension. Subtract the lesser from the greater and add half the remainder to the lesser, or subtract it from the greater. The result of this process of addition and subtraction gives the latitude of the place. Or

During either equinox, take the altitude of the sun at noon. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder is the latitude of the place. Or

When the sun enters the first of Cancer, take its greatest altitude and subtract its total declination. The remainder will give the co-latitude. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder gives the latitude of the place.

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[21] Albiruni says in his 29th Chapter on India, that the Hindu method of determining the latitude of a place had not come to his knowledge.

Every place whose longitude is less than 90° is called west longitude, and greater than 90° east longitude. According to the Hindus it is the reverse. Every place whose latitude is less than 33°, is south, and greater than 33°, north latitude.

In order to ascertain the (times of) worldly events, at the sun's first entry into Aries, they observe its rising at Lanka, and finding the horoscope, they assemble to determine the calculation and this they call *Lankudaya Lagna*.[22] The oblique ascension is used to determine the relative conditions of any particular place, and is called *Nagr-udaya Lagna*. The Greeks observe this system, but they have two *ascendens* or horoscopes, one at the extreme east to ascertain the circumstances of one hemisphere and the second at the cupola of the earth which is the means of discovering the [24] conditions of the other. They consider that as the circle of the meridian cuts the globe of the earth, it appears as a circle on its circumference and intersects the equatorial line. The point of intersection (Lanka) is called the cupola or the centre of the earth. Some

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[22] The etymology of these terms is thus given in the *Siddhānta Siromani*.

That point of the ecliptic which is, at any time, on the eastern horizon is called the Lagna or horoscope. This is expressed in signs and degrees and reckoned from the first point of stellar Aries. That point which is on the western horizon is called the Asta-Lagna or setting horoscope. The point of the ecliptic of the meridian is called the Madhya-Lagna or middle horoscope (culminating point of the ecliptic). The Udaya-Lagna is the rising horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which comes to the eastern horizon at the same time with the planet, its Asta-Lagna being the setting horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches the western horizon.

According to a paper in the *As. Res.* II. by Samuel Davis, the Hindus signify by the *Lagna of Lanka*, those points of the equator which rise respectively with each 30th degree of the ecliptic in a right sphere, answering to the right ascension in any latitude. By the Lagna of any particular place, the oblique ascension or the divisions of the equator which rise in succession with each sign in an oblique sphere. By the horoscope is signified the point of the ecliptic rising at a given time after sunrise, the rule to find which is given in the *Surya Siddhānta*, (Bāpu Deva, p. 39). The omphalos which marked Delphi as the centre of Greece and of the Earth, existed in the temple of Delphi during the historic period.

suppose the cupola to be in the middle of the *oikoimény*, that is at a spot situated in Lon. 90°, Lat. 33°. Others place it in the fourth climate, Lon. 9°, Lat. 36°.

A brief description of the cosmogony according to the strange theories of Hindu sages having been given, I here note some particulars of the system of the Greeks to relieve the dryness of this exposition.

There are nine integral heavens[23]. 1. The greatest heaven, called also the crystalline, whose revolution is the cause of night and day. 2. The heaven of the fixed stars. 3. The heaven of Saturn. 4. The heaven of Jupiter. 5. The heaven of Mars. 6. The heaven of the Sun. 7. The heaven of Venus. 8. The heaven of Mercury. 9. The heaven of the Moon. There are besides fifteen minor spheres. Again, the elemental spheres are nine in number.

The first is of Fire: its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

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[23] The *Istilāhātu'l Funun* describes the heavens (*āflāk*) as of two kinds: (1) the integral or independent (*Kullya*) which are *not* parts of other heavens, and, (2) the supplemental or dependent (*juzya*) that are so. The integral sphere is simple (*mughrad*) when it has no dependent sphere, such as the great or crystalline heaven; and it is compound (*markab*) if it has such, like the heavens of the planets. Its definition of the word "heaven" (*falk*) corresponds to that of *āsmān* at p. 14. The great or crystalline heaven, the sphere *par excellence* which includes all others is called also the heaven of heavens, the universal heaven (*falk-ul-kul*), the starless, the lofty, the all-comprehending, &c. It is the *primum mobile* having a swift motion from E. to W. completed in less than 24 hours, and its movement carries round the other heavens and all in them, for being itself the prime motor, it possesses the force to compel the motion of all included by it, for it is the motor of them in *essentia rei* and of all in them *per accidens*. The crystalline sphere of Anaximander was handed down to the middle ages as a cosmical theory and the firmament was supposed to consist of from 8 to 10 glassy spheres encasing each other like the coats of an onion. The vault was called crystalline from the supposed condensation of the air into a solid transparent body by the action of fiery ether.

Albiruni (Chap. XX) accepting the necessity of eight spheres, sees no object in a ninth, which was unknown to Plato. For Islamic astronomy, see *Ency. Islam*, i. 497-501.

The second, of Air: of this there are four strata, *viz.*, 1. *volatilised* where the fluid is permeated by vapour, for the ascending vapours do not reach this point but become dissipated. It is here that comets, Zodiacal light,[24] luminous streams and meteors and the like have their origin. The Hindus regard them all as astral bodies of which they number a thousand kinds, and believe that they are always in existence but only occasionally visible:[25] 2. *predominant*, where the shooting stars are observed: 3. *boreal*, which is a vaporous wind and extremely cold in which clouds, lightning, thunder and thunderbolts take their rise: 4. *dense*, and this adjoins the spheres of Water and Earth.

The third, of Water: this surrounds the earth and from the effect of light and contact with earth, does not retain its original purity and thus waters varying in sweet, saline, clear, and turbid qualities spring from the soil and are diverse in their scantiness, excess, limpidity and density.

The fourth, Earth: this according to their notions lies in three strata (α) that which by the bounty of the Creator came forth from the waters and subjected to heat became dry land, wherein is the region of mountain and mine and the habitat of the greater number of animals; (β) clay, which is earth

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[24] The term *Nezak* or *Nayzak* (a short spear) was first applied, according to Humboldt. (*Kosmos* I, 128 Otte), by the Court astronomers of Persia to the strange light never before observed, seen in 1685 in Persia and described by the great traveller Chardin. In his *Atlas du Voyage*, however, he applies the term *nyāzak* to the famous comet which appeared over nearly the whole world in 1688 and whose head was so hidden in the west that it could not be seen in the horizon of Ispahan.

[25] "The belief in the existence of non-luminous stars was diffused amongst the ancient Greeks and in the early ages of Christianity. The doubt as to the passing away and reappearance of stars is expressed by Pliny in his mention of Hipparchus. "Stellæ an obirent nascerenturve?" The authority of Humboldt is opposed to the doctrine of their annihilation and affirms that the cosmical alteration is merely the transition of matter into new forms and that dark cosmical bodies may by a renewed process of light again become luminous. *Kosmos* III, pp. 222—254. Otte.

mixed with water; (γ) earth simple, and this is about the centre of the globe.

Some writers blindly following traditional lore hold that the Earth like the heavens consists of seven vaults, and another school believes that the heavens overshadow them all, and that each earth is surrounded by a mountain, as the mountain of *Qāf*[26] surrounds this habitable world. They also assert that the earths are of gold, and ruby and the like. Some pretend that beyond Qāf there are seventy regions of gold, followed by as many of musk and imagine similar extraordinary strata. Though fable may create a hundred other such fancies, no proof can substantiate them.

EXTENT OF DESERT AND HABITABLE LAND.

The equinoctial is a great circle, the two poles whereof are the two poles of the earth. The one which is in the direction of Ursa Minor called also *Banāt u'n Naash*, is the north pole. The constellation of the [P. 25] Kid[27] is adjacent to it. The other is the south pole[28]. When the sun passes over this circle, night and day are of equal length in all places, either actually or approximately, and this occurs in the first

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[26] Albiruni says (XXIII) that the mountain called by his people Qāf, is Lokaloka with the Hindus, (a fabulous belt of mountain boundary, beyond the seven seas and dividing the visible world from the regions of darkness).

[27] *Jidy*. It is not a constellation but *a* of Ursa Minor, *i.e.*, the polar star. Reinaud (Abulf. I. cxciv) calls it le Chevreau and points out that its other signification of Capricorn has led astray several savants, notably Silvestre de Sacy (*Recueil des Notices* t. VIII, p. 146. et. 178). The Bear which does not set for those who live north of the equator, serves the Arabs to mark the north while Canopus which is always visible to them, marks the south. Reinaud. Ibid.

[28] "It is well known", says Albiruni (xxii) "that the north pole with us is called the Great Bear, and the south pole, Canopus. But some of our people maintain that in the south of heaven too, there is a Great Bear of the same shape as the northern, which revolves round the southern pole." The Greek word πολος originally signified a ball or sphere and hence was applied to the cavity of the heavens.

of Aries and Libra. From this imaginary circle being drawn upon the concave surface of the *magnus orbis*, a great circle is delineated upon the earth which divides it into two-halves north and south, the periphery being called the equatorial line where night and day are always equal.

The horizon is of two kinds, the *real* and the *sensible*, and the latter is to be understood in two ways. The *first* is a circle parallel to the *real* horizon and contiguous to the surface of the earth. The *second* is a circle which divides the visible portion of the sphere from the invisible, and this horizon is also called the visible, the radial and the horizon of vision. The zenith and nadir are its two poles, which vary with the spectator and his position. The *real* horizon is a great circle, having the same two poles, and the distance of the *first sensible* horizon from the *real*, is half the earth's diameter, and by this the *real* horizon is obtained.[29] And as the equatorial line divides the earth into two halves, the northern and the southern, the circle of the *real* horizon divides those two halves again into two, an upper and a lower. Thus by these two circles, the earth is apportioned into four quarters, an upper and lower northern, and similar southern divisions. The Greeks supposed the northern quarter only to be above water, but they have determined this by no proof. Its creation was assigned to the power of the Sun, in order that animal life to which breathing is a necessity, might secure the capacity to exist and the wondrous power of human speech become manifest. Through the force of the celestial light and the accretional properties of matter in the upper

[29] That is, in those regions where the sun's rays fall directly and not obliquely upon the earth. So Albiruni says "The country S. of the Line is not known and the earth is too much burnt to be habitable. Parts of the inhabited world do not reach nearer the equator than to a distance of several days journey. There the water of the sea is dense because the sun so intensely vapourises the particles of water that fishes and other animals keep away from it. . . . The sun when reaching the perigee of his excentric sphere, stands nearly in its utmost southern declination and burns all the countries over which he culminates." *Chronology*, 249.

regions, and by the action of the winds and the commotion of the seas, lofty mountains and marvellous configurations of hills and profound abysses were produced. And because the tendency of water is to flow downwards and the earth thereby becomes viscous, the fermentation of heat and the disintegrating process of time caused the rise of mountainous ranges.

When the sun culminates in the northern signs of the ecliptic from Aries to Virgo, its lowest declination from the equator will necessarily occur in the southern signs. From Libra to Pisces are the signs culminating in the winter solstice. At this time the sun is nearest the sphere of the earth and the warmth is excessive, the heat absorbing moisture as may be witnessed by experiment with a lamp. The solstice continues in the same sign during 2,100 years and the entire revolution is made in 25,200 years, one-half of this period being occupied in the northern and the other in the southern signs.[30] It is now in the 3rd degree of Cancer and the opposite solstitial point is in the same degree of Capricorn. It is this ecliptic movement that has caused the northern quarter of the globe to become *terra firma*. Its superficial area, according to the ancients, is 5,090,000 and according to the moderns 3,678,233½ *farsakh*. The rule to find this is to multiply the diameter by ¼ of the circumference and the product will be the measurement of the quarter of the globe, or divide the superficial area of the whole globe by 4 and the quotient gives the area of the quarter. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the quarter of the globe was created *terra firma* or became so at a later period. The majority incline to the latter belief from the consideration of the proximity of the solstitial points. They affirm that the whole of the fourth

[30] The precession of the equinoxes was discovered by Hipparchus. At that time the point of the autumnal equinox was about 6° east of Spica Virgins. In 1750, i.e., about 1900 years afterwards, this point was observed 26° 21′ west of that star. Hence the equinoctial points will make an entire revolution in 25,745 years.

part of the globe was *terra firma*, but that now a great part of it is submerged such as the Eternal Islands, Greece and and other places.

[26] The *Oikoimény* is declared not to extend in latitude beyond the complement of the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator[31] which is 60° 29′ 43″, as animal life could not exist beyond this point from the severity of the cold. The superficial area of the *oikoimény* is taken by the ancients from the equatorial line to a place whose latitude is equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator. According to the Gurgāni Canon, the superficial area is 4,668,502 7/60 *farsakh* and according to the moderns 3,370,992¾ *farsakh*. Some say that a portion of the upper southern quarter adjoining the northern quarter is *terra firma* but not inhabited. Others affirm that it is inhabited as far as 10° south. Ptolemy[32] in his Geography allows 16° 25′ and near the Zanj and Abyssinian, further still. A few even suppose that the other three-fourths of the globe are also above water and inhabited.

Ancient traditions relate that Alexander after his conquest of the northern quarter of the globe, desiring to obtain some information of the remaining quarters and of the seas thereof, named several bold and scientific explorers for this duty, and supplying them, confident in their providential

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[31] That is to say, the greatest northern declination from the equator being according to our calculation 23° 27′ 27″ ; this subtracted from 90° will give the complement of the arc from the equator to the north pole ; and this complement, *viz.*, 66° 32′ 33″ reckoned *from the equator* measures the limit, in the sense of the text, within which men can live and beyond which in a northerly direction, they cannot.

[32] Ptolemy placed the southern limit of the habitable world as, Abul Fazl rightly states later in the parallel of 16¼ degrees of S. Lat. at Antimerooe, and the northern limit in 63° N. Lat. which passes through Thule, supposed to be the Shetlands. This range therefore includes 79¼ degrees. The total degrees of longitude of the habitable parts of the earth he accounts to be 177¼. *Cosmog. Fol, Venet.* 1486, Chap. XII and Mc. Crindle, *Anc. Ind.* 5.

mission in the pursuit of knowledge, with six months' provisions, embarked them in a sea-going vessel. After sailing day and night, through the period mentioned, they fell in with some vessels, but from diversity of tongues they were unable to understand each others' intentions. A fight ensued and Alexander's party was victorious. With some of the captives they intermarried. The children of these marriages spoke the languages of both their parents and from these nurslings of life it was discovered that a certain prince had despatched this band also with the same object, and after a three months' continuous sail the encounter had taken place. But this account is disputed.[33]. In other ancient writings it is related that Alexander sent out a party of scientific men thoroughly proficient in the knowledge of various languages, on an expedition by sea with provisions for three years. They were instructed to sail eastwards for a period of a year and a half towards the rising places of the stars, and then to return and relate their experience. This party after sailing the appointed time reached a flourishing coast and they learnt that they had penetrated to the country of Bactria. Alexander for a time appointed some of his ministers to the government of this province.

At the present day, those of more exact information declare that the south is inhabited in the same way as the north. Of late years the Europeans have discovered an extensive and populous insular continent which they have called the New World. Some shattered vessels had been here driven ashore. A man mounted on horseback was seen by the inhabitants. Mistaking the man and his horse for a single animal they were overcome by fear and the country fell an easy capture.

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[33] Such is the literal translation of this ridiculous account but nothing is too childish or incredible for Abul Fazl's narrative.

DIVISION OF THE EARTH INTO COUNTRIES.

The learned have divided the *oikoy mene* into seven parts, to each of which they have given the name of *klima*. Some reckon from the equator as Ptolemy shows in his [27] *Almagest*.[34] Another school omitting 12° 45′ north of the equator, divide the remainder and terminate as is known at the 50° 31° parallel of latitude.[35] In the former case, therefore, the parallels from the equator will be seven circles and in the latter, eight. The seven belts which these lines form are called *climates*. A climate therefore is a belt on the surface of the earth between two semi-circles parallel with

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[34] In the *Almagest* (II. 6) he marks ten climates north of the equator, beginning at the parallel of Taprobane in lat. 4° 15′ and ending at that of Thule in lat. 63° ; and in the south, beginning at the equator or the parallel of Cape Raptum and ending at the parallel of Antimeroe in 16° 25′. In the Geography he gives 19 climates ; as far as the 16th climate, which is the arctic circle, twelve are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day, the 13th and 14th, one hour, and the 15th and 16th, two hours. In the remaining climates within the arctic circle, the days no longer increase by hours but by months. *Dict. of Antiq.* W. Smith.

[35] The double theory of longitude is thus explained by Albiruni in his XXIX Chap. (Sachau's Transl. I. 304). "Some adopt as the beginning of longitude the shore of the Atlantic Ocean and they extend the first quarters as far as the environs of Balkh. . . . . So that Shaburgān and Ujjain are placed on the same meridian. A theory which so little corresponds to reality is quite valueless. Others adopt the Islands of the Happy Ones as the beginning of longitude and the quarters of the *oikoumene* they extend thence as far as the neighbourhood of Jurjan and Nishapur." That is, with Ptolemy's division of the circumference of the globe into 360°, the 90° naturally fell in the middle of the habitable world and was taken as the central meridian. This was accounted to pass through Lanka and Ujjain but they deflected it for some strange reason to the N.-W. Among the Arabs, some, after the example of Ptolemy, took their first meridian from the Fortunate Isles, others from the W. Coast of Africa making a difference of 10°. According to the first computation the 90° fell on Nishapur in Khorāsān, and according to the second on the town of Shaburgān about a day's march W. of Balkh. See Reinaud, *Geography*, I, ccxliv. This difference of 10° may be constantly observed in comparing Abul Fazl's longitude with the authorities of Abulfeda.

each other and with the equator. A climate increases in length as it approaches the equator; moreover its first parallel will be longer than its second. It is demonstrable from (experiment with) spheres that every parallel circle increases as it nears the equatorial line. The length of the first parallel of the first climate is said to be 11,856 miles approximately, and the length of its second parallel 11,230, while the length of the last parallel of the seventh climate is 1,627 *farsakh*. But every climate, like the longitudinal extension of the earth from west to east, is divided into an equal number of degrees of longitude, and not more or less in proportion to its length. The latitude of each belt varies.

There are two reasons given for the selection of seven as this number. The first is that ancient sages have verified by experience that each tract of superficial area was specially connected with one of the planets, as for instance, the first climate with Saturn. For this reason the inhabitants of that zone generally are dark-skinned, curly-haired, long-lived and indolent in action. The second climate, according to the Persians, had an affinity with Jupiter, but according to the Romans, with the Sun. The third climate, in the opinion of the former, with Mars, in that of the latter, with Mercury. The fourth, with the Sun, as the first mentioned suppose, but with Jupiter according to the second opinion. Both concur in ascribing the fifth to Venus. The sixth is allotted by the first to Mercury, by the second to the Moon. The seventh, the former connect with the Moon, the latter with Mars. The second opinion is that in former ages a single monarch ruled the whole habitable earth. With far-seeing and prudent policy he divided it severally among his seven sons.

The word *climate* may be taken in two senses, *viz*., the ordinary sense in which men commonly speak of a tract of country as a climate, such as Rome, Turān, Irān and Hindustān; and the true signification already explained. In

the latter meaning India is an aggregate of the first, second, third and fourth climates.

The beginning of the first climate is defined by general opinion to be north of the equator. Its latitude according to accurate information is 12° 42′ 2″ 39‴. Its longest day is 12 hours and 45 minutes. Its centre has a location according to concurrent testimony, where its longest day is 13 hours. Its latitude is 16° 37′ 30″. Twenty large mountains and thirty considerable rivers are comprised in it, and its population are generally black in colour.

The beginning of the second climate has a latitude of 20° 31′ 17″ 58‴. Its longest day consists of 13 hours fifteen minutes. The longest day at its centre is 13 hours, 30 minutes. Its latitude is 24° 40′. It includes 27 mountains and 27 rivers. The colour of the inhabitants of this zone is between black and wheat colour.

The beginning of the third climate has a latitude of 27° 34′ 3″ 33‴. Its longest day is 13 hours, 45 minutes. Its day at the centre is of 14 hours and the latitude 30° 40′. It comprises 33 mountains and 22 rivers, and its inhabitants are generally of a wheat colour.

The beginning of the fourth climate has a latitude of 33° 43′ 17″ 36‴. Its longest day, 14 hours, 15 minutes. At the centre the longest day is of 14 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 36° 22′. It includes 25 mountains and 22 rivers; the colour of its inhabitants is between wheat colour and a fair skin.

The beginning of the fifth climate is in Lat. 35° 0′ 19″ 5‴. Longest day, 14 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours. Lat. 41° 15′. Colour of inhabitants fair. Has 30 mountains and 15 rivers.

The beginning of the sixth climate is in Lat. 43° 29′ 58″ 8‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 15 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 45° 21′. Has 11

mountains 40 rivers. Colour of inhabitants fair inclining to tawny and with tawny hair.

The beginning of the seventh climate is in Lat. 47′ 58′ 59″ 17‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 16 hours. Lat. 48° 52′. Its mountains and rivers as in the sixth climate. Colour of inhabitants ruddy and white. Its extreme parallel according to general opinion is in Lat. 50° 31′ 31″ 54‴. The longest day 16 hours, 15 minutes.

The differences in latitude of these climates are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day. From the last parallel to the furthest inhabited point is not included in a climate on account of the paucity of its inhabitants. Some suppose the northern-most parallel of the seventh climate to be the extreme of the habitable world. According to others, the parallel of 50° 20′ is inhabited, but they do not include it in this climate; and there is an island called Thule in Lat. 63°. From the severity of the cold the inhabitants pass their days in heated chambers. In Lat. 63° 30′ is habitable land the dwellers wherein are Scythians as recorded by Ptolemy. In Lat. 66° a tract has been discovered the inhabitants of which resemble wild animals, as mentioned [29] by him in the Geographia. The remaining portion of the quarter of the globe is according to some, a tenantless waste, while others regard it as simply unknown country. In Lat. 54° and a fraction, the longest day is 17 hours; in Lat. 58°, 18 hours; in Lat. 61°, 19 hours; in Lat. 63°, 20 hours; in Lat. 64° 30′, 21 hours; in Lat. 65° and a fraction, 22 hours; and in 66° 23 hours, and in the latitude, equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator, 24 hours. In Lat. 67° the day increases by one month, in Lat. 70°, 1¾ months; in Lat. 73° 30′, three months; in Lat. 78° 30′, four months; in Lat. 84°, five months, and in the Lat. 90° which is the extremity of the

earth, the day is said to be of six months, and the other six months is night. But it is more correct to say that a year is one nycthemeron. If the day be reckoned from sunrise to sunset, the day there would be seven nycthemera longer than the nights, but if it be calculated from the dawn of light and the disappearance of the fixed stars, to the occultation of light and the reappearance of the stars, the day there would be seven months and seven days and the remainder (*of the year*) night. Again if the day be counted from the dawn of morning to the evanescence of twilight, this day would be of nine months and seventeen days and the complement of the year would be the night.[36]

To lend an interest to this work a table of the various climates with other details is here introduced.

Tables for the ascertainment of the Longitudes and Latitudes of places of the inhabited quarter of the globe from the Latitude of the Equator, according to the learned, especially of places beyond the limits of the seven climates to the 60th Degree of Latitude.

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGTUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
The Equator ...	12	...	...	...	The lat. is taken at 12° N. of the true Equator. V. p. 66.
The Island of Tirufāi ...	12	35	15.	...	
Shore of the Atlantic ...	11	...	...	...	

[36] The following table, from Ukert, showing the climates of Ptolemy (Geog. I, 23) is taken from the Dict. of Antiq. for purpose of comparison with Abul Fazl's account.

Climate.	Parallel.	Longest Day.		Latitude.		Passing through.
		h.	m.			
	1	12	0	0°	0′	
I	2	12	15	4	15	Taprobane.
	3	12	30	8	25	Sinus Avalites.
II	4	12	45	12	30	Adule Sinus.
	5	13	0	16	27	Meroe.
III	6	13	15	20	14	Napata.
	7	13	30	23	51	Syene.
IV	8	13	45	27	12	Ptolemais in Egypt.
	9	14	0	30	2	Lower Egypt.
V	10	14	15	33	18	Middle of Phœnicia.
	11	14	30	36	0	Rhodus.
VI	12	14	45	38	35	Smyrna.
	13	15	0	40	56	Hellespont.
VII	14	15	15	43	41	Massilia.
	15	15	30	45	1	Middle of the Euxine.
VIII	16	15	45	46	51	Sources of the Danube.
	17	16	0	48	32	Mouth of the Borysthenes.
IX	18	16	15	50	4	Middle of Palus the Macotis.
	19	16	30	51	40	Southern Britain.
X	20	16	45	52	50	Mouths of the Rhine.
	21	17	0	54	30	Mouths of the Tanais.
XI	22	17	15	55	0	The Brigantes in Britain.
	23	17	30	56	0	Brittania Magna.
XII	24	17	45	57	0	Caturactonium in Britain.
	25	18	0	58	0	South of Brittania Parsa.
XIII	26	18	30	59	30	Middle of ditto.
	27	19	0	61	0	North of ditto.
XIV	28	19	30	62	0	Ebudes Insulae.
	29	20	0	63	0	Thule.
XV	30	21	0	64	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
	31	22	0	65	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
XVI	32	23	0	66	0	
	33	24	0	66°8′40″		
XVII	34	1 month about		67°	15′	
	35	—		69	30	
XVIII	36	—		73	20	
	37	—		78	20	
XIX	38	—		84	0	
	39	—		90	0	

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR.

NAMES OF PLACES

Island of Qumbulah (Madagascar), Long. 21, Lat. 8.—Qumr, according to Yaqut. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 64.

Sinus Avalites, Long. 12·30, Lat. 8·25.—The Gulf of Aden.

Ghānah, gold mines, a town in the Sudan, Long. 30, Lat. 10.—Said by Ibn Sayd to be on the Niger, gold dust exported. M. Cooley in his *Negroland*, p. 44 locates it near Timbuctoo. Abul Fed. *Geog*. Reinaud II, I, 21. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 139.

SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR.

Gogo, Long. 44, Lat. 10·15.—On its W. Ghānah: on the E. Kanem. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 172.

Sofālah of the Zanj country, Long. 52, Lat. 2·30.—In the Mozambique country, S. of the Zambesi. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 469.

Middle of the Lake of Koura, Long. 80, Lat. 4.—According to the *Resam Al Mamour*, its centre is placed in 53½ Long, Lat. zero. Left bank 52 Long., right bank 54. Ibn Sayd makes the Egyptian Nile flow out of its N. quarter, the Nile of Madakshon from the E. and the Nile of Ghanah (Niger) from the W. On its E. and S. a mountain called Almaksam. Reinaud, Abul F. II, I. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 916-921 (under *al-Nil*.)

Jimi on the Nile, Long. 63·15, Lat. 9·11.—The text has the min. of Lat. 401! According to Ibn Sayd, it is in 53 Long., Lat. 9·3—capital of Kanem country and called by Maqrizi, *Aldjema*. Reinaud, *Geog. Abulf*. II. I.

Saharta. Long. 64, Lat. 6.—A dist. of Abyssinia, Long. 54, Lat. 5, but the Ist climate of Ibn Sayd begins from the Equator and terminates at 16·27 N. Lat. (Now called Tigre, *Ency. Islam*, I. 119.)

Jarmi, capital of Abyssinia, Long. 65, Lat. 6.—Probably Jumi, identified with Axum, formerly Axuma. Rein. *ibid*. *Ency. Islam*, i. 119.

Zaghāwah, Long. 66, Lat. 2.—The Long. varies from 54 to 60 and the Lat. from 1 to 11½ in three tables given by Abul F. The people of Zaghāwah are subject to the Kanem and their country is 20 marches from Dongola. For Kanem. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 712-715.

Hadyah, Long. 66, Lat. 2.—Long. 57·3 N. Lat. 7, a town of Abyssinia S. of Vefat or Aufat. *Ency. Islam*, i. 119.

Zailah, Long. 71, Lat. 8.—Ibn Sayd 66 Long., 10·55 N. Lat. Kanun-ul-Mumtanih and Kitāb-ul Atwal, 61 (A port on the African coast of the Gulf of Aden. *Ency. Isl.*, iv. 1198.)

Makdishu, Long. 72, Lat. 2.—Now called Magadoxo on the littoral below Somaliland. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 165.

Aden, Long. 76, Lat. 11.

Barbera, Long. 78, Lat. 6·30.—In the Gulf of Aden.

Sinus Adulicus, Long. 12·15, Lat. 12·30.—*Adoulikos Koltos*, Annesley Bay. The text has confounded this with the Sinus Avalites, but Ukert's Table of climates shows what is intended. Adulis, the modern Zulla is placed by Ptolemy, Long. 67, Lat. 11·66. *Cosmograph*, Fol. Venet, 1486.

Shibām, capital of Hadramaut, Long. 81·15, Lat. 12·30.

Mirbāt, between Hadramaut and Omān, Long. 82, Lat. 12.—It is situate in the littoral of El Shehr and is the port of Dhafar. The mountains of Dhafar are famed for the incense produced there.

Island of Serandip (Ceylon), Long. 130, Lat. 12.—Atwal and Qānun, Long. 12, Lat. 10.

Island of Socotra, of India, Caret.—Atwal, Long. 74·30, Lat. 12. Qānun Long. 66·30, Lat. 9. Abul F. Long. 74·30, Lat. 9.

Mountains of Qāmerun produces Lignum Aloes, Long. 130, Lat. 10.—According to Reinaud (Introd. Abulf. ccclxxxvii) this is Kāmrup in Assam, called by the Arabs Camround and famous for its aloes.

Island of Lāmri, of India, produces the wood *baqqam*. Long. 130, Lat. 9.—The Lambri of Marco Polo (Rein. II. I. 131), Baqqam is the Caesalpinia found in most parts of India of which Roxb. gives 18 kinds. It is a kind of Brazil wood.

Island of Kalah, of India, Long. 140, Lat. 8.—Called by Abulf. the port of all the regions between Oman and China. Exports tin called by its name, *i.e.*, *kalai*, which Reinaud says may be from the Malay *Kala*. Walckenaer places Kalah in Malacca in the province of Keydah opposite the island of Sumatra. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 669, under *Kalah* (fully discussed).

Island of Mahārāj, of India, Long. 150, Lat. 1.—A large island in the Green Sea (Indian Ocean). Abulf. II, II, 132. Ibn Sayd says that the Mahārāja are in clusters of numerous

islands, the largest of which is the seat of royalty, most probably Borneo. The Arabs extended India as far as the Java Archipelago, v. Reinaud, I, cccxxxi.

Yamakoti, Long. 176, Lat. 5.

Sila, in China, Long. 80, Lat. 8·5.—Extreme of Eastern China. Abulf. Reinaud, II, II, p. 124 ; according to Reinaud, Corea.

Gangdizh, on the shore of the Eastern sea, Long. 180.

Iram, "adorned with lofty pillars" (*Qurān* 89) said to be in Yemen. See Sale's *Koran* for the story of this paradise of Shaddād b. 'Aād. It was said to have been fashioned after the paradise of Adam, with walls of gold and columns of ruby and emerald. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 519-520.

The First Climate

Shore of the Ocean, Long. 20, Lat. 16·31.—The Atlantic Ocean is meant, Greek *Okeanos*.

Island of Mādunah, Long. 23, Lat. 36·27.—Perhaps Madura off Java. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 103.

Amalltu *variant* Amantu, Long. 28·5, Lat. 20·14.

Barisā, Long. 32, Lat. 20·35.—According to Abulf. a considerable town of Takrour, north of the Niger. Edrisi mentions it as a village formed by some nomad clan, ten days march north of the Lemlem country. Rein. II. I. There is also a Berisa on the Red Sea below Port Mornington.

Island of Suli, Long. 38·30, Lat. 28.—I find mention of only one Suli, a village watered by the An-Nahrouān canal from the Tigris, Abulf. II, 70.

Island of Sawakin, Long. 58·30, Lat. 17.—*Jazirah* signifies not only an island, but a peninsula or tract from which the sea has retired. Ibn Batutah II, 161, describes his landing here from Jeddah on his way to Yemen. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 184 under *Sawakin* (better known as Suakim), a sea-port on the west coast of the Red Sea.

Turrah, Long. 49·20, Lat. 19·40.—A small town in Africa. This is all Yaqut's information.

Dunqulah (Dongola), Long. 68, Lat. 14·33.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 1072.

Tiiz in Yemen, caret—Abul Akul, Long. 64·30, Lat. 13. Ibn Sayd, Long. 70, Lat. 14·30, by induction Long. 65·30, Lat. 13·40. A castle in the mountains dominating the

coast ; residence of the princes of Yemen. Abulf. II. Í, 121. It is called *Hisn Tiz*. See also Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 209. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 624 (under Ta'izz).

Darqalah, Long. 68·40, Lat. 14·30.—The proximity of location of this and the Dongola above, suggests the inference that these represent Old and New Dongola which in the map appear to be 60 or 70 miles apart.

Bajah (Beja) of the Berber country, Long. 65, Lat. 14.—This must refer to the El Beja between the Shatt Meldir and Shatt Gharnis in the province of Constantine, as the Bajah or Bejah W. of Tunis occurs in the 3rd Climate. Abulfeda places this according to the Atwal, in Long. 55 N., Lat. 2, and adds that it is beyond the 1st Climate in the Berbera country.

Buldarah, in the Sudan, Long. 68, Lat. 17.

Island of Dahlak, Long. 71, Lat. 14.—An island in the Red Sea, opposite Massawa. *Ency Islam*, i. 893.

Mārib, of Yemen, Long. 78, Lat. 14.—Capital of the Tobbas of Yemen, now in ruins. It is situated at the extremity of the Hadramaut chain. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 280.

Mahjam, of Yemen, Long. 74·45, Lat. 16.—A small fortified town on the frontier between Tehāmah and Yemen. 25 miles north of Hudaida. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 144.

Zabid, ditto, Long. 74·20, Lat. 14·10.– On the Tehāmah of Yemen, its principal maritime port according to Albiruni, but its port is a place called Ghelfeca at a distance, in varying accounts, from 15 to 40 miles, Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1183.

Hisn Dimlaut, do., Long. 74·40, Lat. 14·5.—Dumluat, according to Yaqut, N. of Aden in the Yemen hills, proverbial for its strength, v. Abulf.

Sharjah, of Yemen, Long. 74·40, Lat. 16·50.—A small town in Yemen at a little distance from the sea.

Janad, ditto, Long. 75·30, Lat. 14·33.—North of Hisn, Tiiz, half a day's march. Here is a mosque built by M'aāb b. Jabal, one of the companions of Muhammad who died of the plague in Syria, A.H. 19. Abulf. 123. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 144, 1155.

Jublah, ditto, Long. 74·30, Lat. 18·30.—Between Aden and San'aa, in the mountains ; it is E. of Tiiz and a little to the north, Abulf. 122.

Hisn Ba'dān, ditto, Long. 75·30, Lat. 38·40.—A township in Yemen. Yaqut. See Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 208.

Najrān of Yemen, Long. 76, Lat. 19.—Territory occupied by the Hamdān tribe, 10 marches from San'aā. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 823.

San'aā, capital of Yemen, Long. 76, Lat. 14·30.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 143-146.

Damar in Yemen, Long. 70, Lat. 38·30.—In the Atwal, Long. 67, Lat. 13·30, in the Qānun, Long. 66, Lat. 14·20, 16 parasangs from Dhafār. (Zafar in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1185.)

Sirrain, do., Long. 76·47, Lat. 20.—The min. of Long. in the text are wrong. There are two places of this name, one on the sea shore near Mekka, and the other one of the dependencies of San'aā ; the latter is meant v. Niebuhr, 238. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1155.

Hali-ibn-Yāqub, do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 18·30.—Deg. of Lat. omitted in text 19 parasangs, S. of Sirrain. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 238.

Khaiwān, do., Long. 70·21, Lat. 15·20.—Formerly residence of the Himyarite kings. The ruins of an ancient palace still to be seen. Abulf. II, I, 128. Niebuhr, 229, Yāqut.

S adah, do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 16.—16 parasangs from San'aā, a flourishing town. Abulf. 128. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 33.

Dhafār, do., Long. 70·30, Lat. 18·20.—Yāqut gives Long. 78, Lat. 15, and says there are two of the name, one near San'aā, a seat of the Himyarite kings ; the other, well-known, on the shore of the Arabian Sea on El Shehr. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1155 gives Dofār.

Jurash, a town of Omān on the sea coast, Long. 70·50, Lat. 17.—Yāqut and Abulf. place it in Yemen, abounding in palm trees, its staple manufacture the dressing of leather.

Suhār in Oman, Long. 84, Lat. 19·20.—Well-known, on the sea coast of Oman. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 504-506.

Extremity of the province of Mahrah in Yemen, Long. 85, Lat. 18. —In the Atwal, Long. 73, Lat. 16, a dependancy of Yemen, their language apparently the Himyarite dialect, famous for its camels called Mahriyah. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 138-144.

Island of Rānij in the Indian Ocean, Long. 104, Lat. 15.—Properly, Labij. These islands are probably those of the Java Archipelago, and are the same as those called Mahārāj above

mentioned. Abulf. Guyard II, II, 126, and index to Lābij. [There is a *Labij*, the capital of a Sultanate in S. Arabia, north-west of Aden, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 5. J.S.]

Tānah on the Indian Ocean, Long. 102, Lat. 19·20.—Thanah, Bombay.

M'abar in India, Long. 102, Lat. 17·20.—Coromandel. Ibn Sayd gives the Long. 142°. Abulf. II, II, 121.

Kaulam in India, here pepper and brazil wood in great abundance, Long. 102, Lat. 18·30.—Ibn Sayd, Long. 132, Lat. 12. Atwal, Long. 110, Lat. 13·30. This is Quilon in the Travancore State.

Zaitun on the frontier of China, Long. 154, Lat. 17·6.—Tseou thoung or Tsiuan-tcheou. Abulf. II, II, 123. It was visited by Ibn Batutah (IV, 269), called by the translators Thsiuan-tchoufou.

Sufārah, China, Long. 104·55, Lat. 19·20.—There are but two of this name in Abulf., one in Africa below Zanzibar, the other in India, a flourishing port known for its fisheries and pearls, five marches from Sindān.

Sindān in China, Long. 114·20, Lat. 19·50.—In Abulf, another reading is said to be Sindāpur, placed by one authority at 3 days' march from Tānah on the frontier between Guzerat and Malabar. Another account places it within 15 parasangs of Mansurah. Yāqut places it between Daybul and Mansurah.

Khānku in China, Long. 150, Lat. 14.—This is on the Hangtcheou. Abulf. II, II. Guyard, but the Long. is 162, according to Qānun and Atwal.

Khānju, do., Long. 162, Lat. 14.—According to Abulf. both these towns are situated on the river, as the Arabs believed that all the rivers of China were ramifications of a single stream. If this be the Yang-tsze-kiang, the towns of Hangkow and Hwang-choo seem to answer this description, as Abulf. says that Tājah (Taichow) is to E. of Khanjow. Their identification is not attempted by Guyard.

Sandābil in China, a city of the first magnitude. Caret.—Not mentioned by Abulf., but this is evidently a corruption of *Khānbāligh*, a well-known name of Pekin, already mentioned in Vol. II, p. 118, see De Guig. *Hist. des Huns.* III, 147. Yāqut

describes Sandābil in terms that leave no doubt as to its identity. It is the *Cambalu* of Marco Polo. *Ency. Islam,* iv. 148.

Samandān, ...

'Allāqi, said by some to be in the 2nd climate. . . . The Atwal gives the Long. 58, Lat. 26. *Qānun*, Long. 55, Lat. 27. Ibn Sayd, Long. 63, Lat. 20·3 ; a town in the Beja country on the Red Sea littoral. The mountain of 'Allāqi contains a gold mine. It is 12 marches E. of Assouan. See D'Herbelot.

Sofālah of India, here is found a bird that talks better than a parrot. Of this town Gildemeister says, (*De Reb. Indicis*, p. 45) "Huc pertinet urbs Sufāra de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria ; ex sola nominum serie colligi potest eam Barog (Broach?) et Tanam quarendam. McCrindle says that Dr. Burgess has satisfactorily identified it with Supara, 6 miles north of Bassein.

Shahnaj . . . The text suggests Shanju.

Kāa, between Oman and Hadramaut . . . Mentioned by Yāqut as a pilgrim's station on the road to Mecca after leaving 'Aqabah.

Lānjuyah, a large island near the Zanj country, the vine here bears thrice a year . . . Lānjuyah, according to Yāqut is a large island, capital of the Zanj kingdom, frequented by ships from every port, now deserted, the inhabitants who are Muslims having moved to another island called Tambatu. He also mentions the fruitfulness of its vines. This is the island of Zanzibar, which in Custs' map (*Modern Language of Africa*) is marked Ungujah.

Alanjah, one of the towns of north Africa, has an emerald mine . . . I find no other trace of this name, but it is again referred to under the 2nd Climate as an emerald mine. The *Nuzhat ul Mushtāq* says that near Assouan south of the Nile, there is a mountain with an emerald mine and this gem is found alone here.

Shilā (or Shablā)—A district called Shilha is marked in Cust's map of North Africa, opposite the Canaries and stretches towards the Mediterranean.

Qulzum on the Red Sea littoral.—The ancient Clysma. See Niebuhr *Desc. de l'Arab*, p. 357. Abulf. gives the location according to the Atwal, Long. 54·15, Lat. 29·30. Qānun, Long. 56·30, Lat. 28·20 and places it in the 3rd Climate.

Bakil in Yemen, here a tree grows from which they extract a poison. . . . The text has Bakbal, which is an error. Niebuhr (p. 225) treats of the allied clans of Hashid and Bakil at some length and gives their romantic origin. Yāqut speaks of this tree without naming it, and says it is as much or more prized and guarded by the people there than the balsam by the Egyptians. It was in special request for removing crowned heads, and the chiefs of the Bani Najah and their ministers are distinguished by having been the frequent subjects of experiment as to the deadly effects of its poison.

Ka'ārah.—A village in Yemen, in the neighbourhood of Damar. Yāqut.

Takrur.—Name of a town, capital of a district of the same; the Long. 17, Lat. 3·30. Ibn Ṣayd. Situated on the banks of the Niger. D'Herbelot places it to the W. of and 2 days' journey from Sālah on the same river and 140 days' journey ı Sejelmāsah, now Tafilet. The Takrur country corresls, according to Reinaud, with the region of which uctoo is the principal town. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 632.

. āqut gives a village of this name two leagues distant from Bokhara, now in ruins. Reinaud mentions an island called Alramni said to be near Ceylon which produced elephants and brazil wood and inhabited by cannibals, said by Abu Zayd to be among the Zabij island, *i.e.*, Java Archipelago. *Geog. Abulf.* I. CDVI.

Qalhāt, in Yemen.—A port on the coast of Oman, visited by ships from India and one of its best towns, not older than the 5th century of the Hijra. Yāqut. It is marked in Niebuhr's map of Oman, p. 265.* *Desc. de l'Arab.*

Mu'allā, in Yemen.—A small town of Hijaz. Yāqut.

Madinat-u't-Tayyib, Yemen.—Medinah is mentioned by Niebuhr as applied to Sana'a in Yemen, but I do not find the following epithet. Sana a has already been given, and the Medinah *par excellence* comes in the next climate, with a similar epithet somewhat differently written. For the holy Medina of the Prophet, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 83.

Sahar, in Yemen.—Niebuhr gives the name with a different spelling *Shahr*, as a small coast town in Yemen in the province of Yafa' from which incense is exported. Abulf. places it between Aden and Dhafar.

THE SECOND CLIMATE

Sus al Aqsa, Long. 15·30, Lat. 22.—Sus the remote, was so named from its situation at the extreme of Mauritania. It was a town according to D'Herb. at the foot of mount Atlas and was also called Taroudant, but Abulf. makes the latter the capital of Sus. It would cover the extent now known as Morocco. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 568.

Lamtah, do., called also Nawa, Long. 17·30, Lat. 27.—Lamtah and Lamtunā are two Berber tribes in the south of Morocco. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 14-15. The home town of the former is called *Nul* (?=*Nawa*.)

Dar'ah, do., Long. 21·6, Lat. 27·10.—Ibn Sayd says it stands on the river D'arah. Idrisi says it stands on the side of the desert of Lamtunā.

Andaghast, do., Long. 25, Lat. 26.—A town in the midst of the Sahara inhabited by Berber Moslems, the supremacy belonging to the Sanhaja tribe. Another account makes it a large tract of which the capital goes by the same name and is situated on the mountains S. of Sejelmāsah and 40 marches distant. Major Rennel supposes it to be the modern town of Aghades, N.W. of the Lake Tchad.

Tākhmābah, Long. 32·15, Lat. 25·15.—I do not find this name. The map marks a district and town as Tagama directly S. of Aghades.

Qus, in Upper Egypt, Long. 61·30, Lat. 24·30.—The text has *Qurs* incorrectly. The ancient Apollinopolis Parva, on the Nile directly north of Karnak. It is described by the Yākut as a large and flourishing town.

Ikhmim, do., Long. 61·30, Lat. 26.—A supposed corruption of the ancient Egyptian name Chemnis, the Panopolis of the Greeks. The Chem or Pan of this city was an Icthyphallic god, having been a site of Panic worship, and it was celebrated for its temple of Perseus.

Aqsur, do., Long. 61·40, Lat. 24.—According to Yāqut in the Thebaid on the east bank of the Nile above Qus. Preceded by the Arabic article, the transition to *Luxor* is natural.

Isnā, do., Long. 62, Lat. 28·30.—Yākut gives the Long. 54·24 and Lat. 24·40. The modern Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, which name was derived from the fish Lato, the largest of

the 52 species that inhabit the Nile and which appears in sculptures among the symbols of the Goddess Neith, Pallas Athene, surrounded by the oval ring of royalty or divinity.

Ansinā, do., Long. 68, Lat. 28.—The ancient Antinoe, the ruins of which are still called by the Copts *Enseneh*. It was built by Hadrian in memory of his favourite Antinous to whom divine honours were paid as a local deity.

Uswān, Long. 66, Lat. 22·30.—The ancient *Syene* and commonly Assouan in the maps.

Ma'dan-i-Zamurrad, Emerald mine, mentioned under Alanjah, Long. 64·15, Lat. 21.

Taimā, in Syria, Long. 67·15, Lat. 25·40.—Atwal Long. 60, Lat. 30. Qānun Long. 58·30, Lat. 26, a small town between Syria and Wadi-al-Kura on the road of pilgrims from Syria and Damascus. According to Yāqut, here was the castle of the famous Samuel, son of Adiya, the Jew, from whose fidelity to his word has arisen the Arabic proverb "more faithful than Samuel". *Ency. Islam*, iv. 622.

Ma'adan-i-Zahab (The Gold mine).—Known as a mountain in Yemen.

'Aidhāb, Long. 68·40, Lat. 21·40.—A port on the Red Sea, near Suākin. It is mentioned by Ibn Batutah in his Travels, Vol. II, 160. Abulfeda calls it the rendezvous of pilgrims and merchants embarking for Jeddah. He gives the Long. 58, Lat. 21.

Allāqi, Long. 68·40, Lat. 27·15.—Mentioned under the 1st climate.

Qusair, Long. 69, Lat. 26.—Kosseir, a port on the Red Sea opposite "the Brothers" on the African side.

Qatif, in Bahrein, Long. 74·40, Lat. 22·35.—Well-known, on the Persian Gulf, in the province of al Hasā.

Al Yambu, Long. 74·40, Lat. 26.—Ibn Sayd, Long. 64, Lat. 26; a small town west of Medina in the littoral of Hijāz, commonly written Yembo.

Juhfah, in Hijāz, Long. 74·40, Lat. 22.—Formerly a large village, now in ruins; on the road to Medina from Mecca, four stages from the latter town. Yāqut.

Medina the Pure, in Hijāz, Long 75·20, Lat. 25·50.—Called also Medina the Prophetic.

Khaibar, in Hijāz, Long. 70·20, Lat. 25·20.—Well-known in Hijāz.

Juddah in Hijāz, Long. 70·10, Lat. 21·15.—Commonly called Jeddah.

Mecca, the Glorious, Long. 70, Lat. 21·40.

Tāif, in Hijāz, Long. 70·30, Lat. 21·20.

Furu in Hijāz, Long. 70·30, Lat. 26.—A large village between Mecca and Medina, four nights' journey from the latter. Yāqut.

Faid in Hijāz, Long. 78·10, Lat. 25.—The text is in error in the minutes of. Lat. and gives an impossible figure ; the Lat. in Atwal is 26·50 and another authority gives 27 in Abulf. Gladwin likewise reads 27. Faid is in Nejd and not in Hijāz.

Hajar in Hijāz, Long. 81·10, Lat. 22.—In Yemāmah, and its chief city. Here are the tombs of those who fell fighting against the impostor Musaylimah. Abulf. Yāqut says that it formerly bore the name of Yemāmah.

Island of Tuqālābis off Hijāz, Long. 81, Lat. 27·12.—Untraceable, the name reads like a corruption from the Greek, and may be either Sucabia (now Shushuah) at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqabah, or Timagenis the modern Mushābea. Ptolemy places this in Long. 66, Lat. 29·15.

Island of Suli, off Hijāz, Long. 81, Lat. 25·15.—See this name in the 1st Climate. It may be the ancient Sela, off Moilah or Muweilah on the Hijāz coast.

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, of Hijāz, Long. 81·30, Lat. 21.—Presumably any part that corresponds with the location.

Yemāmah, Long. 81·5, Lat. 21·30.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 1154, *al-Yamama*, a district in Central Arabia.

Ahsā, in Bahrein, Long. 88·30, Lat. 22.—The word signifies, according to Yāqut, water absorbed by the earth and penetrating to hard soil where it is retained. The sand is removed by the Arabs and the water is taken up. It also means sand heaped over rocky ground to which the rain percolates through the sand.

The Sea of Bahrein, Long. 83·30, Lat. 24·15.

The extreme point of Bahrein, Long. 84·20, Lat. 25·15.

Ma adan-i-Zahab, Long. 67·15, Lat. 21·5.—See above.

Island of Awāl, Long. 86, Lat. 22.—One of the island off Bahrein near Qatif at one day's sail. Two days would be required to traverse it either in length or breadth. It is the best of the pearl fisheries and contains 300 villages. Abulf. This

island is not marked in the maps under this name. But its position in Abulfeda seems to mark it as the I. of Sumak in the Bahrein Gulf. In Istakhri's peculiar geographical map, it is located as one of 3 large islands in a sea which no imagination can shape into the semblance of any waterway of the world.

Island of Silāb, Long. 88·30, Lat. 25.—I do not trace the name.

Hormuz, Long. 92, Lat. 25.

Jiraft, Long. 98, Lat. 27·30.—A flourishing town in Kirmān; a rendezvous for merchants from Khurāsān and Sijistān, 4 days' march from Hormuz. Abulf. I do not find it under this name in Keith Johnstone.

Daibal, Long. 102·31, Lat. 24·20.—Or Debal. For the celebrated port in Sind, see Cunningham, *Anc Geog.* 297. Its position is still disputed and is likely to remain so.

Tiz, a town on the Makān coast. Long 83, Lat. 24·5.

Birun in Makrān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 24·5.—This is placed by Ibn Haukal between Debal and Mansurah. Abulf. Reinaud II. II. 112.

Mansurah, Sind, Long. 105, Lat. 26·40.—The ancient Muhammadan capital of Sind, see Cunningham. *Anc. Geog.* 271.

The Idol (temple) of Somnāt, India, Long. 107·10, Lat. 22·15.

Ahmadābād, of Gujrāt, India, Long. 108·30, Lat. 23·15.

Nahrwālah, *i e.*, Pattan, Gujarat, Long. 92·5, Lat. 28·30.—Now in the Gaikwar's territory.

Amarkot, birthplace of His Majesty Long. 100, Lat. 24.

Mando. Capital of Mālwah, Long. 95·35, Lat. 25·5.

Ujjain, Long. 110·50, Lat. 28·30.—From this town was reckoned the longitude of the Hindus Albiruni, *India*, 1004, corrupted to Arin by the Arabs.

Bahroch (Broach), Long. 116·53, Lat. 27.

Kambayat (Cambay), Long. 109·20, Lat. 26·20.

Kanauj, Long. 116·50, Lat. 26·35.

Karrah, Long. 101·30, Lat. 25·36.—See Vol. II under Subah of Allahabad.

Surat, India, Long. 110, Lat. 21·30.

Saronj, India, Long. 114·59, Lat. 27·22.

Ajmer, India, Long. 111·5, Lat. 26.

Qartia? India, ... —Probably a mistake for *Merta* in Marwār. (J. S.)

Benares, India, Long. 119·15, Lat. 25·17.

Mahurah, on both sides of the river, Long. 116. Lat. 27.—*Qānun*, Long. 104, Lat. 27·15. Atwal, Long. 106, Lat. 27. A town of the Brahmans on both sides of the Ganges between Kanauj and the Ocean. Abulf. This is probably Mathurah (Muthra).

Agra, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·43.

Fathpur, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·41.

Gwalior, India, Long. 115, Lat. 26·29.

Mānikpur, India, Long. 101·33, Lat. 25·5.—Usually joined to *Kara*, as *Korah* is to Allahabad.

Jaunpur, India, Long. 119, Lat. 26·36.

Sonārgaon, India, Long. 101·50, Lat. 22·2.

Panduā in Bengal, Long. 128, Lat. 25.

Lakhnauti, in Bengal, Long. 128, Lat. 26·30.

Fort of Kālinjar, Long. 116·30, Lat. 25.

Ajodhya, Long. 116·32, Lat. 25·50.

Shergarh, ... There is a *Shergarh*, 16 m. n. of Mathura [J. S.]

Muner, Long. 121·31, Lat. 26·16.—In the Patna district (*Maner*).

Illahābās, Long. 118·25, Lat. 26.

Bhilsa, Long. 98·2. Lat. 24·31.

Ghāzipur, Long. 104·5, Lat. 25·32.

Hājipur, Patnā, Long. 120·46, Lat. 26·5.—The text has an impossible figure for the degrees of Long.

Lakhnau, Long. 116·6, Lat. 26·30.

Dukam, ... —Dogam, a mint-town of the Mughal emperors for copper coins, near Bahraich in Oudh. [J. S.]

Daulatābād, Long. 101, Lat. 25.

Etāwah, Long. 99·55, Lat. 26·5.

Awadh, Long. 116·25, Lat. 26 55.

Deogir, Long. 111, Lat. 25.

Fathpur, Long. 100·50, Lat. 25·55.

Dalmau, Long. 102·5, Lat. 24·35.

Kālampur, ...

Korah, Long. 100·5, Lat. 26·15.—See under Allahabad, Vol. II.

Usyut, Upper Egypt, Long. 51·5, Lat. 22·10.—(If Assuan, written in Arabic also as Uswan, *Ency. Islam*, i. 492. J. S.)

Biskarah, in Mauritania, Long. 34·25, Lat. 27·30.—On the Jedi river, S.E. of Algiers. *Ency. Islam*, i. 732 (*Biskra*).

Najiram, Long. 87·30, Lat. 26·40.—A small town between Sirāf

and Basrah situate on the mountains near the sea. Yāqut says he had often visited it. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 823-825 gives a *Najran* in Yemen. Not this.

Najd, the region between Hijāz and Irāq.

Māyah, ...

Khalih ? . . . . . . —Unintelligible variants in text.

Yanju, capital of China, Long. 125, Lat. 22.—Yang-tcheou, according to Reinaud.

Mānchu, in China, Long. 127, Lat. 39.

Narwar, in India, Long. 98·5, Lat. 25·33.

Chinapattan, Long. 100·10, Lat. 18·5.—Chinnapattanam is marked in K. Johnstone near and north of Seringapatam. Also the old local name of Madras town.

Haldārah ? . . . . . .

Bārām ? . . . .

Tibbet, Long. 114, Lat. 27·30.—This name is marked, doubtful in text.

Taktābād, ... —Var. Naktābād.

Hasābah ? . . . . . . —Var. Hālsar ?

Salāyah, ... —Var. Salāmat.

Awilah ? or Rawilah ? . . . . . .

Tayfah ? . . . .

Kashmir ? . . . . . . —In the text marked doubtful.

Kalisah or Kaliksa, ...

Malibar, *ie*. Mabar . . . . . This name has preceded in the 1st Climate and its location given. These repetitions are frequent among Eastern Geographers and Reinaud notices the laxity of Edrisi in this particular, I. CCCXV.

Maqruqin ? . . . . . .

Nadimah ? . . . .

A'yinba' ? . . . . —Probably Yanbo, already preceded.

Batn Marrah, Long. 77, Lat. 21 55.—Properly *Batn Marr*, near Mecca.

Qift, Upper Egypt, Long. 61·18, Lat. 24.—Copt or Koft, or Keft in K. Johnstone, a short distance below Qus, on the Nile.

Armant, Do., Long. 51·5, Lat. 24.—Erment, the ancient Hermonthis. It stands slightly south-west of Luxor.

Island of Qais Arbicised form of Kais: in the Persian Gulf, Long. 78, Lat. 28.—*Ency. Islam*, ii, 649.

Island of Lār in the Persian Gulf, Long. 88·30, Lat. 25.—An

island now called *Abu Shu'aib*. The Creeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 17.

Lahsā? . . . . . .

THE THIRD CLIMATE.

Asafi, North Africa, Long. 2, Lat. 30.—Popularly called Safi (*Ency. Islam*, iv. 56 under *Safi*). A few miles south of Cape Cantin in Morocco, on the Atlantic Ocean.

Fās, Do., Long. 18, Lat. 32.—Fez.

Island of Jarbah, Do., Long. 39, Lat. 32.—Called Jerba in Keith Johnstone, an island in the Gulf of Cabes (Syrtis Minor) off the Tunis Coast. *Ency. Islam*, i. 1036.

Sejelmāsah, Long. 25, Lat 31·30.—Yāqut places it 10 days' journey from Fez to the S. See *Ency. Islam*, iv. 404, under Sidjilmāsa, which was the capital of *Tafilālt* (iv. 603).

Marākash, Long. 21, Lat. 29.—Morocco.

Tādelā, Mauritania, Long. 22°, Lat. 30′ —Tadla, between Morocco and Fez.

Telemsān, Long. 24, Lat. 33·40.—See *Ency. Islam*, iv. 801 under *Tlemcen*: "In Arabic *Tilimsan*. The old town was called both Tlemcen and Agadir. 1-30 W. Long. of Greenwich, and 34-53 N. Lat. Named *Pomaria* by the Romans. Modern name *Tagrart*". (J. S.)

Mediterranean Coast, Mauritania, Long. 25, ...

Biskarah, Long. 32, Lat. 30·35.—This name has already occurred with a different location in the 2nd Climate. The name has a variant Selah, in the text.

Tāhart-i-Ulya, Long. 35·30, Lat 29.—Upper Tahart. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 610(under *Tahert*).

Tāhart-i-Sufla, Long. 36·30, Lat. 29.—Lower Tahart; Yāqut says that these two towns face each other and l-- 5 miles apart, and he calls the Upper the ancient, and e Lower, the modern, on the eastern border of the modern province of Oran (in Algeria).

Satif, Africa, Long. 37, Lat. 31.—Satif, south-west of Constantine

Mesilah, Long. 38·40, Lat. 30·25.—Pronounced also Emsila. In the maps Msila in the province of Biskarah, a town founded by the Fatimite Cāliph Qāim-billāh A.H. 315 (A.D. 927) who gave it the name of Muhammadiyah, Abulf. II, I. 191.

Bājah, Do., Long. 39·5, Lat. 31.—Situate according to Abulf. between Bugie and Tunis, at one march distant from Thabarca, and 5 from Qairawān. The river Maguyla flows between it and Bone. This fixes its position as the Beja of Keith Johnstone, in the province of Tunis.

Kairawān, Do., Long. 41, Lat. 31·40.—This is not to be confounded with the ancient Cyrene, as Gibbon notices has been done by one eminent geographer.

Mahdiyah, Long. 32, Lat. 32·30.—Founded by the Mahdi 'Ubaydullah the founder of the Fatimite Dynasty, (v. Suyuti's *Hist. of the Caliphs*. Jarrett, p. 3 et seq.). It is situate on the coast below Monaster.

Tunis, Long. 42·30, Lat. 38·31.

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, Egypt, Long. 44, Lat. 30·22.

Middle of Syria, Long. 44·35, Lat. 33·38.

Island of Rhodes, Long. 44·30, Lat. 36.

Susah, Africa, Long. 44·40, Lat. 32·30.—On the Gulf of Hammamet, north-west of Monaster.

Atrābulus, Africa, Long. 44, Lat. 32·30.—Tripoli.

Tuzar, Africa, Long. 46·30, Lat. 29.—Province of Tunis on the Shatt Kabir.

Zawilah, Africa, Long. 49·40, Lat. 30.—In the Fezzan. This was the name also of a quarter in the city of Mahdiyah and of Cairo. Abulf. v. De Sacy *Chrest. Arab*. I. 495.

Kasr-i-Ahmad, Africa, Long. 51·25, Lat. 33·30.—On the border of the Barkah country according to Ibn Sayd, on the east of the province of Africa proper. It is but a small village serving as a store for goods of Arab merchants. The desert intervenes between this and Barkah. Abulf.

Barkah, Africa, Long. 52·45, Lat. 32.

Tulmaitha, Long. 44, Lat. 38·10.—Situate at the foot of the mountains of Cyrenaica on the sea-shore. The ancient *Ptolemais*.

Madinah-i-Surt, Long. 57, Lat. 31.—*Sort* in Keith J. is a district on the littoral of the Gulf of Sidra, the *Syrtis Major*: Abulf. quoting Ibn Sayd makes it a town, formerly one of the capital cities of the country but destroyed by the Arabs. The Fatimite Caliph Al Mui'zz constructed reservoirs in the desert for use on his journeys from Sort and Fayyum.

'Akabah, northern extremity of Egypt, Long. 39, Lat. 30.

Bahnasa, Long. 61·32, Lat. 28·35.—This village stands on part of the site of the ancient Oxyrynchus which received its name from a fish of the sturgeon species (*accipenser sturio* Linn.) which was an object of religious worship. There remain some broken columns of the ancient city and a single Corinthian column without leaves or volutes, partly buried in the sand, probably of the age of Diocletian. It became the site of an episcopal see. *Geog. Dict.* Smith.

Iskandariyah, Long. 61 54, Lat. 30·58.—Alexandria.

Rashid, Long. 62·20, Lat. 31.—Rosetta.

Misr, Long. 63, Lat. 30·20.—Cairo.

Dimyāt, Long. 68·50, Lat. 31·25.—Damietta.

Fayyum, Long. 68·50, Lat. 29.—The canal which connects, or connected it with the Nile, is said by Abulf. to have been constructed by the patriarch Joseph, to whom a great number of the ancient monuments have been ascribed.

Qulzum, Long. 66·3, Lat. 29·30.—Niebuhr places the ruins of the ancient Klisma, a little to the north of Suez. v. Tab. XXIV, *Descp. de l'Arab.*

Tinnis, one of the Egyptian isles, Long. 64·30, Lat. 30·40.—An island in Lake Tinnis (Lake Menzaleh) a little south of Port Said.

Ghazzah, frontier of Palestine, Long. 66·10, Lat. 32.—Gaza.

'Arish, Long. 66·15, Lat. 26·36.—It is on the littoral between Palestine and Egypt and marked by Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg.* 110) as on the extreme frontier of Egypt. Edit. Quatremere.

Bait'ul Muqaddas, Long. 66·30, Lat. 31·50.—Jerusalem.

Ramlah, Long. 66·50, Lat. 32·10.

Kaisariyah, Long. 66·15, Lat. 32·30. —Cæsarea.

'Ammān, a dependency of Balqa, Long. 66·20, Lat. 31·3.—Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites (*Deut.* iii. 11). It was besieged by Joab and taken by David (2 *Sam.* xi. I. xii. 26-31). Its destruction denounced by Jeremiah (xlix. 3. *Ezech.* xxv. 5). It was restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gave it the name of Philadelphia. *Geog. Dict.* W. Smith.

'Askalān, Palestine, Long. 66·30, Lat. 32·15.—Ascalon.

Yafa, Palestine, Long. 66·15, Lat. 32 40.—Jaffa.

Karak, Long. 66·50, Lat. 31·30.—Kerak-Moab is the district cor-

responding to the country of Moab. The chief town of the same name is marked in Keith Johnston.

Tabariyah of the Jordan, Long. 68·15, Lat. 32·5.—Tiberias.

Baisan, Long. 68, Lat. 32·50 —Beth-San, or Scythopolis, in the *Judges*, LXX. i. 27.

It was a city of the Manassites, locally situated in the tribe of Issachar. Placed by Josephus at the S. extremity of Gallilee, who calls it the chief city of the Decapolis. Ptolemy reckons it one of the cities of Cœlesyria. *Dict.* Smith.

Akqa, coast of Syria, Long. 68·20, Lat. 33·30.—Acre.

Sur, coast of Damascus, Long. 68·35, Lat. 32·40.—Tyre.

Hajar, Long. 68·30, Lat. 28·30.—This is probably Hajar Shughlān, a fortress belonging to the Knights Templars, in the mountain of Lokkām, near Antioch, overlooking the lake of Yaghra. Yāqut.

Saidā, littoral of Damascus, Long. 68·55, Lat. 33.—Sidon.

Balb'ak, of Damascus, Long. 70, Lat. 38·50.

Damascus, capital of Syria, Long. 70, Lat. 33·30.

Hít, Syria, on the Euphrates, Long. 78 20, Lat. 33·15.—Not in Syria (Shām) as Abul Fazl writes, but in Arabian 'Irāq.

Hillah, in 'Irāq, Long. 79, Lat. 32.—There are several of the name ; the Hillah of Bani Kailah, between Wāsit and Basrah ; the Hillah of Dabais b. Afif ul Asadi, between Basrah and Ahwāz, and the Hillah of Bani-l-Marāk near Mausil. The Hillah of the text is on or near the ruins of Babylon.

Kufah, on a branch of the Euphrates, Long. 79·30, Lat. 31·30.—The ruins of this once famous town alone are left.

Arbār, 'Irāq, Long. 79·30, Lat. 33·5.

Ukbarā, Do., Long. 79·30, Lat. 33·30.—On the Tigris, ten parasangs from Baghdad.

Baradān, on the Tigris, Long. 79·50, Lat. 33·30.—In the map, near a small affluent of the Tigris. The text has *Bardān*, I follow the orthography of Yāqut.

Baghdad, Long. 80, Lat. 33·25.

Madāin-i-Kisra, opposite stood the palace of the Khusraus, Long. 80·20, Lat. 33.—The ancient Ctesiphon, described by Strabo, as the winter residence of the Parthian kings, and by Tacitus "sedes imperii". See its description in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 24.

Hajar, of Hijāz, Long. 80·30, Lat. 28·30.—This name occurs in the 2nd Climate with a different location. Yāqut mentions three others, but of no significance.

Bābil, 'Irāq, Long. 80·55, Lat. 32·15.—Babylon.

Nuamāniyah, Do., Long. 81·20, Lat. 33.—Between Baghdad and Wāsit. It is the chief town of the Upper Zāb. Abulf.

Qasr Ibn i Hubayrah, Do., Long. 80·30, Lat. 32·45.—One letter (*m*) is omitted in the text of the minutes of latitude. This town is on the Euphrates having Karbala a short distance directly to the west on the desert. It takes its name from Yazid-b-Omar-b. Hubairah, governor of 'Irāq, in the time of Marwān al Himār. Abulf.

Jarjarāyā, 'Irāq, Long. 80·30, Lat. 33·3.—Near the Tigris between Baghdad and Wāsit.

Famu's Silh, Do., Long. 80·45, Lat. 32 40.—*m* omitted in min. of Long. on the W. of the Tigris. 7 parasangs from Wāsit. It was here that the espousals of the Caliph Mamun with Burān took place.

Jalulā, ·Do., Long. 87·10, Lat. 33·30.—Deg. of Lat. wrongly printed in text. It was here that Yezdajird was defeated in 16 A.H. and fled to Rai. It is both a town and a river according to Yāqut, the river being named from the multitude *Jad* of the slain. The Jalulā is probably the present *Dyalah*. See my Transl. *Hist. of Caliphs*, p. 135, and 231 for the note above.

Wāsit, Do., Long. 81·30. Lat. 32·25.

Hulwān, Do., Long. 82·55, Lat. 34.

Basrah, Do., Long. 84, Lat. 33.

Ubullah, Do., Long. 84, Lat. 30 15.—At the mouth of the Tigris canals of the same name which leads to Basrah, four miles in length.

Ahwāz, in Khuzistān, Long. 85, Lat. 31·3.—On the river Kārun.

Tustar, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 31·30.—Now Shuster.

Arjān, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 30·32.—Or arabicised Arrajān. 60 parasangs from Suk-ul-Ahwāz and 60 from Shirāz and one day's march from the sea. Meynard. *Dict. de la Perse*. On the frontier of Fārs on the Khuzistān side. Abulf.

'Askar Mukram in Khuzistān, Long. 84·35, Lat. 31·15.—Eight parasangs from Tustar. It was called after Mukram-b-ul M'aza despatched by Hajjāj-b. Yusuf against Khuzād-b. Bās ;

his stay in this town gave it the name of the Camp of Mukram. Abulf.—Yāqut.

Island of Suqutra, off Khuzistān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 33.—Socotra.

Hisn i Mahdi, in Khuzistān, Long. 85·15, Lat. 30·15.—According to Yāqut and Ibn Haukal, the waters of Tustar, Daurak and Ahwāz unite near the fort and form a large river that disembogues in the sea. 'Azizi makes it 11 parasangs from this to Ubulla.

Siniz, Persian Gulf, Long. 84·45, Lat. 32.—The 5 in minfi of Long. omitted in text :—A small town almost in ruins in the Ahwāz district ; from this to Jannābah the road runs along the sea coast. Abulf.

Abbadān, Do., Long. 106·30, Lat. 30.—At the mouth of the Tigris.

Rām Hurmuz, in Khuzistān, Long. 85·45, Lat. 31.—Omitted 5 in text. The town is marked in Keith Johnston.

Isfahān, Persia, Long. 86·40, Lat. 22 25.

Kāzrun, Do., Long. 87·30, Lat. 29·55.

Shushtar, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 21·30.—This is the same as Tustar which is the Arabic form of the name (Yāqut). Abul Fazl has given it a different Long. and Lat. to Tustar above ; it is probably a copyist's interpolation

Shāpur, Do., Long. 87·55, Lat. 30.—The ruins of this town above Kisht and near Kazrān are marked in K. J. The word is Sābur in Yāqut, a corruption he says of Shāhpur. It is also a district, and Sābur was one, but not the largest, of its towns. It was built by one of the monarchs of this name of which there were three, the captor of Valerian, (A.D. 240), Sapor II (310), Sapor III (385).

Umān, Do., Long. 67·20, Lat. 21.—No such name occurs in Faristān, and indeed no other than the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula of which according to Yāqut the Long. is 34·30, Lat. 19·45.

Naubandajān, Long. 107·55, Lat. 30·10.—According to Yāqut a town of importance in the district of Sābur, and said by Ibn Faqih to be its chief town. He distinguishes it from the town Shāhpur or Sābur, but Guyard (II. II. 95. n.) makes them the same. Yāqut states that Naubanjān was a fort in the city of Naubandajān. The former name is in Keith J., the latter not.

Jannābah, known as Gandābah, Long. 87·25. Lat. 30.—In K. J. *Gunāwa,* on the Persian Gulf.

Abarkuh in Fārs, Long. 87·20, Lat. 31·30.

Firozābād in Fārs, Long. 87·30, Lat 28·10.

Shirāz in Fārs, Long. 88, Lat. 29·36.

Sirāf in Fārs. Long. 89·30, Lat. 29·30.

Shabānkārah in Fārs, Long. 89, Lat. 28·23.—The name of a Kurdish tribe and their country, . . . bounded by Fārs, Kirmān, and the Persian Gulf. (*Ency. Islam,* iv. 240. J.S.).

Istakhr in Fārs, Long. 88·30, Lat. 30.—Persepolis.

Yezd in Fārs, Long. 89, Lat. 32.

Hisn-Ibn Umārah in Fārs, Long. 94, Lat. 30·20.—According to Abulf. doubtful whether in Fārs, or Kirmān ; now in ruins . The route from Sirāf, along the sea coast is across wild mountains and deserts. [P. 36.]

Darābjird in Fārs, Long. 90, Lat. 28·15.—This name is derived from *Darāb*=Darius and *Jird* arabicised form of Persian *Gird,* circuit, enclosure, town. Darāb is the name of the town in K. J.

Bāfd, Kirmān, Long. 82, Lat. 29.—Marked in K. J. ; lead mines in its vicinity.

Sirjān, Kirmān, Long. 90·30, Lat. 29·20.—Ibn Haukal calls it the largest city of Kirmān.

Kirmān, Long. 91·30, Lat. 30·5.

Tabas Kilaki, Khurāsān, Long. 92, Lat. 33.—A town in the desert between Naisābur, Isfahān and Kirmān. It is divided in two, one being called T. Kilaki and the other T. Masinān, but they form properly but one town. A celebrated silk of this name is exported. Abulf.

Zarand of Kirmān, Long. 92, Lat. 30·40.—According to Ibn Haukal, it exports a stuff for linings known as *Bitānah ;* equiv. Pers. *astar.*

Bardsir, of Kirmān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 30.—In Abulf. Bardasir, Bardashir Kawāshir, between Sirjān and the desert, two marches from Sirjān, the name a contraction, it is said, of Ardeshir (Babegān) sec. *Dict. de la Pers.* 90.

Khabis, of Kirmān, Long. 93, Lat. 30.—Marked in K. J.

Bam, Long. 94·8, Lat. 28·30.—One of the principal towns and has three large mosques. Marked in K. J.

Tabas Masinān, Khurāsān, Long. 92, Lat. 33.—See above under Tabas Kilaki.

Khuwāsh, desert of Sistān, Long. 94·40, Lat. 33.—Pronounced by the inhabitants *Khāsh*. A town in Sijistān on the left of a traveller going towards Tustar (Bost?) at one day's march from Sijistān, watered by stream and canals and well wooded with palm trees. Yāqut. This direction is obscure and the town is not in the maps. The Sijistān, above-mentioned must be Zaranj.

Zaranj, ancient town of Sistān, Long. 97, Lat. 32·30.—Capital of Sijistān and called also by its name. Yāqub-b-Leith as Saffār, founder of the Saffāride dynasty had a castle here. Rām Shahristān on the Helmand, was the capital before Zaranj, but the river having changed its course and abandoned the town, the inhabitants left it and built Zarang at a distance of 3 farsakh. See these names in the *Dict. dela Pers.* or in Yāqùt.

Kij, of Mekrān, Long. 99, Lat. 23·30.—Principal town of Mekrān and 5 days' march from Tiz, its chief port. *Dict. dela Pers.*

Jāliq, of Mekrān, Long. 99, Lat. 30.—An error probably for *Jāliqān*, but the latter is placed by Yāqut in Sijistān, and by some authorities in the territory of Bast. There is no Jāliq traceable.

Khāltān Mekrān, Long 99, Lat. 28·30.—Not traceable.

Ram, Long. 99, Lat. 33·35.—This name so occurs in Abulf. and corrected by Reinaud to Zamm. The latter is placed by Ibn Haukal on the borders of Khurāsān, but reckoned as belonging to Māwarannahar. Yāqut makes it a small town on the road to the Oxus leading from Tirmaz and Amol. De Slane makes Zemm to mean a cluster of Kurd villages. Ibn Khaldun I. 133 n.

Bust in the Garmsir of Qandahār, on the Helmand, Long 100, Lat. 33.—The stages from Sijistān to Bust or Bost are given by Ibn Haukal (Ouseley, p. 209).

Takitābād?, Long. 101·5?, Lat. 33.

Rukhkhaj of Sistān, Long. 103, Lat. 32·50.—In Abulf. *Arrukhkhaj* with the Arabic article, the ancient *Arachosia*, comprehending the present provinces N.E. of Baluchistān, Cutch, Gandāva, Qandahār, Sewistān and the S.W. of Kābulistān v. *Dict. Geog.* Smith.

Sarwin, Sistān, Long. 101·55, Lat. 28·15.—Abulf. and Yākut have *Sarwān*. It is two marches from Bust.

Maimand, originally of Zabulistān, now of Qandahār, Long. 102·40, Lat. 33·20.—This name is written *Mimand* in Abulf. and Yāqut. The min. of Lat. are omitted or misprinted in the text.

Ghaznah, Zabulistān, Long. 104·20, Lat. 33·35

Ribat Amir, Long. 105, Lat. 34.—Not traceable.

Qandahār, Long. 107·50, Lat. 38·20.

Nahlwārah, India, Long. 108·20, Lat. 28·30.—See p. 59 where this is written as Nahrwalah but with a different location. The name was originally Anhilpur (v. Vol. II) and *Anc. Geog. India*, p. 320.

Multān, India, Long. 106·25, Lat. 29·40.

Lahāwar (Lahor), India, Long. 109·20, Lat. 31·15.

Dahli (Delhi), India, Long. 114·38, Lat. 28·15.

Tānesar, India, Long. 94, Lat. 30.

Shāhābād, India, Long. 94, Lat. 30·12.

Sambal, India, Long. 105·30, Lat. 28·35.—This must be in the Sambalaka of Ptolemy, in Rohilkand. See McCrindle. *Ptol.* p. 133.

Amroha, India, Long. 95·15, Lat. 29.

Pānipat, India, Long. 108·10, Lat. 28·52.

Baran, India, Long. 94·15, Lat. 28·48.—Vol. II. Bulandshahar.

Bāghpat, Long. 94·30, Lat 28·12.—Vol. II.

Kol, Long. 95·2, Lat. 28·20.—Aligarh.

Himālya Mons, Long. 95, Lat. 31·50.

Kot Kror . . . . —Lat. 21.—In Dera Ismail Khan district ; a pilgrimage centre.

Siālkot, India, Long. 109, Lat. 33.

Sultānkot, India, ... Lat. 28·30.

Jhelam India, Long. 90·35, Lat 33·15.

Rhotās, India, Long. 90·30, Lat. 38·15.

Fort of Bandnah, ... Lat. 33·10.—Should be read as *Nandanah*, a fort and a district of the Sind Sagar Doab (Panjab), the fort was north of the junction of two spurs of the Salt Range. (J. S.)

Parashāwar (Peshawar), India, Long. 83·40, Lat. 38·28.

Farmul, India, ... Lat. 32·15.—Kabul being presumably counted in Hindustan. See Vol. II.

Sunnām, India, Long. 110·25, Lat. 30·30.—Sunam town in Karmgarh tahsil of Patiala State.

Sirhind, India, Long. 111·33, Lat. 30·30.—So spelt in every MS.

Rupar, India, Long. 93·40, Lat. 31.—See Vol. II. Subah of Lahor for this and following name.

Māchhiwārah, India, ...

Pāel, India, Long. 98·5, Lat. 30·15.—v. Vol. II.

Ludhiānah, India, Long. 98, Lat. 30·55.

Sultānpur, India, Long. 94·25, Lat. 32.

Kalānur, where the accession of His Majesty took place, *Akbarnamah*, tr. ii. *5 sq*.

Desuhah, India, ...—v. Vol. II.

Parsaror, near Dera Ghazi Khan, Long. 87, Lat. 30.—Pasrur, in Sialkot district.

Amnābād, India, Long. 91·15, Lat. 32.—In the Sarkar of the Rechnau Doab.

Sudharah, India, ... Vol. II.

Defhnah ?, India, ... —Var. *Dalfiah*, *Difhah*. ...

Bherab, India, ... —Bhera, town in Shahpur dist., Panjab.

Khushāb, India, Long. 84·20, Lat. 33·20.

Hazārah, ...

Chandniwat . . . .

Atak, Benares, founded by His Majesty.

Hardwār, Manglāur and the fort of Galer ? ancient cities, ... Vol. II.

Charthāwal, Long. 94, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Kairānah, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Jhinjhānah, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·15.—Vol. II.

Baghrah, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 85·30, Lat. 29·30.—Spelt *Baghra* in Vol. II.

Chahat, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 90, Lat. 32.—[North of Ambala City.]

Bangash, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 87·5, Lat. 38·15.—I find no other name, but the Tuman of Bangash which is scarcely applicable here.

Dorālah, in Muzaffarnagar, ... —Vol. II.

Nahtaur, near Muzaffarnagar, ... Vol. Do., 291.

Kaithal, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 93·50, Lat. 29·59.

Rohtak, near Muzaffarnagar, Long. 98·50, Lat. 29.—Do. 287

Jhajhar, Long. 94, Lat. 28·15.—Vol. II, p. 286.

Māhim, Long. 93·20, Lat. 28·50.—Do. 243.

Haibatpur Pati, in the Panjab, Long. 92, Lat. 31·20.

Khizrābād, in the Panjab, Long. 94·15; Lat. 30·20.—The text is in error in the degree of Long.

Sadhurāh, in the Panjab, Long. 94·20, Lat. 30·25.—Do., Do.

Safidan, Do., Long. 98·15, Lat. 29·25.—In Vol. II it is written *Safidun*.

Jind, Do., Long. 93·25, Lat. 29·15.

Karnāl, Do., Long. 95·4, Lat. 29·15.

Hānsi Hisār, Do., Long. 112·15, Lat. 12·45.—Do., pp. 294-295.

Sahāranpur, Do., Long. 94·15, Lat. 30.

Deoband, Do., Long. 94·47, Lat. 29·15.

Ambālah, Do., Long. 98·55, Lat. 29·25.

Bhumah, Do., ... —Do. 291, where it is written Bhunah.

Hatnāwar, Do., ... —Do. 104.

Sampat, Long. 89·55, Lat. 29.—I do not find this name. Here the reference to India ceases.

Sanjar? . . . . —Var. Janhah. The only approach to this name in Abulf. is the ancient Sangarius, the present Sakaria, which flows into the Black Sea, E. of Constantinople, called also the river of Angora from its passing near that town; Long. 54, Lat. 41 in the *Resm-ul-Māmur*. *Abulf*. II. 64.

Aghmāt, extreme W. of Mauritania, Long. 11·30, Lat. 28·50, N. of the Daren Mts. and the capital of the country before Morocco and S.E. of it. Abulf. II. I. 188. [South of Marrākush. *Ency. Islam*, i. 182. J.S.]

Hadiyān? . . . . —Var. Tadela. already mentioned.

R'ah . . . . —Var. Ruqah; var. Darah mentioned elsewhere.

Riyāsah? . . . . .

Maufālut, Upper Egypt, Long. 62·20, Lat. 27·40.—On the Nile a little N. of Usyut.

Fustāt, Do., Long. 63, Lat. 30·10.

Abu Tij, Do., Long. 62·30, Lat. 28.—On the west bank of the Nile in the Usyut territory, abounding in the poppy plant, 24 miles from Usyut and Ikhmim (Abulf.) Reinaud considered the name pronounced by the Arabs *Abu Tig*, to be probably a corruption of *Apotheke*, pointing to a Greek origin.

Ushmunain, Do., Long. 62·45, Lat. 28.—The 4 in min. of Lat. omitted in text ; marked Eshmoom in K. J. It is in the dual form of an Arabic noun, meaning the two Ushmuns, so named. Reinaud supposes, from its greater importance, there being other towns similarly designated. It was the ancient Hermopolis Magna and there are still some striking remains of its former magnificence. The principal deities worshipped were Typhon and Thoth. The former represented by a hippopotamus on which sat a hawk fighting with a serpent. Thoth, the Greek Hermes, the Ibis-headed god, was with his accompanying emblem the Ibis and Cynocephalus or ape, the most conspicuous among the sculptures on the great portico of the temple. This portico was a work of Pharaonic times. v. *Geog. Dict.* Smith. [P. 38.]

Munyah, Do., Long. 63, Lat. 28·45.—Min. of Lat. in the text 5 for 45, called also Munyat-ul-Khusaib, but in K. J. as Miniet Ibn Khaseeb. Yāqut however carefully points its orthography.

Qābis, Africa, Long. 42·40, Lat. 32.—Cabes in the Gulf of that name. A town in S. Tunisia, under *Gabes* in *Ency. Islam,* ii. 124. In Ptolemy *Gakape,* in the Regio Syrtica. In its neighbourhood were warm mineral springs the *Aquæ Tacapitanæ,* now El Hammat el Khabs v. *Geog. Dict.* Smith.

Susah, coast of Africa, Long. 44·10, Lat. 32·40.—N. of Monaster, and direct S. of Tunis. It was from here that the Moslem fleet set sail for the expedition against Sicily. Abulf. II. 199. *Ency. Islam,* iv 568 under *al-Sus.*

Safāqus, Do., Long. 45·30, Lat. 31·50.—Rein. II. 200. *Ency. Islam,* iv. 238 under *Sfax.*

Ghadāmis, in the Jarid country, Long. 49·10, Lat. 29·10.—Or Ghudāmis, on the borders of the Tripoli and Algerian territory to the extreme south. Yāqut describes the process of tanning here as incomparable, skins becoming as soft as silk. The *Beled el Jarid* in K. J. is marked considerably above Ghudāmis, W. of the Shott Kabir.

Nābulus, of Jordan, Long. 67·30, Lat. 32·10.—Nābulus in Samaria, the ancient Neapolis, supposed to be identical with Sichem of the Old Testament. Traditions of Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb still survive, and its connection with the adjacent sacred Mount of Gerizim and identification as the city

of Samaria where Philip preached, distinguish its remarkable history. See Smith's *Geog. Dict.*

Salt, of Jordan, Long. 63·10, Lat. 32·3.—Text has Long. 68 for 63. *Es Salt* or Ramoth Gilead, but in the *Geog. Dict.* the site is said to be uncertain. Eusebius describes it as 15 miles W. of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*

Azr'aät, (the two 'Azräs) of Damascus . . . . . —The name is incorrectly spelt and should be *'Azrā*. There are two villages of the name in the Ghutah of Damascus, both marked in K. J.

Sarkhad, Do., Long. 70·20, Lat. 32·15.—A fortified town and tract near the Hauran country, according to Yāqut. In K. J. Sulkhad or Salcah.

Hal? . . . . —A note in the text considers this an error for *Hillah* already mentioned.

Qādisiyyah, in Iraq, Long. 79·25, Lat. 21·45.—Cadesia with Hirāh and Khawarnak, says Abulf., are all three on the borders of the desert on the W. and 'Irāq on the E. This famous field determined the fate of Persia under the Caliphate of Omar.

Sarsar, Do., Long. 79·55. Lat. 33·20.—Between Baghdad and Kufah and at 3 parasangs from Baghdad. There are two, an Upper and a Lower. Abulf. II. II. 75.

Hirah, Do., Long. 79·27, Lat. 31·30.—The text has Khirah for Hirah. *The misprints or errors in Lat. and Long., the degrees and minutes of which are expressed in the notation of Arabic letters, are too frequent for further notice.* Hirah is one parasang from Kufah. *Ency. Islam,* ii. 314.

Basā of Fās. Long. 89·15, Lat. 29.—Known in earlier times as *Basā-sir,* a town in Fārs, 4 days' journey S.E. of Shirāz, was the most important town in the district of Darābjird. (*Ency. Islam,* ii. 80). J. S.

Dārā . . . . . —In Abulf. this is in the 4th Climate, a small town at the foot of Mt. Maridin in Mesopotamia. There is another of the name in the mountains of Tabaristān. Abulf.

Ghaznah . . . . . —This has already been mentioned.

Tib, in Khuzistān, Long. 83, Lat. 32.—Between Wasit and Ahwāz. Abulf.

Qurqub in Ahwāz, said by some to be in Irāq. Long. 84·43, Lat. 33.—Seven parasangs between Qurqub and Tib and ten between it and Sus. Abulf.

Jubbi, Khuzistān, Long. 84·35, Lat. 30·50.—Jobba in Abulf. and Jubbah in Yāqut. There are several of this name given by Yāqut; a cluster of villages between Damascus and Ba'albak: a village in Nahrwān; a village in the Khurāsān dist. and also a place in Egypt the birth-place or home of the grammarian Sibawaih. Jubbi is the relative adjective and not the name.

Khansā, China, Long. 174·45, Lat. 29·30.—This in Abulf. is *Khānkou* or properly *Khānfou*, a port of China on the river. According to Guyard, Khansa is Hang-tcheon-fou, the Kinsay of Marco Polo. II. II. 122; visited by Ibn Batutah II. 284.

Salā, Mauritania, Long. 14 10, Lat. 33·30.—Now *Salee* or Sla, in K. J. on the W. coast.

Samairam, near Isfahan, ... —In Yāqut *Sumairam*, a town half-way between Isfahān and Shirāz.

Bam, ... —Already preceded. (*Ency. Islam*, i. 640, in the province of Kirmān.)

Balnān? . . . . . —Bailamān (*Ency. Islam*, i. 594), not traced.

Balzam, ... —The text suggests Palermo, which seems plausible as the simple omission of the dot over the *r* would effect the change, but the name is in strange company, and Abulfeda places it in the 4th Climate.

Baizā, Fārs, Long. 83 15, Lat. 30.—According to Yāqut a well-known city called *Dār Safed*, the white city, Arabicised into Baiza, the white, on account of its citadel which was seen at a long distance; Istakhri describes it, as the largest town of the district of Istakhar and called the White. Its Persian name was Nasāik; it was nearly as large as Istakhar and was 8 farsakhs from Shirāz.

Jausen or Jusain? . . . .

Kinah? . . . .

Jor, in Fārs, ... —*Ency. Islam*, ii. 113 (under *Firuzābād*). Long. 78 30, Lat. 31 according to Yaqut who places it at 20 farsakh from Shirāz, pronounced by the Persians *Gur*. It is said that Malik Azdu-d Daulah bin Buwaih used to make frequent excursions of pleasure to it and the people used to say that he had gone to *Gor*, *i e*, the grave. The ominous sound induced him to change the name to Firozābād. The original city is ascribed to Ardeshir-b.-Bābak, who gave it the name of Ardeshir Khurrah.

Damindān, in Kirmān, ... —The name of a large town i Kirmān with mines of iron, copper, gold, silver, and ammonia and tutty in a mountain in the vicinity. This mountain is calle Dumbāwand, lofty and volcanic. It contains a huge cave which is heard the sound of rushing waters. When th vapourous smoke is thick around its sides, the people of th town assemble to obtain the sal ammoniac which is deposited of which 1/5 is taken by the Sultan and the rest divide amongst the people pro rata. Yāqut from Ibn u'l Fakih This must not be confounded with the mountain of Dumbā wand on the frontiers of Rayy of which marvellous legend are recorded by Yāqut.

Sabqah, ... —I do not trace this name. (? *Saqqiz* in Kurdis *tan, Ency. Islam*, iv. 82, J. S.)

S'alabah, ...

'Ain-ush-Shams, Egypt, ... —Long. in Abulf. varying accordin to different authors between 53 30 and 61·50 and Lat between 29·30 and 30·20 ; said to be the residence o Pharoah, of which some ruins still remain, among them th needle of Pharoah, at half a day's journey from Cairo. Abulf II. 167. This is the famous Heliopolis, with the semitic name of *Beth Shemesh* and *On* (*Genesis*, xli. 45. Ezech. xxx 17).

'Ain Jārah, ...—Said by Yāqut to have been a small villag near Aleppo with which a gross legend is connected, bu the position is obscure.

Kadwāl? . . . .

Kafartāb . . . . —Atwal, Long. 61·30. Lat. 34·45, place by Abulf. in the 4th Climate. Yāqut locates it in the deser between Aleppo and Marrah ; there are no wells and it dependent on rain water.

Kafartuthā, ... —Atwal, Long. 66·35, Lat. 37, in the 4th Climate in the Diyār Rabiah. Yāqut places it at 5 farsakh from Dārā in Mesopotamia. Also the name of a village i Palestine.

Najdah? . . . .

Kawārah? . . . .

Marbut, ... —Mentioned by Yāqut as one of the village of Alexandria without further particulars.

Daha? . . . . —The text suggests Dahna.

Daskarah, in 'Irāq, Long. 81·3°, Lat. 38·40′.—In the environs of Baghdad or according to another account, a large village in its dependency on the road to Khurāsān and called *Darkarat-ul-Malik ;* contains marvellous ancient ruins. Abulf. Yāqut gives two of the name, one a large village W. of Baghdad, and another on the road to Khurāsān near Shahrābād and called Darkarut-ul-Malik, on account of the frequent residence there of Harmuz son of Sapor, son of Ardeshir, son of Bābek. Two others are also mentioned by Yāqut one, opposite Jabbul, between Nuamaniyah and Wāsit, and a fourth in Khuzistān.

Manf, Egypt, Long. 63·20°, Lat. 30·20′.—Memphis. The text has Minf. Yāqut points the word *Manf,* which is doubtless correct, the *Noph* of the Old Testament. Its antiquity is unquestionable, but Yāqut's authority, an undistinguished 'Abdur-Rahman, makes it the first city peopled after the Flood. Its first settlers were Baisar, son of Ham, son of Noah, with his family 30 in number, and their colony called *Māfah* from a Coptic word signifying 30, and turned by the Arabs into *Manf.*

Murjān? . . . .
Nāsarah. Palestine, ... —Nazareth.
Maghrārah or Maghrawah, ...

The Fourth Climate.

Tanjah, a dependency of Fez, on the Atlantic, Long. 18°, Lat. 35′. —Tangier.

Q'asr i 'Abdul Karim. Mauritania, Long. 18·30°, Lat. 37·40′.—A town 4 marches from Ceuta, N.W. of Miknessa, built on the river Luccos. The chief town of the province was formerly Al Basra, but on its destruction the castle of 'Abdul Karim took the rank of the capital and was known as the castle of Ketāma. Abulf. Reinaud observes in a note that Abdul Karim is a branch of the Berber tribe of Ketāma and this castle was also surnamed *Al Qasr al Kabir.* This name is retained in K. Johnston, as applying to the modern town of Luxor.

Qurtubah, capital of Andalusia, Long. 18·30, Lat. 35.—Cordova.
Ishbiliyyah, Andalusia, Long. 18·15, Lat. 36·50.—Sevile.

Sabtah, Mauritania, Long. 19·15, Lat. 35·30.—Ceuta, ancien
Lepta. The deg. and min. of Long. are inaccurate in the te
and seem generally to have been entered without discrimin
tion or care and impossible localities assigned.

Jazirat al Khadrā (the Green Isle) Andalusia, Long. 19·15, L
35·50.—Algeciras. The epithet of the 'isle' was given to
says Ibn Sayd, from an island in the vicinity. It is now join
to the continent. The epithet of "the island" is also giv
to Mesopotamia and the difference by which the relati
adjectives of these localities is distinguished is, that t
former is *Aljaziri*, the latter *Aljazari*. Abulf. II. 347.

Mārida, Spain, Long. 28·15, Lat. 38·15.—Merida, the ancie
Augusta Emerit , built by Publius Carisius, legate of Augustu
in B.C. 23, who colonised it with the veterans of the 5
and 10th legions whose term of service had expired (*emr*
at the close of the Cantabrian War. It became the capit
of Lusitania and one of the greatest cities in Spain. *Geo
Dict.*

Tulaitulah, Do., Long. 10·40, Lat. 35·30.—Toledo, the ancie
Toletum, (Ptolemy) according to an old Spanish traditic
it was founded in 540 B.C. by Jewish colonists who name
it *Toledoch, i.e.*, mother of people. *Geog. Dict.*

Gharnātah, Do., Long. 21·40, Lat. 37·30.—Granada.

Jayyān, Do., Long. 21·40, Lat. 38·50.—Jaen.

Almariyyah, Do., Long. 24·40, Lat. 35·50.—Almeria.

Medinatu'l Farj, Do., Long. 25, Lat. 36·40.—Now Guadalajar
Wāda-l-Hajārah, the river of stones, *Amnns lapidum* of Rode
cus Toletanus. Gayangos. *Mahom. Dyn .in Spain*, I. 31
The name in the text signifies the 'city of the opening or ga
which Reinaud supposes to convey the meaning of fronti
city. This meaning of *farj* is borne out by Belazuri
Gildemeister. *De Reb. Indicis*, p. 37.

Malaqah, Do., Long. 26, Lat. 37·30.—Malaga, the ancient Malac

Mān'ah, *var.* Maltah, ... —Gladwin has here *Malta*, with th
degrees of Long. and Lat. which are absent from the text
perhaps a misscript for *Minorca*.

Island of Yābisah, Mediterranean, Long. 36·62, Lat. 38·30.–
Iviza, anciently Ebusas.

Island of Mayurqah, Mediterranean, Long. 34·7, Lat. 38·30.–
Majorca, Balearis Major.

Bunah, Africa, Long. 28, Lat. 28·50.—The modern Bona on the coast of Constantine province in the vicinity of the ancient Hippo Regius.

Island of Sardāniyah, Africa, Mediterranean, Long. 41, Lat. 88.

Capital of the Island of Sicily, Long. 45, Lat. 38·10.—Palermo.

Balraghdāmis, Mediterranean, Long. 49·10, Lat. 39·10.—Barghadema is the nearest approach to the name in Abulf. but the Lat. is 57 and Reinaud considers the country between the Oder and Dnieper to be meant, but the text mentions it in the Mediterranean.

Island of Shāmus, Mediterranean, Long. 52·40, Lat. 38·10.—Samos.

Island of Ikritish, Do., Long. 55, Lat. 36·40.—Crete.

Island of Qubrus, Do., Long. 62·15, Lat. 34.—Cyprus.

Island of Rudis, Do., Long. 61·40, Lat. 36.—Rhodes, mentioned elsewhere.

Island of Hamariyā, Do., Long. 64·15, Lat. 38·35.—I suspect this to be Morea ; in Abulf. *Lamoreya*, but the location does not correspond as to Lat. and Long.

Island of Saqliyah, Do., Long 65, Lat. 36.—Sicily. Thus in the text but according to Yāqut, the orthography is Siqilliyyah.

Atheniyah the city of philosophers, Greece, Long. 63·40, Lat. 57·20.—Athens.

Jarun, Long. 66·30, Lat. 30·35.—An old castle in ruins opposite Constantinople. Reinaud gives its Long. 50 and Lat. 45 and writes the name *Aljeroun*, suggesting a better reading, *Aljedoun*, II. 39. Guyard doubts whether the Arabic article before Jarun is admissible (II. II. 142) and his objection is well founded.

Tarsus, Long. 68·40, Lat. 35·50.

Bayrut, Asia Minor, Long. 69·30, Lat. 34.

Ayās, Armenia, Long. 69, Lat. 36·40.—In the Gulf of Iskanderun.

Azanah, Do., Long. 69, Lat. 36·50.

Masisah, Do., Long. 69·15, Lat. 36·45.—The ancient Mopsuestia.

Bars Birt, Do., Long. 69·23, Lat. 37.—One march N. of Sis between little Armenia and Carmania. A strong citadel on a hill commanding the country.

Atrabolos Syria, Long. 69·40, Lat. 34.—Tripoli.

Baghrās, Do., Long. 70, Lat. 35·43.—The ancient Pagræ near the Syrian gates on the Syrian side of the Pass. Through these gates, the *Assirion pylai* of Arrian, Alexander passed and

recrossed turning back to meet Darius at Issus. Arr. I, VI, VIII.

Bāb Sikandarunah, Do., Long. 70, Lat. 36·10.—Alexandretta or Iskanderun.

Lādhakiyyah, Do., Long. 70·40, Lat. 35·15.—Latākia.

Hims, Do., Long. 70·15, Lat. 34·20.—Hems.

Shughr Bakās, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 35·30.—Two strong fortresses within a bow shot of each other, half way between Antioch and Fāmyah. The former name occurs in K. J. supposed to have been Seleucia ad Belum.

Suwāidiyyah, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 36.—The ancient Seleucia.

Malitiyyah, Do., Long. 71, Lat. 37.—Properly Malatyah, according to Yāqut, and is in Asia Minor not Syria proper.

Shaizar, Long. 71·10, Lat. 34·50.—A corruption of *Kaisāreia* or Cæsarea Phillipi. In his remarks on Hāmāth, Shaizar is said by Abulf. to be remarkable for the number of its norias.

Antākiah, on the Roman frontier, Long. 71·26, Lat. 35·40.—Antioch.

Sarmin, dependency of Aleppo, Long. 71·50, Lat. 35·50.—One march south of Aleppo between it and Ma'arrah.

Qinnasrin, Long. 72, Lat. 35·30.

Halab, one of the chief cities of Syria, Long. 72·10, Lat. 35·8.—Aleppo.

Sumaisāt, Syria, Long. 72·15, Lat. 37·30.—Anciently Samosata.

Hisn Mansur, Do., Long. 72·25. Lat. 37.—Near Sumaisāt, named from Mansur-b-J'aunah-b. al Hārith al 'Āāmiri, to whom was intrusted its construction under Marwān, the Ass.

Saruj, Long. 72·40, Lat. 36·3.—In Mesopotamia, now in ruins, in the environs of Harrān: it is marked in K. J.

Mambij, Long. 72·50, Lat. 36·30.—Hierapolis, a name given by Seleucus Nicator in substitution of Bambyke, as it was called by the natives, being the chief seat of the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte. It is the *Mabog* of Pliny. See its history in Smith's *Geog. Dict.*

Raqqah, Diyār Muzar, Long. 73, Lat. 36.—After the great inundation of Arim, famous in Arabian history, which is assigned to a period shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, eight tribes were forced to abandon their homes, from some of which arose the kingdoms of Ghassān and Hira. About this time also occurred the migration of colonies led into Mesopotamia by Bakr, Muzhar and Rabi'ah, the eponymous

chiefs of the three provinces still named after them. Diyār Bakr, Diyār Muzhar and Diyār Rabi'ah. See Sale. Prel. Dis. 7.

Harrān, Long. 73, Lat. 37·40.—Anciently Carrhae, the Haran or Charran of *Genesis ;* xi. 31. xxiv. 10. v. *Geog. Dict.*

Qāliqalā, Armenia, Long. 73·45, Lat. 38.

Mārdin, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 74, Lat. 37·50.

Mayyā Fāriqin Diyār Bakr, Long. 74·15, Lat. 38.—The capital of Diyār Bakr. Here is the tomb of Saifu'ddaulah b.-Hamdān.

Hattākh, Do., Long. 74·30, Lat. 37·45.—Close to Mayyā Fāriqin. Yāqut.

Qarqisiyā, Do., Mudhar, Long. 74·40, Lat. 36.—The ancient Circesium, situated on the Euphrates and Khābur, near Raqqah. Marked in K. J.

Jazirah, Ibn Omar, Mesopotamia, Long. 75·30, Lat. 37·30.—Marked in K. J.

Nasibin, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 75·20, Lat. 37·40.—The capital of Diyār Rabi'ah. Its roses have the peculiarity of being white, no red roses are found there. Ibn Batutah quotes Abu Nawas in praise of it. Vol. II. 141. *Travels.*

Makisin, Mesopotamia, Long. 75·32, Lat. 35.—On the Khābur, 7 parasangs from Qarqisiyah and 22 to Sinjar. Abulf.

Sinjār, Diyar Rabi'ah, Long. 76, Lat. 36.

Ma'arrat-un-Nu'amān, Syria, Long. 71·44, Lat. 35.—The name is from Nu'amān-b-Bashir a companion of Muhammad, who died while his father was Governor of Emesa and was here buried. It had been previously named Dhāt-ul-Qusur, "possessing palaces", and it is also said that Nu'amān is the name of a mountain overlooking it. Ibn Batutah, I. 144.

Irbil, a large city with a strong fortress, a dependency of Mausil, Long. 69·30, Lat. 30·8.—Arbila, now Erbil, Yāqut gives the Long. 69·30, Lat. 35·30, describes it as a large city with a strong fortress two days' march from Mausil of which it is a dependency. This name must be pronounced Irbil and not Arbil which he says is not admissible. (*Ency. Islam,* ii. 521-).

'Aānah, Mesopotamia, Long. 76·30, Lat. 34.

Madinah i Balad, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long. 76·40, Lat. 37·30.—A small town on the W. of the Tigris, 6 parasangs from Mausil, Abulf. It is commonly written *Balad,* simply.

Mausil, Mesopotamia, Long. 76, Lat. 36·50.—Mosal in the maps.

Arjish, Armenia, Long. 76, Lat. 38·30.—A fortress situated on the N. of the Lake of Van, identified with the ancient Arsene.

Hadithah, on the Euphrates, Long. 77·20, Lat. 38·35.—There are two of the name (meaning New town), one in Mesopotamia below 'Aānah and another Mausil. The former is here meant. (It is marked in K. J.). The latter follows.

Amid, Diyār Bakr, Long. 77·20, Lat. 36·12.—The present town of Diyār Ḅakr.

Hadithah, on the Tigris, Long. 77·20, Lat. 86·15.

Naushahr, 'Irāq, Long. 71·30, Lat. 36·35.—This is a Persian name, synonymous with *Hadithah* (Villeneuve), but I do not trace it in Abulf. or Yāqut.

Tikrit, Mesopotamia, Long. 71·25, Lat. 34·30.

Sāmarra, 'Irāq, Long. 79, Lat. 84.—Originally *Surraman rān, viz.*, "rejoiceth him that seeth it," built by the Caliph Al Mu'atasim-billāhi in 218 A.H. (A.D. 833). See Jarrett's *Hist. of the Caliphs* (Siyuti) 330, for its origin.

Salmās, Azarbijān, Long. 72, Lat. 37·40.—Situated on the extreme West of Azarbijān at 7 parasangs from Khowayy. Abulf.

Khowayy, Azarbijān, Long. 79·42, Lat. 37·40.—12 parasangs N.W. of Marand, 21 miles from Salmās.

Urmiyyah, Do., Long. 29·45, Lat. 37.—Or Urmiyah, on the borders of the lake of the same name.

Irbil, capital of Shahrazur, Long. 78, Lat. 39·20.—*Ency. Islam*, ii. 521-523 (the name of many places in Mesopotamia). The district or hill country called by the geographers Jabal, is part of Persian 'Irāq, and according to Ibn Haukal is its distinguishing feature. The inhabitants are all Kurds. Shahrazur according to Yāqut is a large town in the mountains between Irbil and Hamadān, the chief of a cluster of towns and villages comprised under the same name. (See also Ibn Khaldun, De Slane I. 145).

Marand, Azarbijān, Long. 80·43, Lat. 37·50.—N.E. of Tabriz, the ancient Maranda.

Shahrazur, one of the towns of the Jabal, Long. 80·20, Lat. 35·30.—The town was named after Zur-b.-Zohāk who founded it. Yāqut.

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long. 80·30, Lat. 38.—Yāqut visited it in A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220) and remarks the extraordinary fact,

that notwithstanding its good air and many streams, not a fruit tree was to be seen in or near it in the plain on which it stands. Fruit has to be brought from a day's journey the other side of the hills and no fruit tree will thrive there. According to the *Qānun* the Long. is 73·50, and the Atwal 72·30 and both make the Lat. 38.

Aujān, Azarbijān, Long. 81-30, Lat. 37·20.—A small town of little importance, and little noticed by Abulf. In the *Dict de la Perse* it is said to have received from Ghazān Khan the name of "the City of Islam".

Nakhchuwān, in Arrān, Long. 81·45, Lat. 37·49.—Anciently Naxuana on the N. bank of Araxes. In Armenian tradition, it is connected with the first habitation of Noah and his landing from the ark. *Geog. Dict.*

Kasr-Shirin, Azarbijān, Long. 81·50, Lat 36·40.—Near Qirmisin, between Hamadān and Hulwān on the Baghdad road. It was named after the beautiful Shirin wife or mistress of Khusrau Parwiz. The legend of its building is told by Yākut who says that this monarch was famed for three incomparable treasures, his horse Shabdiz, his mistress Shirin and his minstrel Balahbaz.

Saimarah, in the Jabal district, Long. 81·50, Lat. 34·40.—See under Shahrazur for Jabal.

Marāghah, Azarbijan, Long. 82, Lat. 37·20.—The old capital of Adharbāijān, (*Ency. Islam*, iii. 261-). The name of this town was originally *Afrāz Haroz*. The army of Marwān, Governor of Armenia and Azarbijān under Hishām the Umayyad Caliph here encamped in one of his expeditions. The stable litter of the cavalry and beasts of burden covered the plain and the animals constantly rolling themselves about in it (*tamarrugh*), it received the name of the "village of Maraghah" and subsequently Marāghah only), (Yāqut).

Tabriz, Azarbijān, Long. 82, Lat. 37.—Tauris, the seat of the royal residence of the Tartar dynasty of Hulagu till its transfer to Sultāniyyah, the new capital founded by Khudābandah. Abulf. See its history in D'Herbelot.

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long. 82·25, Lat. 37·20.—A note to the text says that this name occurs twice in every MS. and that here Dabil in Armenia is probably meant. Abulfeda gives the

Long. 72·40, Lat. 38 (*Qānun*) and Long. 70·20, Lat. 37·25 (Atwal) and calls it the capital of Interior Armenia.

Mayānah, Azarbijān, Long. 82·30, Lat. 37.—Two days march from Marāghah, in K. J. Miana.

Kirmisin, or Kirmān Shāh in the Jabal dist., Long. 83, Lat. 34·30.—Kermānshāh in K. J.

Dainawar, Do., Long. 83, Lat. 35.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 976. "In the middle ages one of the most important towns of Jibāl (Media) now in ruins". Correct spelling *Dinawar* N.W. of Hamadān, near Kirmisin.

Hamadān, Māh-ul-Basrah, Long. 83, Lat. 36.—*Ency. Islam*, ii. 241 under *Hamadhān*. Hamadān (or dān) with its districts formed what was called the Māh of Basrah, as Dinawar and its dist. formed the Māh of Kufah. The word *Māh* is derived from the same name as *Media* (Māda) according to Lagarde and Olshausen (Guyard II. II. p. 163, n.) and employed by geographers in the sense of province. Hamadān with Nahāwand and Qumm forms the Māh-ul-Basrah.

Zanjān, Jabal dist., Long. 83, Lat, 36·30.—The most northern of the Jabal villages, on the borders of the Azarbijān.

Muqān, borders of Arrān, Long. 83, Lat. 38.—Two marches distant from Derbend according to Ibn Haukal, but Abulfeda states that the town exists no longer and the name is applied to a tract of country bordering the Caspian, visited as winter quarters by Tartar hordes.

Sohraward, Jabal dist., Long. 83·20, Lat. 36.—Near Zanjān, a little town inhabited by Kurds, Abulf.

Nuhāwand, Māhul-Basrah, Jabal dist., Long. 83·15, Lat. 34·20.—*Ency. Islam*, iii. 911 under *Nihhāwand*, a town in the old province of Hamadhān, on the road from Kirmānsāh [to Isfahān.] [J. S.]

Bimānshahr, of Hamadān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 37·30.—A mere village. Abulf., *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170 mentions a Bimashahr (not *Bimanshahr*) among the former most important places of Gilān.

Burujird, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 36·20.—18 parasangs from Hamadān in the Jabal dist., produces saffron. Abulf.

Abhar, Jabal dist., Long. 84·30, Lat. 36·55.—The text has incorrectly *Ubhar*. Yāqut correctly places it between Qazwin and Zanjān and Hamadān, the last forming the apex of the

triangle of which the base is Qazwin and Zanjān, almost equally bisected by Abhar. *Ency. Islam*, i. 69.

Kutam, Gilān, Long. 84·40, Lat. 37·20.—At one day's march from the sea, said to have been a considerable town, but it is not marked in the map. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170 mentions it. [P. 41.]

Karaj, Jabal dist., Long. 74·45, Lat. 34.—It is a town half way between Hamadān and Isfahān—called also *Karaj-i-Abi Dulaf*, having been founded by this general of the Caliph Al Mamun. Abulf. Yāqut.

Sāwah, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·15.—Situate W. of Rayy, and S. of Tālaqān and 12 parasangs from Qumn.

Qazwin, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·30.

Sultāniyyah, Do., Long. 85, Lat. 36·30.—In Azarbijān. Its ruins are marked on K. J. It is immediately south of Zanjān, a town founded by Khudābandah son of Arghun, 12th of the Ilkhān dynasty. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 548.

Abah or Awah, Jabal Dist., Long. 85·10, Lat. 34·40.—In K. J. Avah at the foot of the Karaghan Mts., 27 parasangs north-east of Hamadān.

Qumn, Do., Long. 84·40, Lat. 34·45.—Kum in K. J. directly S. of Teherān. The inhabitants are all Shiahs and Yāqut amusingly describes the attempt of a Sunni Governor to find any one named Abu Bakr in the whole town. A wretched tatterdemalion was at length produced after a long search as the only specimen the climate could grow of that name. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 1117.

Jarbādqan, Do., Long. 85·35, Lat. 34.—Between Karaj and Hamadān. There is another of the name between Astarābād and Jurjān.

Kāshān, Do., Long. 86·12, Lat. 36.—A smaller town than Qumn and in its vicinity. Its houses mostly constructed of mud and their inhabitants Shiahs. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 786.

Natanz, Do., Long. 86·30, Lat. 38·13.—A small town 20 parasangs from Isfahan. Abulf.

Dumbāwand, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 35·35.—Demavend in K. J. It marks the frontier of Rayy. *Ency. Islam*, i. 937, under *Demawend*.

Rayy, Do., Long. 86·20, Lat. 35·53.—The ancient Rhagæ, in Media. *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1105.

Kālār, in Dailam, Long. 8·50; Lat. 36·35.—With Kālār is coupled in the text a corrupt name, perhaps, a misscript for *Salous* from which it is only a march distant. Kālār is a town S.E. of Lahajān, which is S.E. of Resht.

Khuwār, Jabal dist., Long. 87·10, Lat. 35·40.—A dependency of Rayy between that town and Simnān.

Tālaqān, Long. 85·45, Lat. 36·30.—Between Qazwin and Abhar, not to be confounded with the Tālaqān of Khurāsān.

Hausam, Gilān, Long. 85·10, Lat. 37·10.—In the Jabal district beyond Tabaristān and Dailam is all the information in Yāqut.

Dailamān (Isfahān) . . . . . . —Yāqut describes it as one of the villages of Isfahān in the Jurjān territory.

Dasht, Do. . . . . —A village of the Isfahān district—also a small town in the mountains between Irbil and Tabriz populated by Kurds. Yāqut.

Lahajān, Gilān, ... —Atwal, Long. 74, Lat. 36·15. The Safid Rud flows into the sea near Lahijan. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 170.

Wimah, town of Dumbāwand, ... —Do. 77·20, Lat. 36·10 *Qānun*, Long. 76·35, Lat. 36·20. A small town between Rayy and Tabaristān. Abulf.

Amul, Tabaristān, ... —Atwal, Long. 77·20, Lat. 36·35. Capital of Tabaristān.

Dāmaghān, Qumis, ... —Atwal, Long. 78·55, Lat. 36·20. The largest of the towns in Qumis territory according to Ibn Hauqal called by Yāqut.

Simnān, Capital of Qumis, ... —Atwal, Long. 78. Lat. 36. *Qānun* Long. 79, Lat. 36.

Biyār, Mazandarān, ... —A picturesque town between Baihaq and Bistām, two days' march from the latter. *Dict. de la Perse*.

Sāri, Do., Long. 88, Lat. 37.—Also written and more commonly *Sāriyah*. Its derivation from *Sari* "Travelling by night" according to Yāqut, but the reason is not evident. It lies 3 parasangs from the sea and 18 from Amul.

Bistām, Qumis, Long. 89·30, Lat. 36·10.—A town in Khurāsān, on the slopes of the Alburs mt. During the Khalifate it was the second city of the Qumis district (after the capital Damaghān). Famous for its apples and Saints' tombs. *Ency. Islam*, i. 733. (J. S.)

Astarābād, Māzandarān, Long. 89·35, Lat. 36·50.

Jurjān, Capital of its province, Long. 90, Lat. 36·50.—Its ruins alone are marked in K. J. *Ency. Islam*, i. 1065, modern Persian *Gurgān*, the ancient Hyrcania.

Furāwah, Khurāsān, Long. 90, Lat. 39.—On the frontier of Khwārizm ; it is called Ribāt Furāwah, a fort constructed by Abdu'llah b. Tāhir in the Caliphate of Mamun. Abulf.

Sabzawār, ... —Long. 91·30, Lat. 36·15. The chief town of the canton of Baihaq a position previously held by the town of Khusraujird.

Isfarāin or Mihrjān, Khurāsān, Long. 91·40, Lat. 36·55.—In the environs of Naisābur half way to Jurjān. The name of Mihrjān is said to have been given to it by Khusrau Kubād, father of Nushirwān, on account of the beauty of its climate and the freshness of its air. (Abulf.). Abu'l Qāsim al Baihaqi according to Yāqut, says that the ancient form of the name was Isbarain, from *isbar*, a buckler, and '*Ain* custom, on account of the traditional usage of this weapon of defence from the time of Isfandiyār.

Abaskun, Māzandarān, Long. 89·55, Lat. 37-10.—The text has Abisgun, situated on the borders of the Caspian ; 24 parasangs from Jurjān. *Ency. Islam*, i. 6.

Mazinān, frontier of Khurāsān, Long. 90;35, Lat. 36.—On the extreme frontier of Khurāsān bordering on 'Irāq.

Turshiz, Long. 90·15, Lat. 35.—*Ency. Islam*, iv. 974. The text has turned the Lon. into a series of 3 figures and marked the town as unknown. A reference to Yāqut would have shown that *Turshish* or Turaithith, celebrated for its savants and devotees, is a town and district dependent on Naisābur. The Persian orthography of the name is correctly represented in the text, (v. *Dict. de la Perse*, 390 n.). In the *Zinat-ul Majālis*, it is said that in one of its boroughs called Kashmir, is a cypress celebrated for its beauty and height and said to have been planted by Gushtāsp the sage, and alluded to by Firdausi in his *Shāh Nāmah*, (Mohl. t. IV, p. 364). It was uprooted by the order, it is said, of the Abbaside Mutawakkil, who was certainly capable of the barbarity.

Naishābur, one of the chief cities of Khurāsān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 36·20.—Yāqut writes *Naisabur*—vulg. Nashāur.

Tus, Khurāsān, Long. 92·30, Lat. 34·20.

Mashhad, it adjoins Nuqān, Long. 92·33, Lat. 34·29.—*Ency. Islam*, iii. 467. Known as Meshed. It stands on the ruins of Nauqān and takes its name from the Mausoleum (*Mashhad*) of Ali, son of Musa-ar-Ridha, and is too well-known for description.

Tun, Long. 92·30, Lat. 34·30.—Town of Kohistān near Qain. *Dict. de la Perse.*

Nuqān, not the Nauqān of Mashhad, Long. 92, Lat. 38.—This must be the Nuqān in the environs of Naisābur.

Qāin, Khurāsān, Long. 93·20, Lat. 37·30.—The capital of Kohistān. *Kayn* in K.J.

Zuzan, Kohistān, Long. 93·30, Lat. 35·20.—Between Herat and Naisābur.

Buzjān, Khurāsān, Long. 94, Lat. 36.—A small town 4 marches from Naisābur.

Marw, Shāhjahān, Do., Long. 94·20, Lat. 37·40.—*Ency. Islam*, Suppl. 146-149, (where *Shāhjahān* is shown as a mistake for *al-Shāhijān*).

Herāt, Khurāsān, Long. 94·20, Lat. 34·30.

Sarakhs Do. Long. 94·30, Lat. 37·8.

Bādaghis Do. Long. 94 30, Lat. 34·20.—A dependency of Herāt, the chief town or towns of the canton being Bamun and Baun that adjoin each other.

Marw-ar-Rud, known as Murghāb, Long. 94, Lat. 36·30.—The word signifies a white flint that gives fire, and *rud* is a stream, (the *Murghāb*). The town is 4 days' march (Abulf.) says five) from its more celebrated namesake. The relative adjective of this name is *Marwarudi*, and that of the other is *Marwazi*, to distinguish them.

Mālin, of Herāt, Long. 94·30, Lat. 34·35.—Name of a cluster of villages at 2 parasangs from Herāt, and called at Herāt, Mālān (Yāqut.)

Bushang, Long. 95·40, Lat. 36·3.—Bushanj in Yāqut, a picturesque town, 10 parasangs from Herāt. According to the *Dict. de la Perse*, the Persian name is *Fushanj* deriving its origin from the son of Afrasiāb. *Ency. Islam*, i. 802. under Bushandj ("or Fushandj"), a town south of the Hari Rud below Herāt, a day's journey from that city.

Baghshur, Khurāsān, Long. 96·25, Lat. 36.—A small town between Herāt and Marw-ar-Rud. Yāqut passed by this in A.H. 616 and it was then nearly in ruins. The name of Bagh is also

given to this town and the relative adjective *Baghawi* formed from it, not quite according to grammatical rule. Yāqut.

Qarinain, Marw Shāhjahān, Long. 97·25, Lat. 36·55.—Situated on the Marw river, formerly called Barkadir, but changed to Qarinain, (dual of *Qarin*, the two neighbours) because it was joined to Marw-ar-Rud from which it is 4 marches distant.

Dandānqān, Do. Long. 97·30, Lat. 37.—A small locality two marches from Marw in the Sarakhs direction. Its cotton is said to be of excellent quality and it produces silk.

Sharmaqān, Long. 104, Lat. 36·41.—By the Persians called Jarmaqān, a small town in the Isfahān dist. four marches from Naisābur, in the Khurāsān hills.

Tālaqān, Khurāsān, Long. 98, Lat. 36·30.—Not to be confounded with the Tālaqān between Qazwin and Abhar in the Jabal dist. This one is said by Yāqut to lie between Balkh and Marw-ar-Rud, at three days' march from the latter. It is not marked in the maps. Another Tālaqān is in Badakshān near Qunduz below the spurs of the Hindu Kush.

Fāryāb, Long. 99, Lat. 36·45.—The text omits the tens in the min. of Lon. but similar errors are almost too numerous to notice. Fāryāb is a well-known town of Jarjan, 6 marches from Balkh, 3 from Shubrukān and 3 from Tālaqān. Zahir Fāryābi was from this town.

Balkh, capital of Khurāsān, Long. 101·40, Lat. 36·41.

Bāmiān, Zābulistān, Long. 102, Lat. 34·35.

Halāward, Long. 101·40, Lat. 37·30.—A town of Khuttal, a province of Khurāsān in Transoxiana of which the chief towns are this and Lāwakand. Khuttal is comprised between the Waksh Badakhshān rivers.

Balāsāghun, Long. 101·30, Lat. 37·40.—This is placed by Abulf. in the 7th Climate. A frontier town of Turkestan across the Jaxartes, near Kāshghar, (Abulf.) in whose times it was in the hands of the Tartars. De Guignes, speaks of Malikshāh, son of Alp Arslān, in 1089, as taking Samarqand and passing on to Ouzkend, compelling the king of Kāshghar to read the Khutba and mint the coin in his name and forcing tribute from the princes of Taraz, Balasgoun and Isfijāb.

Siminjān, Tukhāristān, Long. 102, Lat. 36.—A small locality in Tukhāristān wedged in it between Balkh and Baghlān in the defiles, inhabited by a branch of the Bani Tamim. It is 2

marches from Balkh to Khulm and 5 on to Anderabah by Siminjān. Yāqut.

Qubādiān, territory of Balkh, Long. 102, Lat. 37·45.—A pleasant spot full of orchards, Abulf. ; the town and district are marked in the survey map, across the Oxus directly N. of Khulm.

Walwālij, in Tukhāristān, Long. 102·20, Lat. 36.—The capital of Tukhāristān according to Abulf. which was anciently the kingdom of the Ephthalites (Hayātilah), 4 parasangs from Tāikān.

Saghānyān, Transoxiana, Long. 102·40, Lat. 38·50.—Pronounced Jaghānyān in Persian; the name of the town is extended to the country about it, larger than Tirmiz but not so rich or populous. Abulf.

Taiqān, Tukhāristān, Long. 102·50, Lat. 37·25.—In the environs of Balkh. It is separated by a distance of 7 parasangs from Khuttal. Abulf.

Anderāb, Khurāsān, Long. 103·45, Lat. 36.—Between Ghaznah and Balkh, the road by which caravans enter Kabul. Adjacent is the mountain of Panjhir with its mines of silver.

Badakshān, Long. 104·40, Lat. 37·20.

Kābul, Long. 104·40, Lat. 34·30.

Banjhir, Kābulistān, Long. 104·40, Lat. 34·30.—Properly Panjhir, Yāqut, see Vol. II.

Lamghān, Do., Long. 104·50, Lat. 34·3.

Karwez, Badakshān, Long. 105·20, Lat. 36.—The text is corrupt and the place unknown. Gladwin writes Gardiz, but this Tumān is S. of Kābul and S.E. of Ghazni. I would propose *Kunduz*. [H. S. J.] I cannot accept Qunduz (*Ency. Islam*, ii. 1117), "a town and district in N. Afghanistan, bounded by Badakshān, Tash Kurghān, the Oxus and the Hindu Kush. The town is the trade centre of a considerable district which produces the best horses in Afghanistan." The place seems to be *Karzwān*, close to Gharjistān in Afghan Turkestān, as given in A. Hamid Lahori's *Pādishāh-nāmah*, ii. 622. [J. S.]

Jirm, Badakshān, Long. 104·20, Lat. 36.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 552, "the frontier town of Islam, on the trade route *via* Wakhān to Tibet." (J. S.)

Kishmar, Long. 93·40, Lat. 36·15.—I read *saj* for *Sah* of the text for deg. of Long. and *yh* for min. of Lat. These alterations which the similarity of the letters and the constant inaccuracies

of the text justify, will bring this town approximately to the location of *Tarshiz* (p. 86) of which it is a neighbour. (H. S. J.) *Turshiz* in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 974, the capital of the district of Busht in the province of Nishābur. In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar, where according to tradition, Zoroster planted a cypress tree. (J. S.)

Source of the Mihrān (Indus). Long. 125. Lat. 36.

Sarfatain, ... —From this name to the end, the degrees of Long. and Lat. do not occur in the principal MSS. Many of the names are repetitions of those preceding and very corrupt.

Jisr, ... —A place near Hirah, the scene of a battle between the Persians and the Arabs in A.H. 13, in which the latter were defeated. The word signifies a bridge, which was thrown across the Euphrates by which the Arabs advanced to the attack. Yāqut. *Ency. Islam*, under *Djism*.

Harrān, ... —Preceded.

Qarādah, ...

Fārhān, ...

Malān? . . . .

Abrakhis? . . . . .

Audmiyyah? . . . . . .

Qarmāsin, ... —Preceded as Qirmisin.

Dauraq, ... —This is mentioned by Abulf. as a dependency of Khuzistān, 10 parasangs from Bāsyān and 18 from Arrajān, in the 3rd Climate.

Diyār Bakr, ... —Preceded.

Qarinain, ... —Do.

Ninawā, ... —Nineveh, the lat. of this place is the same as Mausil, which it faces on the opposite bank of the Tigris, Lat. 36·30, Long. 67. Abulf.

Palangān? . . . . . .

Qaisar, ... Atwal, Long. 60, Lat 40. Qaisariyyah in Asia Minor, capital of the Ottoman Sultans, concurrently or alternately with *Iconium*. Abulf. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 660-661.

Bijāyah, Mauritania, ... —Placed by Yāqut on the sea-shore on the borders of Africa proper and the Maghrib or N.W. Africa, three days' journey from Milah. It is the modern Bougie. *Ency. Islam*, i. 766.

Balansia, ... —Valencia, Long. 20. Lat. 38·6 Abulf.

Sāmus, ... —Samos, preceded, as Shāmus.

Ayās, ... —Do.

Irqah, Syrian coast, ... —*Erek*, Long. 60·15, Lat. 34, a small town defended by a citadel, 12 miles S. of Tripoli, a parasang from the sea, the most northern part of the Damascus territory.

Raqbah? . . . . . —(Is it a mistake for *Raqqa*, the capital of Diyār Mudar on the left bank of the Euphrates, anciently called Kallinikos? *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1108. J. S.)

Sahyun, Qinnasrin, ... —Long. 60·10, Lat. 35·10, celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses of Syria, W. of Laodicea (Lādikiyeh) and one march from it (Abulf.). It is *Sajun* in K. J.

Hārim, of Aleppo, ... —Long. 60·30, Lat. 35 50, a small town 2 marches W. of Aleppo, and one from Antioch, Abulf. It is marked in K. J.

Fāmyah, (Apamea), ... —Long. 61·8, Lat. 35, district of Shaizar, pronounced also with a prosthetic Alif. Another Fāmyah, a town situate on the Famu-s-Silh near Wāsit, Abulf.

Shaizar, ... —Has preceded. [P. 43]

Hamāt, Syria, ... —On the Orontes between Emessa and Qinnasrin, Long. 61·55, Lat. 34·45 (Abulf.) Epiphaneia ; the location of Ptolemy is Long. 69·36, Lat. 30·26. It is supposed to be identical with *Hamath* (2, *Sam.* viii, 9, *Kings*, viii, 65. Is x, 9) called also *Hamath* the Great. It was called Hamath in St. Jerome's day (see Smith *Geog. Dist.*) Abulf. says it is remarkable like Shaizar for the quantity of its norias [bucket water wheels] even among the Syrian cities.

Marash, a fortress of Syria, ... —Atwal, Long. 61, Lat. 36·30. One of the two fortresses, the other Hadath, on the Syrian frontier. They were both captured by Khālid, A.H. 15, Marash dismantled and its inhabitants driven out. Abdulf. *Annals*, I. 227. De Sacy in his *Chrest. Arab*, says, that its ancient name was Germanicia corrupted by the Syrians into Baniki, I. 130.

Aintāb, dependency of Qinnasrin, ... —Long. 62·30, Lat. 36·30. It is 3 marches N. of Aleppo, and at no great distance is the ruined fortress of Doluk, which name frequently recurs in the history of the wars between Saladin and Nur-u'ddin. Doluk or Delouc as he writes it, De Sacy identifies with the ancient Doliche, (*Chrest. Arab*, III. 109), but this name was

applied (Doliche or Dolichiste, a long island) to the present Kakava S. of Lycia by Ptolemy, Pliny and Alexander in his *Periplus of Lycia.* There is no other Doliche mentioned in the *Geog. Dict.*

Hisn Kaifa, island in the Euphrates, ... —It is a town and fortress of considerable size, overlooking the Tigris between Amid and the Jazirat-i Ibn Omar of Diyār Bakr. Yāqut says the river there is crossed by a bridge, the largest he had ever seen of a single span, flanked by two smaller ones. Amid is now Diyār Bakr. The location in the text is strangely in error. It is marked in K. J. as Hosn Kefa.

Siirt, Diyār Rabi'ah, ... —Long. 68, Lat. 37·20, a town situate on a hill N.E. of the Tigris, one day's march and a half from Mayyāfāriqin, and 4 from Amid, to the south of which Siirt stands. Abulf.

Hisnu-t-Tāq, Sijistān, ... —Long. 80·30, Lat. 34·40, a fortress on a high mountain near an elbow formed by the Helmand in Sijistān. Abulf.

Milinj? (Mayānij, Mayānah), ... —Has preceded, (p. 82).

Karun? . . . . . .

Gilān, ...

Jawain, ... —The district dependent on Naisābur of which Azādhwar is the chief town. It is called by the Persians Kowān or Gowān, Abulf. II. II. 191.

Jājram, (between Naisābur and Jurjān), ...

Jām, in the Naisabur territory, ...

Farjistān? . . . .

Maru? . . . . (? Merv).

Karaj i Abi Dulaf, ... —Has preceded.

Nasā, Khurāsān, ... —Long. 82·8, Lat. 38, in Khurāsān on the confines of the desert, 57 parasangs N. of Sarakhs. Yāqut gives the origin of its name from the abandonment of the town by the male population on the advance of the Muhammadans. Seeing no men, but only women, they exclaimed, "These are women, let us go and fight elsewhere," and the name *Nisā* or Nasa was thus commemorated. He places it at 2 days' journey from Sarakhs; 5 from Marw; 1 from Abivard and 6 or 7 from Naisābur.

Abiward, Khurāsān, ... —Abivard in K. J.

Shahristān, frontiers of Khurāsān, ... —This is another name for Isfahān, which followed the ancient name of Jayy. It fell into ruin and was replaced by Yahudiyyah, a mile distant from Shahristān and two from Jayy. The name of Yahudiyyah arose from the tradition that Nabuchadnezzar, after the destruction of Jerusalem transported its inhabitants to Isfahān. Jayy-Isfahan fell into decay, but the Jewish quarter prospered. This tradition according to Guyard is to be found in the *Talmud*, v. Abulf. II. II. 160. There is a long article in Yāqut on this city.

Iskalkand, Takhāristān, ... —Atwal Long. 92·20, Lat. 36·30. A small town of Takhāristān. The prosthetic *alif* is sometimes dropped and the word pronounced without it. Abulf.

Fārabr or Firabr, on the Oxus, ... —Atwal Long. 87·30, Lat. 38·45. On the Oxus towards Bokhara. Abulf. According to Yāqut, it is a small town between the Oxus and Bokhara, and one parasang from the river ; formerly called Ribāṭ Ṭāhir b. 'Ali.

Farmyab? . . . . . .

Tamghāj, ... —This is the name of Northern China. Abulf., II, III, 230 n. According to D'Herbelot, Tangag or Tamgaz (his transliteration of names defied even the penetration of Gibbon) is the name of a race of Turks or Turkomans, the same nation as the Gaz., who took prisoner Sultan Sanjar the Seljuk.

Khuttlān, Transoxiana, ... —The name of a group of places beyond Balkh, a district distinct from Waksh, but under one and the same government. Its capitals are Halāward and Lāwakand, Abulf. II. II. 228. It has been previously mentioned.

Waksh, Do., ... —Atwal Long. 90·30, Lat. 38·20, a town of the Saghāriyān dist. in Transoxiana.

Shumān, in Saghānyān, ... —Abulf. of this latter mention has been made.

Maimanah and Chikhtu . . . —Abd. Hamid Lahori in his *Pādishāh-nāmah*, ii. 622 gives *Maimanah* and *Chichaktu* as close to Gharjistan and Karzwān, in Afghan Turkestān. For Ghardjistān, *Ency. Islam*, ii. 141. [J. S.] The text baffled Jarrett.

THE 5TH CLIMATE.

Ushbunah, Spanish Peninsula, Long. 36·45, Lat. 42·40.—Also called Lashbunah. Lisbon.

Shantarin, Do., Long. 18·10, Lat. 42·45.—Ancient Scalabis, now Santarem. After the fall of the empire, it received the name of St. Irene, from St. Iria, who there suffered martyrdom. Reinaud.

Centre of the Isle of Cadiz. Long. 21·2, Lat. 48·50.

Madinah i Walid, Do., Long. 21·52, Lat. 29·20.—Valladolid.

Mursyah, Do., Long. 28, Lat. 43.—Murcia.

Madinah i Sālem, Do., Long. 29·10, Lat. 39·20.—Medina Celi.

Dānya, Spain, Long. 31·30, Lat. 41·30.—Denia, anciently Dianium or Artemisium from a temple of Diana that stood on a lofty promontory of the E. coast of Hispania Tarraconensis.

Tutelah, East, Do., Long. 30·30, Lat. 43·55.—Tudela.

Saraqustah, Do., Do., Long 31·30, Lat. 42·30.—Saragossa, Cæsar Augusta.

Turtushah, Do., Do., Long. 31·30, Lat. 40.—Tortosa, Colonia Julia Augusta Dertosa.

Jazirah-i-Mayurqah, Mediterranean, Long. 34·10, Lat. 39·40.—Majorca, see p. 77, a different location given.

Haikal, known as Haikal-i-Zuhrah (Temple of Venus) N. Spain, Long. 34, Lat. 43.—Port Vendres, Templum Veneris.

Barshalonāh, country of the Franks, Long. 34·30, Lat. 42.—Barcelona, ancient Barcino, traditionally founded by Hercules and rebuilt by Hamilcar Barcus who gave it the name of his family, G. D. Smith.

Arbunah, Spain or beyond it, Long. 36·15, Lat. 43.—Not Urbunah as in the text, but *Narbo Martins*, the Roman colony was founded in B.C. 118, D. E. The Arab geographers are divided as to its position whether in Spain or beyond it.

Tarraqunah, country of the Franks, Long 33, Lat. 43·22.—Tarragona, Tarraco, a Phoenician colony, its name *Tarchon* said to mean a citadel, probably derived from its situation on a high rock above the sea, v. Geog. *Dict*.

Jenua, in Frankish territory, Long. 41, Lat. 41·20.—Anciently Genua, the orthography Janua to support the tradition of its foundation by Janus has no authority.

Rumiyah, city of the Pope, Long. 33, Lat. 41·21.

Rabusah? . . . .

Madinah i Tabarqah, Long. 55·12, Lat. 48·15.—On the Mauritanian coast, E. of Bona but this lat. does not harmonize with previous latitudes in Mauritania. Yāqut gives but one town of Tabbarkah and places it with accuracy near Beja and to the east of the town are the castles Benzert (Biserta).

Jazirah i ? Long. 58·50, Lat. 42·15.—The word is not pointed in the original and no indication is given.

Jazirah i, Sabālyā? Long. 55·15, Lat. 48·15.

Mansālyā, Long. 45·30, Lat. 45·1.

Middle of the Pontus Euxinus, Long. 35·15, Lat. 46·5.

'Ayun Asfaras, Long. 36·45, Lat. 48·32.—I have little doubt that for *Asfaras* should be read *Bosporus* and the waters of this channel are here intended. The origin of the Thracian Bosporus attracted attention from the earliest times and it was the received opinion that the union of the Euxine and the Mediterranean was effected by a violent disruption of the continent in the deluge of Deucalion, v. G. D. Smith.

. . . . The name in the text is without vowel points.

Maqābiz Borystānes, ... —I do not hesitate in the emdendation *Borysthenes* (Dnieper) and the mouths of the river are here intended. There may be ingenuity, but there is no profit in the discovery ; the whole list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer. [P. 44]

Middle of Mānus? . . . . . . Marmaros?

The extreme of the Yarqāhi territory? . . . .

? . . . . The name is unpointed. Perhaps Istros.

Mouths of the Tanais, ... —The Don.

Mauza' Barnyā Nitas, ... —The second word is a corruption of *Palus Mæotis*, which occurs in Abulfeda in another similar form, as *Manitasch*, II, II, 143.

'Alāya, in Rum (Asia Minor), Long. 62 Lat. 39·30.—The ancient Coracesium, the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilcia, v. Ibn Batutah, II, 255.

'Ammuriyyah, Asia Minor, Long. 64, Lat. 43.—The ancient Amorium.

Akuryah, called also Anqarah, Do., Long. 64·40, Lat. 41·45.—In Abulf. Ankuryah. Now Ankara.

Maqedunyah, prov. of Constantinople, Long. 60·55, Lat. 41,—Macedonia.

Aqshahr, Asia Minor, Long. 65, Lat. 41·40.—The White City, 3-days' march, N.W. of Iconium.

Qunyah, Do., Long. 66·30, Lat. 41·40.—Iconium.

Qaisariyyah, Do., Long. 60, Lat. 15·40.—Cæsarea, originally Mazaca, afterwards Eusebeia, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia. The name was changed to Cæsarea by Tiberius. *G. D.*

Aqsarāi, Do., Long. 67·45, Lat. 40.—The White Palace, the ancient Archelais.

Siwās, Do., Long. 71·30, Lat. 40·10.—Sebasteia on the Halys; Pompey increased the town and gave it the name of Megalopolis; it was made the capital of Armenia Minor.

Tarābazun, Long. 78, Lat. 43.—Trebizonde. Anciently Trapezus, named probably from its situation on a table-land above the sea. Its annals are of historical interest from the time of Xenophon's retreat to its fall under Mahomed II in 1460.

Shimshāt, Long. 73·15, Lat. 40.—Samosata, the birth-place of Lucian. Its situation on the Euphrates gave it, great strategical importance and it was seized by Vespasian when Antiochus, king of Commagene, meditated an alliance with the Parthians to throw off the yoke of Rome. It contained the royal residence.

Malāzjird, Armenia, Long. 75, Lat. 39·30.—A small town near Arzun and N. of Bidlis. Abulf.

Akhlāt, Do., Long. 75·50, Lat. 39·20.—Now Aklat on Lake Van.

Bābu'l Hadid, Long. 76, Lat. 41.—Darband or the famous Iron Gates called the Gate of Gates, *Bābu'l Abwāb*. *Ency. Islam*, i. 940 under *Derbend*.

Arzanjān, Long. 73, Lat. 39·50.—In Armenia, between Siwās and Erzeroum at 40 parasangs from either. Abulf.

Arzan-ur-Rum, Armenia, Long. 76, Lat. 39·55.—Erzeroum.

Bard'ah, in Arran, . . . Long. 83, Lat. 40·30.—The capital of Arrān at the extreme of Azarbijān, nearly in ruins in Abulfeda's time. [Arran means *al-Ran* or Albania, a province between Shirwān and Ajarbaijān. Here the town of Partav was called by the Arabs *Bardha'a* while *Kāwalak* (Pliny's Cabalaca) called by the Arabs Qabala, was the largest town in Caucasia. *Ency. Islam*, i. 460. J. S.]

Shamkur, Do., Long. 83, Lat. 41·50.—A fortress near Bard'ah.

Khankarah? Long. 83, Lat. 38·40.

Arzandrum, Long. 79, Lat. 41·15.—Marked doubtful in the text, but it is evidently a replica of Arzan-ur-Rum, by an ignorant copyist

Taflis, Garjistan, Long. 83, Lat. 43.—Tiflis, or Taflis (Yāqut permits either vowel), capital of Georgia.

Bailaqān, Arran, Long. 83·30, Lat. 39·50.—Situate in the defile of Khazarān, near Shirwān, six parasangs from Warthān.

Bākuyah, Shirwān, Long. 84·30, Lat. 40·50.—Bāku.

Shamākhi, Do., Long. 84·30, Lat. 40·50.—Now Shemākha in K. J.

Rumiya Kubra, Long. 85, Lat. 41·50.—This must be Medāin Kisra, which has already preceded in the 3rd Climate, but with a different location. The practical use of these tables is not very evident. *Madāin*, the ancient Ctesiphon had many names. Its name signifies 'Cities' and was formed of the union of seven, namely, Asfāpur (Jundisabur), Darzindān, Weh Jundikhusrau (Arab Rumiyah) and Nuniābād. Guyard. II, II, 76.

Bābu l Abwab, Arran, Long. 89, Lat. 43.—This is the same as the Bābu-l Hadid or Darband. The difference in Long. is no doubt caused by the change in the 1st Long. and probably an error in the units both in the Long. and Lat.

Jazirah i Siāh Koh, in the Caspian, Long. 89, Lat. 43·30.—The Siāh Koh or Black mountain appears from the indications in Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg*. I. 152, De Slane) to be the Caucasus. Abulf. places this island in the 6th Climate and this mountain in an island on the Caspian, and states that it is a range of mountain to the E. of the Caspian and circling round it to Darband. The eastern chain is called the Caucasus by Arrian V.

Hashtar Khān . . . . . —Astrakhan.

Agharjah . . . . —Probably Georgia.

Kāth, Khwārizm, Long. 95, Lat. 41·36.—On the E. of Oxus, a large town according to Yāqut, most of the Khwārizm territory lying to the W. It is 20 parasangs from Kurkanj. Its meaning in the Khwarizm tongue is a wall or enclosure in an open plain which is comprised within no other surrounding.

Kurkānj Sughra, Do., Long. 94, Lat. 42·30.—So in the MSS. but changed to *Gurganj* by the editor. Yāqut confirms the orthography of the text. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 183 has *Gurgandj*, "a town in the northern part of Khwārizm" There are two

of the name, Kurkanj the Great, capital of Khwārizm (now Khiva) and Kurkanj the Less at 10 miles distance. The Persian form is *Gurganj*, the Arabic *Jurjaniyyah*. In 1216 it was a flourishing and populous town. Abulf.

Jurjāniyyah, Do., Long. 94, Lat. 42·45.—See note above. The labours of Abul Fazl were confined to transcribing without investigation. See *Ency. Islam*, ii. 183, under *Gurgandj*.

Kurkanj. the Great, capital of Khwārizm, Long. 94·30, Lat. 42·17.—The deg. of Lat. in the last 3 names are incorrect. Similar gross errors which give impossible figures are frequent.

Hāzārāsb, Do., Long. 95·20, Lat. 41·10.—A strong citadel on the W. of the Oxus, 6 parasangs from Kāth, Abulf.

Lamakshar, Do., Long. 94·30, Lat. 4.—A large village in which the famous commentator of the *Qurān* Abu'l Qāsim Mahmud-az-Zamakhshari was a native.

Darghān, Transoxiana, Long. 96, Lat. 40·30.—Marks the frontier of Khwārizm towards Marw, 24 parasangs from Hāzārāsb.

Bukhārā, one of the chief cities of Transoxiana, Long. 97·30, Lat. 39·30.—*Ency. Islam*, i. 776-783.

Baikand, a dependency of Bukhara now in ruins, Long. 97·30, Lat. 39.

Tāwawis, dependency of Bukhara, Long. 97·40, Lat. 39.—Seven parasangs from Bukhārā.

Jand, Turkistan, Long. 97·45, Lat. 43·30.—Placed by Abulf. in the 6th Climate. It is on the Jaxartes on the frontier of Turkistān, close to Yenghi-kent.

Nakhshab, called Nasf, Long 98, Lat. 39.—The former is the indigenous, the latter the Arab form of the name. A town in the plain, 2 marches from the mountains towards Kash and a desert intervenes between it and the Oxus.

Samarqand, one of the cities of Transoxiana, Long. 99, Lat. 40.—Its position is defined in detail by Ibn Haukal. Ouseley, 260.

I'lāq, Bukhārā, Long. 99·10, Lat. 43·20.—Ilāq forms a district of Shāsh extending from Naubakht to Farghānah, according to Yāqut, and the town of the name in the environs of Bukhārā. Abulfeda makes it almost coextensive if not identical with Shāsh and its chief town Tunkat. I believe the word to signify summer station, in opp. to *Qishlaq*, winter station.

Kash, or Shahr-Sabz, Badakhshān, Long. 99·30, Lat. 39·30.—Yāqut places it near Nakhshab. Its situation is given by Ibn

Haukal. It is well-known by its name of *Shahr i Sabz* and lies directly S. of Samarqand. *Ency. Islam*, ii. 786.

Zāmin, dependency of Usrushnah, Long. 92·40, Lat. 40·30.—Pronounced also *Zamij*, on the Farghānah road to Soghd, a small locality in the environs of Samarqand, Abulf.

Isfijāb, of Shāsh, Long. 92·50, Lat. 43·35.—On the Turkestan frontier.

Usrushnah, a chief city of Transoxiana, Long. 100, Lat. 41.—Beyond Samarqand on the Jaxartes. Yāqut mentions it as a town which Istakhri denies, allowing it to be applied only to the territory. It is bounded on the E. by Farghānah, W. by Samarqand, N. by Shāsh, Abulf.

Shāwakath, of Shash, Long. 100·30, Lat. 41·10.—No further notice in the geographers than the text affords.

Usbānikath, territory of Isfijāb, Long. 100·30, Lat. 40.—At one march distance from Isfijāb, 9 parasangs E. of Usrushnah.

Khojand, on the Jaxartes, Long. 100·35, Lat. 41·25.—7 marches to Samarqand and 4 to Shāsh, Abulf.

Khawāqand, of Farghanah, Long. 100·50, Lat. 62.—Or Khakand, vulgarly, Khokand.

Tunkat, a capital of Tāshkand, Long. 101, Lat. 43.—Capital of I'lāq, beyond the Jaxartes. Ibn Haukal says he had heard it pronounced also with the long *a* ; Yāqut writes *Tankut*. It is marked in K. J.

Tirmidh, on the Oxus, Long. 101·15, Lat. 37·35.—The birth-place of the great Traditionist al-Tirmidhi.

Akhsikat, capital of Farghānah, Long. 101·20, Lat. 62·25.—Situate on the bank of the Jaxartes. It is mentioned by Baber in his *Memoirs*, as the strongest town in Farghānah.

Kāsān, a town beyond Shāsh, Long. 101·35, Lat. 62·15.—This district is described by Baber, *Memoirs*. In consequence of its gardens being sheltered along the banks of the stream, it was called "the mantle of five lambskins".

Qubā, Farghānah, Long. 101·50, Lat. 42·50.—A large town of Farghānah. It is the next largest to Akhsikat ; the citadel in ruins, Abulf.

Farghānah, Long. 102, Lat. 62·20.—Now Khokand.

Rus, Long. 102·20, Lat. 43·20.—To what part of Russia this refers there is no indication. Abulf. has a town 'Roussye' (Reinaud), its capital, but in the 7th Climate, Long. 57·32, Lat. 56.

Khotan, Long. 107, Lat. 40.—Extreme of Turkistān, celebrated for its musk, beyond Yuzkand and cis Kashghar. Abulf.

Chāch, or Shāsh, Long. 109, Lat. 42·30.

Tibbet, Long. 110, Lat. 40.

Khāju, N. of China, Long. 123·32, Lat. 42.—Caiyon of Marco Polo. Kwatcheou. (Guyard). Abulf. places it 15 days' journey from Pekin, between Khatā (N. China) and Kaoli, province contiguous to the Corea.

Sankju, Do., Long. 107, Lat. 40.—Sou-tcheou.

Sakhas? Long. 130, Lat. 29·10.

Mahri, of Khatā, Long. 140, Lat. 30.—Khata is N. China. I do not trace the name in Abulf., but Khuta, according to Yāqut is a town near Darband.

Nashawa or Nakjowan, in Arrān, Long. 101·30, Lat. 39.—Ancient Nuxuana, on the W. bank of the Araxes, already preceded in 4th Climate with a different location.

Kushānyah, in Soghd of Samarqand, Long. 98·20, Lat. 39·50.—The Kushān country is identified by M. St. Martin with Bactriana. *Hist. du Bas Empire*, III, 386 (Reinaud).

Yumān? . . . . —Yunān?

Shahar Nahās? . . . . —City of brass!

Rakkān? . . . .

Kabs? . . . .

Abruq, ... —On this city Yāqut says 'It is a locality in the Bilād-ur-Rum, (Asia Minor), visited from distant parts by both Moslems and Christians. Abu Bakr al-Harawi who saw it, says that it is situated at the foot of a mountain, the entrance to it being through the gate of a fort. A subterranean passage leads to a wide space in the side of a hill with an aperture to the sky. In the middle is a pool round which are houses or chambers for the peasantry, whose fields are without. A church and a masjid are hard by for the needs of both religions. In the Crypt are several dead men with marks of spear and sword wounds, the bodies dressed in cotton garments. In another spot four bodies are buried with their backs against the wall and with them a boy whose hand is on the head of a very tall man, the face of the latter is sallow, the palm of the hand open as if he were about to take the hand of another, and the head of the boy leaning on his breast. By his side is a man with his upper lip cut

open, showing his teeth. They all wear turbans. The body of a woman suckling her child is near. Five other bodies are standing with their backs against a wall, and apart on an eminence is a couch on which are 12 men and a boy, whose hands and feet are stained with *hinna*. The Greeks claim them as their own people but the Muhammadans say that they are Muslims, slain in the wars of Omar b-ul Khattāb. Some pretend that their nails have grown long and that their heads are shaven. This is not the case, but their skins have dried and shrivelled on their bones without other alteration." I suppose this to be Prusa ad Olympium in Bythinia, the modern Brusa, but the history of this town affords no clue to the above narrative and Ibn Batutah, who describes it under the name of Barsi, (II. p. 321) makes no mention of a curiosity which would scarcely have escaped his notice. [Jarrett] Brusa, *Ency. Islam*, i. 768. [J. S.]

Ufsus, ...—Ephesus.

Bastah, dependency of Jaen in Spain, ... —Baeza.

Kubā? . . . .

Saksin, ... —The author of the *Kitab-ul-Atwal* mentions a town called Saqsin, Long. 162·30, Lat. 40·50. The people meant were the Saxons or Goths who shared the possession of the Tauric regions with the Khozas. Reinaud refers to M. d'Ohsson's *Hist. of the Mongols* for Sacsin, v, II. I. 286. *Ency. Islam*, iv. 82 (discussed).

Khuttlān, ... —Has preceded.

Mikhlāt? . . . .

Rum, ...

Shāmas, ... —The island of Samos, has preceded.

Shāyab? . . . .

Sintarah, West, ... —Thus in the MSS. but changed by the Editor to Santriyyah. The former signifies Cintra, of which the pronunciation on the middle age was Syntria, (Renaud, II. 244). There is also a Santriyyah to the W. of Fayyum, which cannot here be meant.

Qabrah, Spain, ... —Cabra in Andalusia.

Kastalul. . . . . —Castile, properly Kastilyun.

Surqah? . . . .

Murghzā? . . . .

Scotislah, ... —In Ibn Khaldun Skousya stands for Scotland, v. De Slane, I. 105.

Batalyus, Spain, Long. 29, Lat. 38·50.—Badajos, Pax Augusta.

City of Wālid? . . . . —A corruption of Madinah-i-Walid (Valladolid) already preceded.

Mursia, ... —Murcia, preceded.

Danya, ... —Denia, preceded

Sālem, ... —Medina Celi preceded.

Sarakustah . . . . . . —Saragossa Do.

Nuqāb? . . . . —Tukat, Tokal? in Asia Minor.

Mush, Armenia, Long. 94·30, Lat. 29·30.—Ancient Moxoene, two marches from Mayyafāriqin and 3 from Khalāt. Abulf.

THE SIXTH CLIMATE [P. 46.]

Jalliqiyyah, capital of the kingdom of Gallicia, Spain, Long. 20, Lat. 46.—The capital of the Galician country according to Abulf. is Zamora.

Banbalunah, Spain, Long. 34·15, Lat. 45·15.—Pampeluna, or Pamplona, anciently Pompelo.

Burdāl, Frankish territory, Long. 30·15, Lat. 44·15.—Anciently Bardigala, Bordeaux.

Lumbardyah, Do., Long. 40·30, Lat. 43·50.—This location in Abulf. is that of Milan capital of Lombardy, which is here meant.

Benedeqyah, Long. 42, Lat. 44.—Not Bunduqyah as in the text, but Venetia.

Biza, N. of Spain, Long. 42, Lat. 47.—Pisa.

Borshān, Long 50, Lat. 45.—"Name of the capital of the Borjans, noted for their valour, exterminated by the Germans, and no trace of them is left." Ibn Sayd quoted by Abulf. He places the town to the N. E. of Athens and extends the country as far as Constantinople. Reinaud's conjectures point to the Balgarians, but they were known as the Bulghars v his references, II. 313. De Slane, however, interprets the word similarly, in *Prolog. Ibn Khaldun*, I. 161.

Abzou, belonging to Constantinople, Long. 59·45, Lat. 50.—This is Abydos, Abulf. II. 36.

Buzantya, *i.e.* Constantinople, Long. 59·50, Lat. 43.

Kastamunyah, Long. 65·30, Lat. 46·20.—Corrupted in the text to Kalsutah. It is Kastamuni in Anatolia, v. Ibn Batutah II. 342.

Sinub, on the Pontic coast, Long. 65, Lat. 47.—Sinope.

Hirqalah, Do., Long. 67·20, Lat. 46·20.—Heraclea Pontica ; now Erekle.

Amāsyah, Do., Long. 57·30, Lat. 45.—Amasia S.E. of Sinope on the Irmak.

Sāmsun, Do., Long. 69·20, Lat. 46·40.—Still Samsun, anciently Amisus.

Furdhat-ur-Rum, Long. 74·30, Lat. 46·90.—For *Rum* I would read *Qarm*, *Furdhat* signifies a port. The meaning would then be a Crimean port, see *post* Kafa.

Sarir Allān, near Darband, Long. 83, Lat. 44.—Now Daghestān. The Sarir is said to be a territory of the Allān (Allains) the capital of which is located in Long. 74 (or 72), Lat. 43, but in Ibn Khaldun, I. 161, is Sinope.

Balanjar, capital of the Khazars, Long. 85·20, Lat. 46·30.—The passage relating to this name in Abulf. from Ibn Sayd is contradictory, placing the town on the S. of Darband, of Jorzān and then on the Volga. Reinaud believes it to have been situated between the Volga and the Caucasus. Some maintain that it is the same as Itil, a town taking its name from the Volga (Itil) and which stood where now is Astrakhan. Jorzān is probably the Khorzene of Strabo, R. [*Ency. Islam*, ii. 935, under *Khazar*. J. S.]

Kersh, on the sea of Azac (Azof), Long. 87, Lat. 46·50.—Kertch on the straits of Yenikale, v. *Travels* of Ibn Batutah, p. 355, II.

Yenghi-kent, Turkistan, Long. 96·30, Lat. 47.—Yeni-Kent, "the ruins of Djankent, about 14 miles S.W. of the modern Kazalinsk". (*Ency. Islam*, i. 419).

Tarāz, Turkistān frontier, Long. 99·50, Lat. 25.—Near Isfinjāb.

Fārāb, Do., Long. 98, Lat. 25.—Probably a repetition of *Fāryāb*, preceded in the 4th Climate.

Shalj, Taraz territory, Long. 100·30. Lat. 44.—A small town on the Turkistan frontier, Yāqut.

Almālik, Long. 102·20, Lat. 44.

Uzkand, Turkistān, Long. 102·50, Lat. 44.—Yuzkand in Transoxiana, both forms are correct according to Yāqut.

Kāshghar, one of the chief cities of Turkistān, Long. 106·30, Lat. 44.

Artan Kalorān? Long. 106, Lat. 46.

Katāligh, Long. 108, Lat. 44.—Probably for Khānbāligh, (Pekin) which follows lower down and has preceded in the first Climate under a third form.

Kurāqurum, mountain in Kohistan, ...
Khānbāligh, capital of China, ...
Abuldah ? . . . .
Asht ? . . . .
Antazakht, ...
Fartanah ? . . . . . —Probably a corruption of Qurtubāh, Cordova
Tatlyah ? . . . . —Tudela ?
Asnut ? . . . . —Sinub ? (Sinope) ?
Sāmun ? . . . . —Sāmsun ?
Kastamunyah, in Asia Minor, ... —Has preceded.
Tarābazun, ... —Do.
Jandah, ... —Genoa ? [or Jānik, a province of Asia Minor, J. S.]
Samurah, Spain, ... —Zamora.
Lumbardiyah, ... —Has preceded.
Borshān, ... —Has preceded.
Balanjar, ... —Do.
Jābulisa, ... —Zābulistān ?
Desert of Qipchāq, ... —The plain of Kipzac, says Gibbon, extends on either side of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Borysthenes and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks, CLXIV. v. Ibn Batutah, II, p. 536, who describes its character.

THE SEVENTH CLIMATE

Shant Yáqu, frontier of Spain, Long. 19, Lat 49.—St. James of Compostella.

Saqji, near the Euxine, Long 58 37, Lat. 50.—Now Isakdje on the Danube, Histria.

Aqja-Kirmān, Bulgaria, Long. 55, Lat. 50.—Now Akerman at the mouth of the Dniester

Qarqar, in the As country, Long. 65'30, Lat. 50.—In the interior of the Crimea, now called Tchoufout-kale or fortress of the Jews from a colony of Caryate Jews, near the Chadir Dagh mountain. Reinaud, II, 319.

Kafā, port in the Crimea, Long. 67 50, Lat. 50.—The ancient Theodosia, a colony of the Milesians, v. Ibn Batutah, II. 357.

Solghāt, *viz.*, Kirim, Long. 67 10, Lat. 50'10.—That is, that the name of the country Kirim was also given to Solghāt which Abulfeda calls the capital of the Crimea and bearing also its name, so that when the word Kirim is used by itself, it

signifies Solghāt. It still bears the name of Eski Kirym, Reinaud, n. p. 320, v. Ibn Batutah, II, 354.

Tirnau, in the Ulāk (Valak) country, Long. 57'30, Lat. 50.—Ternovo or Ternovaia in Wallachia.

Bulār, *i.e.*, Bulghār on the shores of the Itil Sea (Caspian), Long. 90, Lat. 50'30.—The actual position of this town was on the W. bank of the Volga, 135 versts S. of Kasan. From the fact of coins having been found bearing the name of Bolgar-aljadid or New Bulghar the existence of two towns has been supposed, and Erdmann, professor of O. Languages in the Univ. of Kasan, proposes or establishes a distinction between Bolar and Bulghar. Ibn Batutah passed three days in the town, II, 399.

Azaq, a port on the Sea of Azaq, Long. 75, Lat. 48.—Azof at the mouth of the Don.

Sarāi, capital of the Barakah country. —Ibn Batutah visited this town from Astrakhan (II. 446). The town was called Sera Barakah, the capital of Sultan Uzbec. This name is also given to the Prince by Abulf. The town stands on an E. branch of the Volga where the Tsarewka and Soloenka streams join that river. It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1403. See Reinaud's notes and references on this name, II, 323.

Alukak, in the Sarai country, Long. 85, Lat. 49'55.—On the W. bank of the Volga between Sarāi and Bulār at 15 marches from each. The horde of the Tartar prince of Barakah advances as far as this, but does not pass beyond, Abulf.

Nahād? Aral Sea. . . . . . —Aral in *Ency. Islam*, i. 419.

Middle of the lake, the source of the Oxus, ... —This is either *Sarikol* on the Pamir tableland, the source of the northern Oxus which Wood discovered on 12th February 1838, or *Barkat Yāsin*, the source of the southern branch, traced in 1868 by the Mirzā an employee in the G. T. S. It is doubtful which of these two should rank as the chief source of the Oxus.

Bātik? . . . . . . —? *Batiha*—the marshland. *Ency. Islam*, i. 675. [J. S.]

Bajnah? Turkistan, ...

Siqlāb, ... —Slavonia. The Saqlab peninsula, Reinaud considers to comprise the country between the Oxus and Dnieper.

but Norway, Sweden and Finland are included in it by Abulfeda, II, 314.

Mushqah, in the Slav country on the sea, ... —Ibn Sayd gives the Long. 43. Lat. 58·20. This country is also placed by Kazwini on the shore of the ocean, but it is probable, as Reinaud supposes, that Moscow is intended, its real position being unknown.

Tabr? . . . .

Kālak? . . . .

Sarikirmān, Bulghār and Turk country, ... —Long. 55, Lat. 5, east of Akerman, five days' march of Solghāt, Abulf. Sarou or Sari Kirmān is the Tartar name of the old town of Kherson, the cradle of Russian Christianity. Its ruins still called by the same name, are near Sebastopol.

Jābalq, extreme W. of Mauritania, ... —Jabulkā and Jabulsā are mythical cities placed at opposite sides of the mountain of Kāf, which is said to encircle the earth, but Jabulkā is generally placed at the extreme E. and Jabulsā to the W. They are employed in a religious sense to signify the first stages of a contemplative life, v. *Burhan-i-Qati'* or Vuller's *Lex.* and Yāqut, also Tabari *Chron.*, pp. 27, 36, I.

Shore of the Ocean, Long. 10, Lat. 34.

Mari Kirmān? . . . . —Probably Sari Kirmān.

Sudāq, on the Euxine, ... —Long. 56, Lat. 51. A town in the Crimea, a rival to Kufā in trade; opposite Samsun in Asia Minor, Abulf. now Novo Shudāk.

Islands of Urdujard? . . . . . . —In some MS. Rudjard.

Islands of Budan? . . . .

Islands of Quni, ... —Probably misscript for Thule. The Shetlands.

Nihānah? on the Ocean . . . .

Taniah, by some said to be on the Ocean, by others rising above the Ocean. . . . . . .

Bor, a city near the regions of darkness.

Cupola of the earth, Long. 90 . . . . . .

Middle of the *Oikoumene*, Long. 90 . . . .

Middle of the sea of Manus? . . . . . Already preceded. Perhaps Marmora.

Extreme of the country of Barqānyah, Long. 36·20, Lat. 51·20.—Brittany or Armorica, according to Reinaud is here intended

and Ibn Sayd's language reproduces that of the text, the extreme of the Bretagne country' which he places at Long 9, Lat. 50·30.

Mouths of the Tānānis, Long. 36·55, Lat. 52·50.—Preceded, for Tananis, read *Tanais.*

Mouths of Tāmānish, Long. 37, Lat. 54·1.—Long. almost illegible. It is probably a repetition of the above.

Locality on the Niā Natis, Long. 37·55, Lat. 55.—Preceded: corruption of *Mānitash,* (Palus Mæotis).

Villages called Nablus, Long. 5·45 . . . . . —Deg. of Long. and Lat. illegible.

Country adjacent to Lesser Britain, Long. 18, Lat. 58.

Middle of Great Britain, Long. 17·20, Lat. 56.

Middle of Lesser Britain, Long. 29, Lat. 61.

Extreme point of Lesser Britain, Long. 29, Lat. 62.

Islands called Anudu, Long. 29, Lat. 6.—In some MS. Aluh or *Alwah*.

Islands called Thule, Long. 20, Lat 63.

Afam, in the Slav country, Long. 64 . . . .

Parts of the Slav country, ...

Uninhabited, ...

Extremest point of the world ; here all the Zodiacal signs rise and set . . . . . . Lat. 90.

To find the Distances of Places.[36]

[P. 48] The longitude and latitude of the given places are ascertained. The excess difference between each is multi-

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[36] In his XXI Chap. of the *Indica*, Albiruni refers to several of his publications in which the method of finding the distances has been worked out. These are not repeated, but he gives the calculation of the *desāntara, i.e., difference between the places* according to the Hindu method as reported by Alfazāri,, in his *Cānon, viz.,* "Add together the squares of the sines of the latitudes of the two places and take the root of the sum. This root is the *portio.* Further square the difference of these two sines and add it to the *portio.* Multiply the sum by 8 and divide the product by 377. The quotient is the distance between the two places according to a rough calculation. On this Albiruni remarks, "This method is found in the astronomical books of the Hindus, in conformity with the account of Alfazāri save in one particular. The here-mentioned *portio* is the *root* of the *difference* between the squares of the sines of the two latitudes, not the *sum* of their squares." I do not find the calculation mentioned by Abul Fazl, of this astronomer.

plied into itself and the products which are called squares (for the square of a number is that number multiplied by itself) are set down and the two squares added together and their square root extracted. This root is then multiplied into 56⅔ *Karoh* which is the extent of a degree according to the moderns, or into 66⅔ which is the degree according to the ancients, and the product is the distance of the two places from each other. As long as a variation in the extent of longitudes and latitudes arises, the excess is multiplied proportionately and the result ascertained; where the longitudes and latitudes are equal, the rule does not hold good. This distance is calculated on the straight line, but some discrepancy will occur from the curve in direction. Abu Raihān Biruni has calculated this approximately and added a fifth of the result found.

SINGULAR RESULTS ARISING FROM ACCIDENT OF LOCATION.

At the equator all the stars rise and set and the periods of both are equal. Night and day are constant in twelve hours each, and the movement of the celestial sphere is circular. In the first of Aries and Libra the sun is in the zenith and casts two shadows, and at these two periods where the temperature is equable over the greater part of the *oikoemeny*, at the equator the heat is excessive and the gnomon has no shadow. When the sun passes the first of Aries and inclines to the north, the shadow is thrown to the south, and when he passes the first of Libra and moves southwards, the shadow is cast to the north. The year has six seasons. Two summers, from the 1st° of Aries to the 15th° of Taurus, and from the 1st° of Libra to the 15th° of Scorpio; two winters, from the 1st° of Cancer to the 15th° of Leo, and from the 1st° of Capricorn, to the 15th° of Aquarius. At the change of the Sun into Cancer, the temperature rises in the climatic zones inclined from the equator, whereas at the equator it is the beginning of winter. It has also two springs, from the

16th° of Leo to the end of Virgo, and from the 16th° of Aquarius to the end of Pisces; and two autumns, from the 16th° of Taurus to the end of the Gemini and from the 16th of Scorpio to the end of Sagittarius. Avicenna and some learned men maintain that the equator is the most equable in temperature of all countries, because the seasons of cold and heat follow in close succession and the sun does not remain long in the zenith. Fakhr-Rāzi[37] and another school select the fourth climate and say that "although the sun's stay in the zenith is but for a short period, on the other hand he is never more remote than 23 degrees and a fraction, and we observe that in places where the greatest altitude of the sun is less than its altitude at the equator, as for instance at Khwarizm, where his altitude on the first of Cancer is 71° which is 5° lower than his altitude at the equator, the people are much inconvenienced by the heat, while at the equator it is the cold season. But as the altitude there is 5° greater, it follows that the winter of the equator should be hotter than the summer of Khwarizm; what then would its summer be? And the colour and appearance of the Ethiopians who are near the zone of the equator support this view." The partisans of each school maintain their several opinions at considerable length. The true resolution is this, that equability in the sense of approximate similarity of conditions is more apparent at the equator, and great heat on account of this assimilation, is to a certain extent unfelt, because the sensations caused by physical impressions succeeding each other rapidly have less force, while sensations directly antagonistic are more perceptible though disregarded in view of the equality in the constant proportions of heat and cold. In the first mentioned sense, therefore, Avicenna is correct, while in

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[37] Abu Bakr, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 1134 under *ar-Rāzi*. Muhammad Ibn Zakariyyā ar Rāzi is known in the Schools of Medicine of the middle ages as Rasis, Rhazes or Rhazis, b. 864, d. 925 A.D., as distinguished in Philosophy, Chemistry and Astronomy as in Medicine.

the latter, the opinion of Ar Rāzi is tenable. Every place which has not the equinoctial and its pole directly in the zenith is accounted among climatic zones inclined from the equator, and these are specially differentiated in five classes. The first is in a latitude less than the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator: the latitude of the second is equal to the greatest declination: that of the third is greater than the declination but less than its complement *measured from the equator*: that of the fourth is equal to the complement: that of the fifth is greater than the complement but less than 90°. In the first, the sun is twice in the zenith, from the 1st of Aries to Cancer and from the 1st of Cancer to Libra and casts here also two shadows. In the second he is only once in the zenith, in Cancer. Here and in the remaining zones where the sun does not culminate, the shadow is thrown to the north. At the spot where the pole of the equinoctial is directly perpendicular it is 90° and the movement of the celestial sphere is like a mill. The year there forms a nycthemeron as has already been explained. There is no doubt that the fabled darkness[38] which is the tradition of the vulgar, refers to the gloom of these nights. The points of the east, west, north and south are not here distinguishable.

Some divide the *oikoemeny* into three parts. The first is from the equator to a position the latitude of which is equal to the greatest declination of the sun from the equator. The inhabitants of this region are called *Sudān* (blacks), because the sun shining directly above them, they are coloured by its rays and their hair is curly. Those who dwell proximate to the equator are called Zingis.[39] They are

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[38] *Ency. Islam*, ii. 862, under *al-Khadir*. It is here that eastern fable locates the fountain of the water of life, which the mythical prophet, saint, or bard al Khidr is said to have discovered and tasted, and received his immortality.

[39] The inhabitants of Zanguebar, including the "Zingis" of Ptolemy near the entrance of the Red Sea and a large portion of inner Africa, v. Lane. *Lex.*

absolutely black and scarce resemble human beings. Those who live near the region of the greatest declination, are less swarthy and being of moderate stature and equable disposition are more of a class with the natives of Hindustan, and Yemen and some of the Mauritanian Arabs. The second is the region of which the latitude extends from the greatest declination to a quarter parallel with the Great Bear.[40] The colour of its inhabitants is inclined to fairness and as the sun does not shine perpendicularly above them and yet is never far removed, their bodies are fashioned in a naturally-adjusted mean, as the Chinese, the Turks, and the people of Khurāsān, Irāq, Persia and Syria. Of this race, those who dwell nearest to the south have a subtler intellect because they are nearer the zodiac and the orbits of the five planets, while those are of a more powerful build who inhabit the regions to the west. Proximity to the east produces a softness of frame and by such as these great deeds are never accomplished. The third region is parallel with the orbit of the Great Bear such as the country of the Sclavonians and Russians, and as it is distant from the Zodiac and little affected by the heat of the sun, the cold impels to hardihood, moisture is predominant, and natural living products do not mature. Their colour is fair, their hair red and worn long, their bodies sleek, their temper fierce and their disposition inclined to evil. Hermes,[41] the most

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[40] According to the *Vishnu Dharma*, the orbit of the Great Bear lies under the pole: under it the orbit of Saturn: then that of Jupiter: next, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. They rotate towards the east like a mill in a uniform motion peculiar to each star, some moving rapidly, others slowly. Albiruni criticises this statement with his usual intelligence. See *Indica*, Chap. XXVII, Sachau, p. 288.

[41] The Hermetic books are said by Fabricius to be the forgeries of a Jew or of a semi-Platonic semi-Christian writer of about the 2nd century after Christ. Hermes Trismegistus himself is a fiction of the Neo Platonists and was the offspring of the Oriental and Hellenic philosophies. He was the supposed mystic author of all knowledge and the author, on the authority of Manetho, of 36,525 books. His principal works published under this name are given in the *Class. Dict.* of Dr. W. Smith.

celebrated of the name, divides the earth into seven parts analogous with the seven spheres, one within the other. The first towards the south is the continent of India: the second, Arabia, Yemen, and Abyssinia: the third, Egypt, Syria and Mauritania: the fourth, Persia: the fifth, the Greeks, Sclavonians, Franks: the sixth, the Turks and the Khazars: the seventh, China, Khotan and Tibbet.

It is said that Noah apportioned the length of the habitable globe into three lots. The southern he gave to Ham, and this is the country of [50] the blacks and the Arabs: the northern to Japhet, where the fair-skinned, ruddy faced races dwell: the middle portion was assigned to Shem, inhabited by the wheat-coloured people. Feridun divided the breadth of his dominions into three parts; the eastern he gave to Tur: the western to Salm and the intermediate tract to Iraj. Some of the Greeks have made two sections of the habitable earth latitudinally from Egypt. The eastern they call Asia, the western which is the Mediterranean Sea, they subdivide into two, that on the south being named Libya, the country of the negroes, and that on the north Europe[42] where dwell the white and ruddy-complexioned races. Bisecting Asia from the angle between the east and north transversely in a southerly direction, they divide it into two segments, of which the inner is the less and the outer the greater. The middle is called Asia Minor and comprises the country of Irān, Hijāz, Yemen and Khurāsān. The outer is Asia Major, comprising China,[43] India and Sind. Some say that Hindu philosophers

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[42] This tripartite division into Europe Asia and Libya was unknown to Homer, and the earliest allusions to it are found in the writers of the 1st half of the 5th century B.C., *viz.*, Aeschylus and Pindar and the logographers Hecatæus and Pherecydes; v. Art Asia, Smith *C. D.* Herodotus discusses it in Melpomene (42) with some wonder at the character of the division.

[43] This partition into A. Major and A. Minor was not made, according to a writer in the *Cl. Dic.* till the 4th century of our era. Asia Major (A. *y megaly*) was part of the continent E. of the Tanais, the Euxine, an imaginary line drawn from the Euxine at Trebizond to the Gulf of Issus and the Mediterranean. It in-

partition the habitable earth into a diagram of nine parts, *viz.*, the south (*dahkhin*) the Arabian country; the north (*uttar*), that of the Turks; the east, (*purab*), China; the west, (*pachchim*), Egypt and Barbary; the north-east (*isān*), Khata and Khotan; the north-west (*bāyab*), the Greeks and Franks; the south-west (*nairit*) the country of the Copts and Berbers, Africa and Spain. The middle country was called *Madhya-desa.*[44] But this account is not found in this order in any Sanskrit work nor is it thus handed down by any of the learned of this country.

THE SCALE OF NOTATION.

Units up to 9	... ...	Ekam.
10 ,, 100	... ...	Dasa.
100 ,, 1000	... ...	Sata.
1,000 ,, &c.	... ...	Sahasra.
10,000 ,, &c.	... ...	Ayuta.
100,000	... ...	Laksh vulg. lakh.
1,000,000	... ...	Prayuta.
10,000,000	... ...	Koti, vulg. Kror.
100,000,000	... ...	Arbuda.
[51] 1,000,000,000	... ...	Abja.
10,000,000,000	... ...	Kharba.
100,000,000,000	... ...	Nikharba.
1,000,000,000,000	... ...	Mahāpadma.
10,000,000,000,000	...	Sanku.
100,000,000,000,000	...	Jaladhi.
1,000,000,000,000,000	...	Madhya.
10,000,000,000,000,000	...	Antya.
100,000,000,000,000,000	...	Parardha.

cluded Sarmatia Asiatica, with all the Scythian tribes to the E., Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persis, Ariana, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, India, China. Asia Minor (A. *y mikra* Anatolia) was the peninsula on the extreme W. of Asia, bounded by the Euxine, Ægean and Mediterranean.

[44] He has omitted the S. E. The diagram will be found in Albiruni's *Indica*, Ch XXXIX, 262, Sachau, with the authorities. Abul Fazl's ill-digested knowledge is heaped up indiscriminately without order or method and without heed or consciousness of the worthlessness of so much of it.

The Brahmans have not more than eighteen places of notation, the first being units, *Ekam*, and the rest proceeding by multiples of ten. All above units have a separate designation as above noted, thus differing from the Greek compounds of notation. An intervening number of this scale, for instance, fifteen, is included in the second, one hundred and [52] twelve, in the third place, and so on.[45] And further by the addition of eleven places *to the eighteen*, they reckon up to twenty-nine places and employing the terms of six of the series, the remainder are suffixed as compounds, as will be seen from what follows. Thus: Tens, hundreds, thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors ; krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors ; krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands—nineteen places from the unit's place, and this illustrates the foregoing description. Krors or krors tens of thousands is 1,000,000,000,000,000,000, up to nine tens of thousands of krors of krors, and in a descending scale, nine thousand krors of krors and nine hundred so on to nine. Again, krors of krors lakhs, tens of krors of krors of lakhs, krors of krors of krors; krors of krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors of krors of krors,[46] which series proceeds in the manner above given.

The Greeks have their scale of notation from one to nine, and the recurring ternary series they call a cycle. Thus from one to nine are units, from ten to ninety, tens, and from one hundred to nine hundred, hundreds. This is termed the first cycle. From one thousand to nine thousand are units of

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[45] Read the 16th Chapter of Albiruni's India in connection with this reckoning. He says some maintain a 19th order called Bhuri. According to others the limit of reckoning is *koti* and starting from koti the succession would be koti, tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. Sachau has inadvertently reversed this order. Albiruni adds that *Dasa sahasra*, and *Dasa laksha* are used for the 5th and 7th orders respectively, as the terms *Ayuta* and *Prayuta* are rarely employed.

[46] 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000. Twenty-nine places from the units.

thousands, from ten thousand to ninety thousand are tens of thousands, and from one hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand are hundreds of thousands. This they call the second cycle. And thus at the end of each cycle the word "thousands" is added, as for instance, the third cycle begins with units of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, a thousand thousand, followed by tens of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, ten thousand thousand up to ninety thousand thousand. Next follows hundreds of thousands of thousands, *i.e.*, a hundred thousand thousand. The beginning of the fourth cycle is units of thousands of thousands of thousands, and so on throughout the remainder of the series. The designations in all are but three, *viz.*, tens, hundreds, thousands, and as to what is said in ancient books of this system being borrowed from the Greeks, the version above given certainly does not support it.

THE QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE.

The Hindus term a quarter *disā* and also *dig* and of these they reckon ten. Each of them they consider to be under a tutelary spirit whom they name *Dig-pāla* as will appear in the following table :—

[53] Sanskrit name of quarter.	English.	Regent.[47]
Purva ...	East ...	Indra.
Agni ...	South-east ...	Agni.
Dakshina ...	South ...	Yama.
Nairrita ...	South-west ...	Nairrita.
Paschima ...	West ...	Varuna.
Vāyaviya ...	North-west ...	Vayu.
Uttara ...	North ...	Kuvera.
Isāna ...	North-east ...	Isāna
Urddhva ...	Above ...	Brahma.
Adhah ...	Below ...	Nāga.

[47] Indra is the Indian Jupiter; in Sansk. *Dyaush-pitar*, or that one among the many Jupiters which personified the firmament.

[54] Some assign a quarter to the interval between the upper and lower regions and thus reckon eleven. The regent of this is Rudra.

Agni is the god of fire, and one of the most ancient objects of Hindu worship who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt. Yama in the *Vedas* is the god of the dead with whom the departed spirits dwell. The S. W. regent is a demon or Rākshasa. Varuna is one of the oldest vedic deities, and like its derivative *Ouranos* a personification of the all-encompassing sky. The name also designates one of the lunar mansions. The god of the air, the Hindu Eolus is represented by Vayu and is associated in the *Vedas* with Indra, riding in the same car. Kuvera, as living in the shades and being the god of wealth, unites the characteristics of Pluto and Plutus. Isāna is a name of Siva or of one of his manifestations. The serpent-worshipping Nagas may boast of their connection with or descent from this regent of the nether world. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xi. 560, xii. 602–610 and Macdonnell and B. Keith's *Vedic Index*. [J. S.]

CHAPTER III.

ANIMAL LIFE.

This subject cannot be altogether omitted and shall be cursorily touched upon. In what relates to man, somewhat has already been set down. In distinguishing the finer shades observable in the measure of divergence in the dispositions of men in this region of the globe, investigation points to little discovery. Judges of character, generally, when considering the Hindu people, incline to the ancient opinion that each of them is a presentment of the race contained in the individual. One, from the eminence of his virtues will be beyond price; another will be dear at the basest coin. If regarded with the eyes of impartiality, the sincerely devout of this country are unlike the seekers of God in other lands and in warring with interior spiritual foes that wear the guise of friends, they are rarely to be matched. Their knowledge of affairs, capacity in execution, recklessness of valour, fidelity, especially in times of difficulty, their devoted attachment and disinterested service, and other eminent good qualities are beyond measure great. And yet there are many obdurate and pitiless spirits, devoid of gentle courtesy who for the merest trifle will rise to the shedding of blood, and marvellous are the tales told of these ravening fiends in the guise of angels.

The Hindu philosophers reckon four states of auspiciousness which they term *varna*.[1] 1. *Brāhmana*. 2. *Kshatriya* vulgarly, *Khatri*. 3. *Vaisya*, vulgarly *Bais*. 4. *Sudra*, vulgarly *sudra*. Other than these are termed *Mlechchha*. At the creation of the world the first of these classes was pro-

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[1] The term in its primitive meaning signifies 'colour', the Aryans from the north priding themselves on their fair complexion, in contradistinction to the 'black skin' typical of the indigenous races. The term subsequently was applied to caste.—Hastings, *Encyclopædia*, iii. 230-239, Muir's *Sansk Texts*, i., and *Vedic Index* (under *Varna*.)

duced from the mouth of Brahma, a brief account of whom has already been given: the second, from his arms; the third, from his thigh and the fourth from his feet; the fifth from the cow *Kāmadhenu*,[2] the name of Mlechcha being employed to designate them.

The *Brahmans* have six recognised duties.[3] 1. The study of the Vedas and other sciences. 2. The instruction of others (in the sacred texts). 3. The performance of the *Jag*, that is oblation of money and kind to the Devatas. 4. Inciting others to the same. 5. Giving presents. 6. Receiving presents.

Of these six the *Kshatriya* must perform three, 1. Perusing the holy texts. 2. The performance of the Jag. 3. Giving presents. Further they must, 1. minister to Brahmans. 2. Control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward thereof. 3. Protect religion. 4. Exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein. 5. Punish in proportion to the offence. 6. Amass wealth and duly expend it. 7. Supervise the management of elephants, horses, and cattle and the functions of ministerial subordinates. 8. Levy war on due occasion. 9. Never ask an alms. 10. Favour the meritorious and the like.

[55] The *Vaisya* almost must perform the same three duties of the Brahman, and in addition must occupy himself in: 1. Service. 2. Agriculture. 3. Trade. 4. The care of cattle. 5. The carrying of loads.

From birth to the time of investiture with the sacred thread, these ten duties may be performed by all the three castes above-mentioned.

The Sudra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes,[3] wear their cast-off garments and eat

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[2] 'The granter of desires,' said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean, belonging to the sage Vasishtha. Called also Kāma-duh, Savalā and Surabhi. Dowson.

[3] See these duties in the *Institutes of Manu*, I, 88, and ff., p. 12, Burnell's Trans,

their leavings. He may be a painter, goldsmith, blacksmith, carpenter, and trade in salt, honey, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter and grain.

Those of the fifth class, are reckoned as beyond the pale of religion, like infidels, Jews and the like. By the inter-marriages of these, sixteen other classes are formed. The son of Brahman parents is acknowledged as a Brahman. If the mother be a Kshatriya, (the father being a Brahman) the progeny is called *Murdhavasikta*. If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is named *Ambastha,*[4] and if a Sudra girl, *Nishada*. If the father and mother are both Kshatriya, the progeny is Kshatriya. If the mother be a Brahman, (and the father a Kshatriya) the son is called *Suta*. If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is *Mahisya*. If the mother be a Sudra, the progeny is *Ugra*. If both parents be Vaisya, the progeny is Vaisya. If the mother be a Brahman, (which is illicit) the progeny is *Vaideha* but if she be a Kshatriya, which also is regarded as improper, he is *Māgadha*. From the Vaisya by a Sudra mother is produced a *Karana*. When both parents are Sudra, the progeny is Sudra. If the mother be a Brahman, the progeny is *Chandala*. If she be a Kshatriya, it is called *Chattā*.[5] From a Sudra by a Vaisya girl is produced the *Ayogava*.

In the same way still further ramifications are formed, each with different customs and modes of worship and each with infinite distinctions of habitation, profession, and rank of ancestry that defy computation.

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[4] These names and many other variations of the progeny of inter-marriages will be found in the tenth chapter of the *Institutes of Manu*. The management of horses and driving wagons, is therein said to be the occupation of Sutas; the practice of medicine that of Ambasthas; attendance on women, that of Vaidehakas; trade that of Māgadhas; killing fish that of Nishādas; carpentry of Ayogavas. Catching and killing animals that live in holes, is the occupation of Ksattars, Ugras, and Pukkasas.

[5] According to Burnell, (X. 306) the term is Ksattar, Sir W. Jones writes Cshattri. Muir (*Sans. Texts*, I. 174), Kshattri.

The Brahmans, in regard to the study of the Vedas, are of four classes, and each occupies himself with the perusal of a special sacred work.[6] There are twenty ways of reading the *Rigveda;* the *Yajurveda* has eighty-six; the *Sāmaveda,* one thousand, and the *Atharvaveda,* five, and their several disciples fall into distinct categories. There may be also ten distinctions of Brahmans, according to their occupations. 1. Deva. 2. Muni. 3. [56] Dvi-ja. 4. Rājā. 5. Vaisya. 6. Sudra. 7. Bidālaka. 8. Pasu. 9. Mlechchha. 10. Chandāla.

The first named perform the *Hom*[7] for themselves, not for others, and give presents, but do not receive them, and learn, but do not teach. The second perform the *Hom* for others as well as for themselves and receive gifts and teach. The third class have twelve distinctive notes,—The six aforesaid and 7. Meekness. 8. Restraint of the five senses from things unlawful. 9. Unshrinking from austerities. 10. Attachment to the precepts of the Vedas. 11. Taking no life. 12. Attributing the possession of nothing to themselves. The fourth class perform the same offices as the *Kshatriya.* The fifth, those of the Vaisya. The sixth, those of the Sudra. The seventh class have the characteristic of cats,[8]

[6] According to Albiruni, Vyāsa divided the Veda into the four parts named below, and to each of his four pupils, he taught a separate Veda to be learnt by heart. They are enumerated in the same order as the four parts of the Veda: Paila Vaisampāyana, Jaimini, Sumantu.

[7] This oblation consists in casting clarified butter, etc., into the sacred fire as an offering to the gods, with invocations and prayers according to the object of sacrifice.

The three castes of the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, were called, *dvi-ja,* twice-born, from their title to investiture with the sacred thread which literally constitutes the second birth. But the term is particularly applied to the Brahmans, who maintain that their caste alone remains, the other three having been lost or degraded and it is generally accepted that the pure Kshatriya or Vaisya does not now exist. The intercourse and inter-marriage of various castes have produced the mixed castes called Varna-Sankara, see Dowson, 336.

[8] The Bidālaka, from Sansk,

go from door to door and mix with high and low. The eighth, like brutes[9] know not good from evil. The ninth follow the practices of the Mlechchhas (barbarians or non-Aryans), and the tenth are low outcasts and eat carrion.

The Kshatriya form two races, the *Surajbansi* (Solar dynasty) and the *Somabansi* (Lunar dynasty). The first mentioned are descendants of the Sun. It is said that by the volition of Brahma, *Marichi*[10] was created who begot *Kasyapa* (Muni), from whom the Sun (Vivasvān or Surya) sprung. From him was produced *Vaivaswata* from whose nose *Ikshwāku* came forth by a sneeze and from him the succeeding generations proceeded. Three princes of this race ruled the world and extended their dominion over the seven climes. These were Rājā Sagara,[11] Rājā Khatwānga, and Rājā Raghu.

The second race is descended from the Moon. From Brahma was born *Atri*, from whose right eye came forth the Moon (Soma) who begot Mercury (Budha) and from him proceeded the succeeding generations. Two princes of this race held universal sway, namely, *Rājā Yudhisthira* and *Rājā Satānika*. There are more than five hundred tribes of the Kshatriyas of whom fifty-two are preeminently distinguished and twelve are of considerable importance. At the present day, no trace of the true Kshatriya exists. Some of their descendants, abandoning the profession of arms, have taken

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[9] The Pasu from Sansk.

[10] Abul Fazl's names and transliterations are incorrect. I substitute the true readings of the names as far as I am able to discover them.

[11] Notices of these three legendary princes will be found in Dowson. After Raghu the line practically loses its original name of the Surajbansi and is known as Raghubansi or Raghu-bansa from whom Rāma Chandra descended and whose epic the Raghu-vansa in 19 cantos was sung by Kālidāsa. Sagara was a king of Ayodhyā and his wife Sumati was delivered of a gourd containing 60,000 seeds which became embryos and grew. The anxious father placed them on milk but afterwards provided each with a nurse and at ten months' old they were all able to run about.

to other occupations and this class is known to the world by this name. Another body of them adopting the sword as their calling are designated Rājputs, and are divided into thousands of septs. I record the names of a few of the most renowned, that are now in His Majesty's service.

[57] 1. The Rāthor; there are several tribes of this clan in service. They number sixty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. 2. The Chauhān are divided into several branches, *viz.*, Sungira, Khichi, Deora, Hādā, and Narbān.[12] The troops of the clan number fifty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. 3. The Panwār. In ancient times, of this tribe was the royal dynasty in Hindustān, and it numbered many clansmen. At the present time their force consists of twelve thousand cavalry and sixty thousand foot. 4. The Jādon. Fifty-thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot. 5. Bhāti. 6. Jārejah. 7. Januhah, to which clan the Khānzādahs of Mewāt belong. 7. Gehlot. Twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand foot. 8. Sesodia. 9. Chandrāwat. 10. The Kachhwāhah, who are celebrated among the Rājputs, and number twenty thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand infantry. 11. The Solankhi. Thirty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. 12. Parihāra. 13. Tonwar, for a time the sovereignty of this country rested in this tribe. They number ten thousand horse and twenty five thousand foot. 14. Badgujar. Ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. Each of these tribes claim an ancestry traced back to hundreds of thousands of years, a source of splendid pride to the intelligent judgment and is indeed a theme far above the level of an idle tale to distract the mind.

The Vaisya and the Sudra are in the same way divided into numerous branches. For instance, there is one caste of

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[12] Sherring gives the names of twenty-four branches, I, Chap. V. The deeds of many of these famous clans are preserved by Tod in his *Rājasthān*.

the Vaisyas called *Banik*, more commonly termed *Baniyā*, (grain-merchant). The Persians name them *Bakkāl* and of these there are eighty-four divisions.

There are besides troops of astonishing sorcerers, cunning jugglers, [58] wonder-working magicians, and conjurers of such sleight of hand, performing such extraordinary feats that not the vulgar alone, but the acutest minds are deceived into a belief in their miraculous powers. For instance, one of them will say in broad day-light to one of the spectators: "I have just returned from heaven, and having there been assured of your honour and probity, I entrust my wife to your care." Then placing her in his charge, he takes a coil of rope of untanned hide, one end of which he holds in his hand, and flings the coil to such a height that the other end becomes invisible. By means of this he mounts up and is lost to sight. After a little time his limbs one after the other come falling from above, upon which the woman, after their national rite, burns herself in presence of the spectators and is consumed to ashes. In a brief space of time, the man himself reappears and claims his charge. The spectators relate to him what has happened which he affects to disbelieve, and hastening to the house of the person to whom he had entrusted her, calls to his wife from the door. She comes forth, giving thanks for his safety, and leaves the spectators in bewilderment. Again he will cut a man up into forty pieces, and cover him over with a sheet. Then at his summons, the man will appear unhurt and answer for his reality.[13]

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[13] Similar performances are described by Ibn Batutah who witnessed them at an entertainment of the Viceroy of Khansa (Kinsay of Polo). Another witness to similar feats is Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller who was present at a like scene in Batavia in 1670, where the limbs that fell successively were caught up and cast into a basket. The last fragment was the head and no sooner had it touched the ground than the man who had gathered up the limbs into the basket, turned them all out topsy turvy. Melton continues as follows: "Then straightway we saw with these

Or, he will place some grains of mustard seed in the palm of his hand, and by some incantation, will make it straight way shoot and bear leaves and fruit. In the same way they will produce mangoes and melons out of season. In short, the marvels of their sorceries, and snake-charming and the like, are beyond expression.

Languages.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan, many are the dialects that are spoken, and the diversity of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable. Those forms of speech that are not understood one of another, are the dialects of Delhi, Bengal, Multān, Mārwār, Gujarāt, Telingānah, Marhatta, Karnātik, Sind, Afghān of Shāl (between Sind, Kābul, and Qandahār), Beluchistān, and Kashmir.

Fauna.

A summary description of the noblest of the animal creation having been given, I proceed to notice the lower types of animal life.

The Ban-mānus is an animal like a baboon, dark in colour, and in stature and face resembling a human being and

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eyes, all those limbs creep together again, and in short, form a whole man who at once could stand and go just as before without showing the least damage. Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil." The Memoirs of the Emperor Jahāngir furnish further testimony of similar performances by seven jugglers from Bengal. In one feat, a man is severed limb from limb and decapitated and reproduced from under a sheet. In the other the Emperor says, 'They produced a chain 50 cubits in length and threw one end of it towards the sky where it remained as if fastened to some thing in the air. A dog was brought forward and being placed at the lower extremity of the chain, immediately ran up and disappeared in the air. In the same manner, a hog, a panther, a lion and a tiger were successively sent up and all equally disappeared. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish. Yule's *Marco Polo*. (Ed. 1871), p. 281.

walks on two feet. Although it has no tail, its body is slightly covered with hair. One of these was brought to His Majesty from Bengal which performed the most astonishing antics. Elephants, lions,[14] leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, wolves and dogs of various breeds, and monkeys, lynxes, hyænas, jackals, foxes, otters, cats, white and tawny and even winged that will fly for a short distance, and other kinds of animals are numerous. *Sardul* is the name of an animal smaller than a dog but preys upon lions and other wild beasts. Through the encouragement of His Majesty, the breed of horses is as fine as those of Irāk and Arabia. The rhinoceres is a stupendous creature. He is twice the size of a buffalo and much resembles a horse in armour. His feet and hoofs are like those of an elephant, and his tail similar to a buffalo's, and he has a pastern-joint like a horse. On the point of his snout he carries a single horn and his hide is so thick that an arrow will not pierce it. Of this, breast-plates and shields and the like are made, and he is bold enough to charge a man on horseback. The black antelope, has two long horns and for beauty and swiftness is unrivalled among his kind. The deer, from which the musk is taken, is larger than the fox, and his coat is rough. He shows two tusks and protuberances in place of horns. They are common in the northern mountains. The Yāk approximates to the domestic cow but of its

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[14] Lions are mentioned, according to Lassen, in the oldest Indian writings. They have now nearly disappeared, as they have from Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and Macedonia. Alexander found them in the Eastern Panjab. Lassen supposes the tiger to have advanced as the lion disappeared. The Indian hounds were famous and a Babylonian satrap had so many that four villages were specially taxed for their maintenance. They were considered worthy to be presented to Alexander the Great by king Sopeithes. See Lassen's note on this.

The winged cat is probably the flying squirrel which Mr. Routledge informs me is called by the natives *urti billi*.

Sardul in Sanskrit signifies a tiger, but here is perhaps meant some species of wild dog which in packs of 6 or 7 will hunt down the fiercest game.

tail is made the kutās[15] or fringed tassel, and many they join together. There is also the civet cat.

The *Shārak*[16] is an astonishing talker, and listeners would not distinguish its tones from human speech.

The *Mynah*[17] is twice the size of the *Shārak*, with glossy black plumage, but with the bill, wattles and tail-coverts yellow. It imitates the human voice and speaks with great distinctness.

Parrots are of dfferent colours, red, white and green and talk like human beings. At the present time, under His Majesty's patronage, animals of all kinds from Persia, Turkestān, and Kashmir whether game or other, have been brought together to the wonderment of beholders.

The *Koel*,[18] is like a mynah, jet black with crimson irides and a long tail. Romance sings of its loves as of those of the bulbul.

The *Papihā*,[19] is smaller than the Koel, with a shorter and slenderer tail. Its love is chanted in story. It is in full song in the beginning of the rainy season and has a peculiar

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[15] See Vol. II, p. 172, n. 2, Vuller distinctly (*Lexicon*) names the Gāo Kutās as the Yāk Tibetanas or Bos grunniens.

[16] In Sansk. *Shārika*, Hind. *Shārik*, *Sārik* or *Sārak*. In Bengal the word is written and pronounced *Sālik* and applied to the common Mynah, the Acridotheres tristis, which is occasionally a fine talker.

[17] Eulabes intermedia, Jerdon. The Nepal Hill Mynah, found also in Assam, and about the Chittagong tracts, more or less with these characteristics. There are various species not easily distinguished by the inexpert.

[18] Eudynamys Orientalis, Jerdon. The Cuculus according to Linnæus. It is well-known throughout India. Its name is from its cry of *koil-koil* which increases in volume of sound as it goes on. The female lays its eggs in the nest of the common crow, generally only one and sometimes destroys the eggs of the crow at the time of depositing her own. The crows appear to be aware of the fact when too late and often pursue these cuckoos with great fury.

[19] Coccystes Melanoleucos, Jerdon. The piedchested cuckoo. It is found all over India, and is above of a uniform black with a greenish gloss. Jerdon unromantically describes it as very noisy with a high pitched metallic note, which would appear highly calculated to reopen any old wounds or cause a fresh one. It is best known in Hindu poetry under the name of *Chātak*.

note and its plaintive strain is heard oftenest at night, and makes love's unhealed wounds bleed anew. It is from its note that the word *piu* is taken, which in Hindi signifies 'beloved.'

The *Hāril*[20] has green plumage with a white bill and crimson irides, smaller than the ordinary pigeon. It never settles upon the ground and when it alights to drink, it carries with it a twig which it keeps beneath its feet till its thirst is quenched.

The *Baya*[21] is like a wild sparrow but yellow. It is extremely intelligent, obedient and docile. It will take small coins from the hand and bring them to its master and will come to a call from a long distance. Its nests are so ingeniously constructed as to defy the rivalry of clever artificers.

The astonishing feats which the animals of this country can perform and their beautiful variety of colouring is beyond the power of my inexperience to describe. Former romancers have related stories in abundance of their extraordinary characteristics, but the writer of this work mentions nothing that he has not himself seen or heard from accurate observers.

I write of things within my ken,
Nor tell a twice-told tale again.

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[20] Also *Hariyāl*, the Crocopus Phœnicopterus, or Bengal Green Pigeon, (Jerdon). The text is evidently in error, omitting the negative before the word 'settles', which stultifies the sense of what follows.

[21] Ploceus baya or common weaver-bird. Its long retort-shaped nest is a familiar sight in India. Jerdon says that it can be taught to pick up rings or such like articles dropped down a well or carry a note on a given signal. Mr. Blyth has seen it fire off a miniature cannon and apply the match five or six times before the powder ignited, which it finally did with a report loud enough to frighten all the crows in the neighbourhood, while the little bird remained perched on the gun without moving. In their breeding plumage, the old males have the crown of the head yellow, the rest of the upper plumage with the wings and tail, dull brown, edged with pale fulvous brown ; the breast is bright yellow, but in the younger, pale rusty ; while the females and the males in winter dress totally want the yellow head, the crown being brown with dark streaks.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Measures.[22]

	6 Atoms	=	1 *Marichi*.
	6 *Marichi*	=	1 *Khardal*, (Brassica nigra).
	3 *Khardal*	=	1 *Sarshaf*, (Brassica juncea).
	8 *Sarshaf*	=	1 Barley corn.
	4 Barley corns	=	1 Surkh (Abrus precatorius).
	6 *Surkh*	=	1 *Māshah*.
	4 *Māshah*	=	1 *Tānk*.
	2 *Tānk*	=	1 *Kaul*.
	2 *Kaul*	=	1 *Tolchah*.
	2 *Tolchah*	=	1 *Sukti*.
[60]	2 *Sukti*	=	1 *Pal*.
	2 *Pal*	=	Palm of the hand.
	2 Palms	=	1 *Anjali*, (two hands joined with the palms hollowed.
	2 *Anjali*	=	1 *Mānika*.
	2 *Mānika*	=	1 *Prastha*.
	4 *Prastha*	=	1 *Adhaka*.
	4 *Adhaka*	=	1 *Drona*.
	2 *Drona*	=	1 Surpa.
	2 Surpa	=	1 Khāri.

The *Khāri* of the present day is three times this measure.

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[22] See Vol. I, p. 16, n. and p. 36, for some of these measures and the weights that follow. The 15th Chapter of Albiruni deals with the metrology of the Hindus and may be compared with these measures. I append a very valuable note by Dr. Prain, Curator of the Herbarium, Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, on the distinction between the kinds of mustard called 'Khardal' and 'Sarshaf' in the text and which remarkably confirms by actual experiment the accuracy of the weights. To Dr. King, the distinguished Superintendent of the Gardens, to whom I have already expressed my many obligations in the 2nd Vol. of the work, I am again indebted for the learned co-operation of Dr. Prain.

"Khardal" and "Sarshaf" are both names that are applied to BLACK-MUSTARD (BRASSICA NIGRA).

The former name is, *Watt* says, (in *Dict. Econ. Prod.* I, 521)

Jeweller's Weights.

These are based on the *Tānk* and the *Surkh*. A Tānk *is equal to twenty-four Surkh*, and the ordinary Miskāl is two *Surkh* more. The *Surkh* is divided into twenty parts, each part being termed a *biswah*. Formerly two and a half *biswah* were reckoned to one rice-grain, but the grains of that time were larger. His Majesty's foresight and sagacity have adjusted the proportion of two *biswah* to the grain. Each *Surkh* was equal to ten rice-grains. His Majesty in his wisdom directed that the grains should be made of the cat's eye stone and thus obviated the defect of currency. The standard weights kept ready for use are the following: the *biswah*, the rice-grain, ¼ and ½ of *Surkh*, 2 *Surkh*, 3 *Surkh*, 6 *Surkh* (which is ¼ of a Tānk), ½, 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, and 50 Tānk. Any other gradations may be compounded of these weights,

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applied, with a qualification, to WHITE MUSTARD; the latter apparently is not.

There is little doubt that by the lower unit of the two (KHARDAL) the seed of Black or true mustard is meant.

The question is as to the identity of the other unit.

Had "Sarshaf" been applied to both and "Khardal" restricted to black mustard, one would have felt inclined to say that white mustard (*Sinapis alba*) was intended. But it must be remembered that white mustard is an uncommon plant in Asia; and that Boissier only speaks of it as a plant of waste places and groves in Greece, Palestine and Taurus, (not even admitting it as a Persian species) and that its seeds, though much larger than those of *B. nigra*, do not suit the conditions required better than those of another species to be mentioned immediately. This is *Brassica juncea*—the well-known Indian mustard or *Rāi* which is cultivated in Persia, as it is in India, for its oil. The vernacular names given by Watt do not include "Khardal" alone or qualified, but apparently the "Sarshaf" appears (e.g., in the Bengali name "Rāi Sarisha") and this, therefore, seems to be the species that best suits the conditions; for *Abul Fazl* would be most probably referring to a well-known and common plant by his second word.

As regards the physical conditions, *Rai* seeds seem to suit very well, so far as the Calcutta Herbarium material goes. For in weighing 3 ripe seeds of *Brassica nigra* from Madeira against *one* ripe seed of India *Brassica juncea*, the scale shows very close approximation in weight; and 8 ripe seeds of *Brassica juncea* from India exactly balance a ripe grain of barley from Afghanistan, though a ripe barley-corn from Europe outweighs them.

and for the imperial service, weights of cat's eye up to *140* Tānks have been made of such brilliancy that they cannot be distinguished from gems.

Banker's Weights.

These are based on the *Tolchah,* the *Māshah,* and the *Surkh.*

Formerly 6 now 7½ rice-grains = 1 *Surkh*
8 *Surkh* = 1 *Māshah*
12 *Māshah* = 1 *Tolchah.*

The ordinary weights in use are ½, 1, and 4 *Surkh*: 1, 2, 4, 6, *Māshah*: 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500 *Tolchah.* But in the imperial Exchequer, the gradations of weight kept ready are very numerous.

Other Trade-weights.

Formerly in Hindustān, the *ser* weighed 18 and in some places 22 *dām*. In the beginning of His Majesty's reign it was current at 28 and is now fixed at 30, each *dām* being 5 *Tānk*. In the transactions in coral and camphor the dām was reckoned at 5½ *tānk*, but the price of these articles having fallen, it is valued at five only. The weights in ordinary use are ⅛, ¼, ½ of a *ser;* 1, 2, 5, 10 *ser;* ½, 1 *man* which consists of 40 *ser.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE LEARNING OF THE HINDUS

[*Editor's explanation*—Abul Fazl wrote his *Ain-i-Akbari* to serve as a popular summary of or general introduction to Hindu philosophy and science for the benefit of the Muslims, and not as a help to a deeper study. In a work of this type it is useless to reprint in 1947, Col. Jarrett's long notes and quotations (made in 1895) from works on Hindu philosophy by the earliest Orientalists and his parallels from Muslim philosophy, because his authorities have long been superseded by the works of more modern scholars, and these latter books can be easily consulted in our libraries, while the obsolete works cited by Jarrett are now extremely rare. Moreover, highly specialised and erudite monographs on the different branches of Hindu learning are now easily available, and the student wishing to follow the subject up further will be much better helped and more correctly guided by references to these modern special treatises than by the mere extracts from obsolete books which Jarrett gave in the 1st edition of his translation. I have therefore omitted most of his lengthy notes and quotations. The modern student of the subject is referred to the authoritative histories of Hindu philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S. N. Das Gupta, the Grundriss monographs, and (for a shorter study) to the two best Encyclopædias, the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Jadunath Sarkar.]

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan there are three hundred and sixty systems of philosophy and conduct. By such means is the warfare with the malice of the spirit carried on, and the hand of violence extended against the deceits of our internal foes. The desire unto evil leadeth to perdition

and the worship of the Lord exalteth the heart. The writer of his work has mixed with many of the leaders of thought and has made himself acquainted to some extent with the discussions of the different schools. A considerable body do not rise beyond the experience of sight and hearing. They consider argument as idle discussion and accept no proof other than tradition of the past. Another school profess acceptance of demonstration, but from interior blindness remove not the rust of doubt. Another sect urge on the swift and light-paced dromedary of vision to the halting-place of truth in some questions, and from self-esteem imagine that they have likewise attained the same goal in others. And yet another body submit their intellects to those who affect stoicism and indifference, and in pursuit of their desire, lend to what is not the deceptive gloss of what is. Volumes would not contain the full tale of these. Who thinks to break his fast at the board of the parasite? But for the benefit of real seekers of knowledge, I here set down the series of fundamental systems which may be considered as nine in number and present the doctrines of each without discussion of their merits. It is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics, the Sufis and dogmatic theologians, and removing the obstructions of prejudice, seek alone for demonstration, and putting aside the estrangements of ignorance, exercise scrutiny with caution.

In this country there are eight sects who professedly teach the doctrines of the emanation of the world, of a life to come, of the essence and attributes of the verities that underlie superior and inferior cosmic phenomena, and the ceremonial and modes of worship and the forms of monarchical government both visible and symbolic: the ninth denies the existence of God and rejects the belief in a beginning or end of existence. Each of these have their special doctrines and rules of conduct and an ample nomenclature, but the

ystem is that of the Greeks before the time of Aristotle. Formerly they wrote with an iron style on the leaves of the palm and the *tuz*, but now on paper, and from left to right. The leaves are kept separate and it is not the practice to stitch them together. Their mystic idealism enlightens the understanding and invigorates the soul. But how shall I proceed? for my heart inclines from speech to silence. Time after time, the ordinary subjects of knowledge, sinking deep into my mind oppress me to use true science, by which stair the soul might rise to insight into truth, as a means to procure rank and wealth, and again, at times, my understanding is luminously inspired not to make bread-winning and pencraft the end of knowledge. The searcher after a formula is unable to express it, of if discovered, the mind suffices not or its full cognition. For this reason, the tongue of speech adheres to the palate of silence and the head of thought sinks into the collar of depression, although it is said that he whose leisure is undisturbed, may in stillness be inspired to eloquence and the lover of taciturnity find voice though the inspired himself shall be dumb. But in truth to sully the tongue with utterance is to expose oneself to error. My own spirit is weary with discussion and my tongue oppressed by declaiming. I know not if this be lassitude of the disposition or the first revelation of truth, whether darkness overshadow my path with confusion or the leader of the caravan on this long journey be not yet arrived. Speech is a beverage filled with poison, and silence is a desert of sweet waters, the hidden source whereof flows from the possessors of truth. I have taken no quarry better than prayer and have seen no lamp brighter than silence. If my state were not one of such perplexity, and my mind not so averse from lengthened discussion, I would expound the philosophy of the Hindus after the systems of the Greeks, but as it is, in accordance with my design, I here set down what befits the scope of this work and my leisure permits.

Description of the Nine Schools

Naiyāyika is one who is versed in the Nyāya philosophy. *Vaiseshika* treats likewise of philosophy and its professors will be later on noticed. *Vedānti* is one who is conversant with the Vedānta System. *Mimāmsaka* is a follower of the Mimāmsā philosophy. *Sānkhya, Pātanjala, Jaina, Bauddha, Nāstika.* Each of these is distinct in its doctrine and their several principles will be hereafter explained. The Brahmans consider the last three as heretical and they admit no philosophical systems beyond the first six which they term *shaddarsana,* that is, the six modes of knowledge. The *Nyāya* and *Vaiseshika* agree in many points, as do the *Vedānta* and *Mimāmsā,* and the *Sānkhya* and the *Pātanjala.*

Nyāya. The founder of this school was the sage Gautama. It comprises within its field, physiology, theology, mathematics, logic and dialectics. Its followers hold the Supreme Being to be exempt from plurality, neither begotten nor begetting, incorporeal and free from all defect. He is without beginning as without end, the Creator, the Preserver, and they regard Him as pure Spirit : but they assert that he created a bodily form and united Himself thereto in a determinate manner ; and as the body is capable of action through its union with the soul, so does this corporeal form energize in union with the Deity without sullying the robe of its inviolable sanctity. This doctrine is akin to that of the Christians. The appellations of divinity are conceded to it, but it is not believed to be from all eternity. The Creator of the world, through the instrumentality of this Being, revealed His words unto men, and this revelation they call *Veda*. It [63] consists of upwards of one hundred thousand verses (*sloka*) each of which comprises four feet (*charana*) each foot being of not less than eight or more than twenty-six letters (*Akshara*). In this book it does not exceed twenty. An *akshara* consists of either one or two letters : if of two, the last is quiescent. A holy man

named Vyāsa divided this book into four parts to each of which he assigned a separate name, *viz.*, the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda. These four are considered divine books. Some assert that the First Being had four mouths from each of which a Book issued. Every Brahma who appears, wonderful to relate, delivers the same letters and words without diminution or addition.

They maintain that God is the absolute Efficient Cause and that the works of men are produced by these two sources of causation, (*viz.*, God and Brahma). The moral distinctions of good and evil in actions are deduced from the divine books. They believe in hell and heaven. The former they term *Naraka* and locate it in the lower region. The latter is called *Svarga* and is assigned to the celestial region. They do not believe in a perpetual duration of existence in either paradise or hell, but that men in the measure of their evil deeds may descend into hell and receive condign punishment, and thence coming forth assume other bodies, and for their good works obtain happiness in heaven, and again issuing from it, return into new forms: thus they will come and go until they have fully received the recompense or punishment of their former deeds, after which freed from the necessity of these two states, they will be liberated from joy and sorrow as will be hereafter related.

Some believe that portions of the world are from eternity and that some are created, as will be afterwards mentioned. They assign eight attributes to the Deity which they call accidents. 1. *Gyāna*, omniscience, by which He knows the future and the past, all that is secret or manifest, in whole and in part, and ignorance and forgetfulness cannot approach Him. 2. *Ichchhā*, will. All things at His pleasure are created or fall into nothingness. 3. *Prayatna*, providential order and the due procession of causes so that existence and non-existence may have their realisation. 4. *Sankhyā*, numerical series, and this is of three kinds, unity, duality and excess

of these. The first named is an attribute of the Almighty. 5. *Pramāna*, extent, and this is of four kinds as will be hereinafter mentioned. As they believe God to be omnipresent, his extent must be infinite [64]. 6. *Prithaktva*, severalty and individuality. As of Sankhya, this is of three kinds, the first being a Divine attribute. 7. *Samyoga*, co-inherence, because all things unite in Him. 8. *Vi-bhāga*, disjunction. The last six of these are accounted to have been from all eternity.

Sixteen subjects called predicaments (*padārtha*),[1] are discussed by this system and these topics comprise all the objects of thought. Although it does not strictly proceed beyond the second, nor, indeed, beyond its subordinate classification of *Artha*, yet a few details are here set down for information.

THE SIXTEEN PREDICAMENTS.

1 Pramāna.	2 Prameya.	3 Sansaya.	4 Prayojana.
5 Drishtānta.	6 Siddhānta.	7 Avayava.	8 Tarka.
9 Nirnaya.	10 Vāda.	11 Jalpa.	12 Vitāndā.
13 Hetvābhāsa.	14 Chhala.	15 Jāti.	16 Nigraha-sthāna.

The First Predicament, *Pramāna* (proof), is of four kinds. 1. *Pratyaksha*, (perception) by the six perfect senses, *viz.*, the five external senses together with *manas* which will be hereafter explained. 2. *Anumāna*, inference. 3. *Upamāna*, resemblance and analogy. 4. *Sabda*, tradition of trustworthy and pious men. These four are held to embrace a considerable extent of knowledge.

[1] This term is translated by Colebrooke indifferently as category or predicament, and by Dr. Röer as Category. Davies in his Hindu Philosophy, uses predicaments and categories as synonymous (p. 127) in his rendering of *padārtha*. I have distinguished these sixteen subjects as predicaments to avoid confusing the numbers with the subordinate categories given by Abul Fazl under the heading of *artha*, the 4th classification of the second predicament, *prameya*.

The Second Predicament. *Prameya* signifies the objects of thought, and this which is beyond the reach of numeration, is yet classed under twelve heads. 1. *Atman*. 2. *Sarira*. 3. *Indriya*. 4. *Artha*. 5. *Buddhi* [65]. 6. *Manas*. 7. *Pravritti*. 8. *Dosha*. 9. *Pretyabhāva*. 10. *Phala*. 11. *Duhkha*. 12. *Apavarga*.

I. *Atman*, soul, is a subtile, all-pervading substance which is the seat of the understanding, and it is of two kinds. The first kind is *Jivātman* (the vital principle), which vivifies human bodies and the animal and vegetable creation. Each body is supposed to be informed by a distinct spirit whose perceptions, through the senses and operations of the intellect, can be exercised only in conjunction with the substance *manas*[2] to be subsequently explained. The second kind is *Paramātman*, the Supreme Soul, which they hold to be One and from all eternity. Its intellectual cognitions are independent of the operation of *manas*.

II. *Sarira*, body, is also of two kinds. *Yoni-ja* (uterine), sexually produced. *Ayoni-ja*, that which is not so produced. The first mentioned has two further subdivisions, *viz.*, *jarāyu-ja*, viviparous, and *anda-ja*, oviparous, and both are formed of the five elements. The latter, *ayoni-ja*, has four subdivisions. 1. *Pārthiva*, formed of earth; 2. *Apya*, formed of water; 3. *Taijasa* of fire. 4. *Vāyaviya*, of air.

III. *Indriya*,[3] signifies the five organs of sense together with *Manas* (the internal organ), a subtile substance intimately connected with the cone-shaped human heart. It is the source

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[2] The distinction between the sensitive material organ *manas* and the rational conscious soul *jivātman*, is the *thimos* and *phrên*, of Pythagoras, one perishing with the body, the other immortal, v. Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 442. For the Hindu conception of the mind, see Hastings, *Encyclo*. *i*. 137 (*mind*), ii. 824-831 (*brain and mind*), i. 774-778 (*body* and *mind*), ii. 773 (*body* and future life.) The Nyāya system in *ibid*. 442 and the Atomic theory in ii. 199-201. [J. S.]

[3] These are: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue and the skin; the five organs of action being the voice, the hands, the feet, the arms and the organs of generation. *Manas* or mind, is the

of perception, and it is by its action, they consider, that a man roams in imagination through distant countries. In contradistinction to *Atman*, it is not considered to be all-pervading, but the Mimāmsa School maintain that it possesses this quality.

IV. *Artha* (objects of sense). Under this head are seven categories [66]. 1. *Dravya*. 2. *Guna*. 3. *Karman*. 4. *Sāmānya*. 5. *Visesha*. 6. *Samavāya*. 7. *Abhāva*.

The first signifies substance,[4] which they conceive to be all-pervading and eternal, while with regard to the four elements, its indivisible atoms only are held to be eternal in duration. (It is subdivided into) *Atman; Manas; Akāsa;* the four elements, *kāla* and *dis*.

The first two have been already mentioned. The third is a subtile fluid, all-pervading, and has the quality of sound. The four elements are recognised after the system of the Greeks, but air is regarded as the highest in order. *Kāla*

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organ of the bodily senses. By union with the external senses it produces knowledge of exterior objects. Its office is to separate the sensations and to present them singly to the soul ; since the soul does not receive more than one perception at the same instant. The *Manas* is minutely small as an atom : for otherwise it might come into connection with many things or sensations at one time. It is eternal and distinct both from soul and body. Davies, *Hind. Phil.*, pp. 21, 122.

[4] This first category *dravya* (substance) is subdivided by Davies into nine divisions. 1 Earth (*prithivi*) ; 2 water (*āpas*) ; 3 light (*tejas*) ; 4 air (*vāyu*) ; 5 Ether (*ākāsa*) ; 6 time (*kāla*) ; 7 space (*dis*) ; 8 Soul (*ātman*) ; 9 mind (*manas*), p. 128.

Substance is defined by Kanāda to be the substrate of qualities and actions and possessing intimate causality. This is explained in the commentary of Bhāshā Parichcheda to be the substrate of qualities either in the relation of intimate union (*Samavāya Sambandha*) or in the relation of antecedent negation (*Prāgabhāva*) that is, of future existence. The latter definition is to obviate an objection which may be raised from the condition of substances at the time of their production. When substances are produced, they have, according to the Nyāya, no qualities. If they have no qualities, they are no substances according to the definition that substances are the substrate of qualities. By the second definition that they are substrates of qualities either in the relation of intimate union, or of future existence, this objection is removed. *Categories of the Nyāya Philosophy*. Dr. E. Röer, p. 3.

time,[5] is a substance impalpable and universal. *Dis*, space, has the same character.

Attributes are of the following six kinds. (1) *Karman*, action, the third category, is divided into five varieties, progressive action, upward and downward action, contraction and dilatation, and is non-eternal. (2) The fourth category is *Sāmānya*,[6] community, and is one, expresses existence, and denotes qualities. Its generic character is eternal, and it resides in substance, quality, and action. It is also called *Jāti Sāmānya* (generic community) and secondly *Upādhi* (discriminative or specific) *Sāmānya*; it has an objective existence, having qualities common to all objects.

(3) The fifth category *Visesha*,[7] particularity, is an attribute, being of its own essence dissociated from everything, has a separate resting-place, and is based only upon eternal matter. *Prithaktva*, individuality, is, on the other hand, a quality, and although it implies disjunction, it does not do so to the same degree, and is not in the same manner distinguished.

(4) The sixth category, *Samavāya*, denotes the co-inherence of five entities with their correlatives, such as (1) movement and its author; (2) quality and substance; (3) matter

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[5] Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of place. It is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions. Space is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of time. It is deduced from the notion of *here* and *there*. Davies, p. 130.

[6] Davies' definition is that it expresses only existence in its highest degree, and is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes also species as indicating a class, these genera and species having a real objective existence.

[7] The difference between this and the following term is explained as follows by Prof. Cowell, "Particularity is the individuality which characterises simple substances,—it is 'their ultimate. and not further explicable difference'. All compound substances from jars down to the combination of two atoms, are mutually separated by the difference of their component parts, but particularity is the only mutual difference of atoms. This difference is differenced through itself only." *Siddh-Muktav.* Colebrooke. I. n. p. 308.

and the thing made, as clay and the vessel of clay, yarn and and its cloth; (4) the whole and its component parts; (5) particularity and eternal matter.

Strangely enough they regard *Samavāya*[8] as one and eternal. This school classes co-inherence under three heads. The first as mentioned above, and if it occurs between two substances, it is termed *Samyoga*, simple conjunction, as is stated in the mention of qualities, and they consider it to possess plurality. Secondly, the connection of the immaterial with the material, as the soul with the body. This they call *Svarupa*, natural form.

(5) The seventh category is *abhāva*, privation or negation, and is of two kinds. *Samsargābhāva* universal and *anyonyābhāva*, mutual negation between two things, as one might say "this is not that". This reciprocal negation must be one in time and place.

The first kind includes three species: (1), *prāgabhāva*, antecedent negation; [67] (2), *pradhanasābhāva*, emergent negation; (3), *atyantābhāva*, absolute negation, that is a negation of what is not one in place, while one in time as, "Zayd standing on the bank of the river, is lost in the desert."

(6) Attributes that do not come under these last five categories are qualities[9] and termed *guna*, (second category)

[8] Numerically it is one, and then it is the same *Samavāya* that connects a jar, and its colour in India, and another jar &c., in Europe, and that connected Adam's soul with its qualities, and that of the reader's with its own. They affirm that substance may want qualities altogether as the latter are not produced till after the production of the substances themselves, so that a jar, when first produced, may be devoid of colour, smell, taste and tangibility, and in the next moment become endowed with them. A whole has no qualities, whereas its parts have, by the relation called *Samavāya*. Smoke is said to reside in a place by relation of *Samyoga* and in its parts by *Samavāya*. Therefore by asserting that whenever there is smoke there is fire, they contradict it by this distinction, for smoke, besides residing in a given place by *Samyoga*, resides by *Samavāya*, in its own parts, where fire is not. V. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, p. 94-5.

[9] Quality is closely united with substance; not, however, as an intimate cause of it, nor consisting in motion, but common: not a

of which there are twenty-four varieties: (1), *Rupa,* colour (or form) of which five are elementary, namely, red, yellow, blue, black, white, the other colours being compounded of these; (2), *Rasa,* savour. This is of six kinds; sweet, bitter, acid, saline pungent and astringent; (3), *Gandha,* odour; (4), *Sparsa,* tangibility, that is the perception of touch which is of three kinds, cold, hot, and temperate; (5), *Sankhyà,* number which is also of three kinds, unity, duality, and plurality; (6), *Parimāna,* quantity, which is of four kinds, (α) *anu,* atomic, (β) *hrasva,*[10] the measure of two atoms, also called *dvy-anuka,* (γ) *dirgha,* the measure of three or more atoms, ( ) *mahat,* (vast) the measure of the ethereal firmament and the like; (7), *Prithaktva,* individuality, distinguishes one of two things from the other. It is in itself common to all, and is not defined in the same manner as *visesha.* It is of three kinds, as for instance, "one is unlike that", or "two or more are unlike it"; (8), *Samyoga,* is the conjunction of two substances, eternal and non-eternal, which are united by a mutual attraction. They do not consider it to be one, like *samavāya;* (9), *Vibhāga,* disjunction; (10), *Purvatva,* priority in time and place; (11), *Aparatva,* posteriority; (12), *Buddhi,* intellect; (13), *Sukha,* pleasure; (14) *Duhkha,* pain; (15), *Ichchhā,* desire; (16), *Dvesha,* aversion; (17), *Prayatna,* volition or effort; (18), *Gurutva, gravity.* [68] Lightness is not held to be quality, but the negation of gravity: (19), *Dravatva,* fluidity; (20), *Sneha,* viscidity; (21) *Sanskāra,* reproduction (of thought) which is of three kinds. (α) *Vega* (*Sanskāra*) (velocity)[11] a quality which springs from mobility and

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genus, yet appertaining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction, not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities. Colebrooke, *Essays,* I. 296.

[10] This word in Sanskrit signifies, less, little, small, short, and in grammar a short vowel. *Dvy-anuka,* is transliterated by Abul Fazl, *dinkua. Dirgha* signifies the quantity of a long vowel.

[11] Rajendralāla Mitra in his translation of the Yogas of Pātanjali thus expresses himself:— 'The most important word in the aphorism is Sanskāra which has unfortunately not been

produces motion, like the flight of an arrow from the bow, for according to this school, motion is destroyed in the third moment after its production, and hence this quality must of necessity be called into action and produce moment. (β) (*Bhāvanā*) *Sanskāra* thinking, is a special characteristic of the reasoning faculty, and since knowledge does not endure in the mind beyond the space of three moments of time, recourse to this quality is imperative, and through the operation of the intellect, analogy, induction or intuition becomes the effective cause of the recollection of what has passed from the mind. (γ) *Sthitisthāpaka*, elasticity, that is the resilience of what is bent to the contrary direction. (22), *dharma*,[12] merit, or the state of rectitude in the intelligent soul. (23), *adharma*, demerit. This school believes that souls through these two qualities, assume various bodily forms, and receive their due recompense in sorrow or joy. The first have their portion in Paradise: the second, in hell, and the world of death is the ultimate end of both. (24), *sabda*, sound.

The rational soul is distinguished by fourteen qualities: (1) intellect, (2) pleasure, (3) pain, (4) desire, (5) aversion, (6) effort, (7) merit, (8) demerit, (9) thinking, (10) number, (11) quantity, (12) individuality, (13) conjunction, (14) disjunction. The first nine are inseparable from it, while number (*viz.*, unity), quantity, individuality, conjunction, dis-

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explained in the commentary of Bhoja or in the Pātanjala Bhāshya. In ordinary Sanskrit it has many meanings. In the Nyāya it occurs in three different senses, velocity (*vega*), thinking (*bhāvanā*) and elasticity (*sthitisthāpaka*). Adverting to the second meaning the Bhāshā Parichcheda says: "Sanskāra, called thinking (*bhāvanā*) resides in sentient beings and is imperceptible to the senses.

[12] The commentators, who are generally under a Vedantic influence, explain virtue, *dharma*, as including humanity, benevolence, acts of restraint (*yama*) and of obligation (*niyama*). Acts of restraint, according to Gandapāda, are restraint of cruelty, falsehood, dishonesty, incontinence and avarice! Acts of obligation are purification, contentment, religious austerities, sacred study and divine worship. Davies, p. 57.

junction, and sound, are referrible to ether. Sound is its chief characteristic. With the exception of sound, these five are qualities of time and space, and the eight formed by these four together, with priority, posteriority and velocity are qualities of *manas*:—Tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority and velocity are the nine accidents of air. Colour, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, fluidity, velocity, are the eleven qualities of light (fire), and motion and tangibility, are its characteristics. Colour, taste, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity and velocity are the fourteen qualities of water. Motion, viscidity, and tangibility are its characteristics. The same fourteen are likewise those of earth, substituting for viscidity odour which abides in earth alone.

[69] Eternal qualities. Of these, six characterise the deity, *viz.*, intellect, desire, effort (one), number (*i.e.*, unity), vastness of quantity (one), and individuality. Three qualities connote the vital principle, (*jivātman*), the mind (*manas*) and ether, time and space, *viz.*, quantity (one), number (unity), individuality. Four belong to the indivisible atoms of air, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Five to atoms of light (fire), colour, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Nine to those of water; *viz.*, colour, savour, tangibility, viscidity (one), number, quantity (one), individuality, gravity, and fluidity. Four to those of earth, *viz.*, number (unity), quantity (one), individuality, and gravity. They affirm that qualities, in their non-eternal (transitory) aspects, including desire, effort, and intellect, are sited in other than the Deity, and pleasure, pain, aversion and sound are produced in one moment of time, do not endure to the second, and are lost in the third, and the rest are not of great length of permanence.

Eight qualities are universal: number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity. Four are incident to all substances: namely, conjunction, disjunction, number other than unity, and individuality likewise not single. Those that alone are united in *manas*, are held to be intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and effort. Such as are cognisable by inference are merit, demerit, thinking and gravity.

This much will suffice for example from among a multiplicity of division of these qualities.

Having now discussed the various categories of *artha*, I come to the fifth classification of *Prameya*, namely,

V. *Buddhi*[13] (intellect). Although it has been mentioned under the second category (*guna*) of *artha*, a somewhat more extended explanation will be of service. It is two-fold: (1) *anubhava*, (notion or concept), which is produced by means of the four kinds of proof,[14] and (2) *smriti*,[15] recollection, which is effected through *bhāvanā sanskāra*, (present consciousness

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[13] In the system of Kapila, *buddhi* is the faculty or organ, by which outward objects are presented to the view of the soul in their proper and definite form, and he assigns to it every quality or state that is connected with the active life, as its primary seat and the first emanation of Nature (Prakriti). Davies, p. 57.

[14] These are *pratyaksha* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upāmāna* (analogy) and *sabda* (verbal testimony). To these four kinds of proof of the Nyāya or logical school, the Vedantic adds *arthāpatti* (presumption) an informal kind of inference ; as, "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night" ; and *abhāva* (non-existence), a method of proof from an impossibility, or a '*reductio ad absurdum*' as, "there can be no flowers in the sky." Davies, p. 24.

[15] *Smriti* signifies also tradition, the institutes of law as opposed to *sruti*, the Veda or revelation. The laws of the Hindus, civil and religious, are believed by them to be founded on revelation, of which the Vedas are preserved in the very words. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who having revelations present to their memory, have recorded holy precepts for which divine sanction is presume. The latter is *smriti*, recollection, (remembered law), in contradistinction to *sruti*, audition, revealed law. Colebrooke.

of past ideas). *Anubhava* is of two kinds, a right notion or a wrong one. A wrong notion, *i.e.* (one not derived from proof) is threefold, namely, *sansaya*, doubt; *viparyaya*, error, and *tarka*, false premises. This last is a *padārtha* (predicament) and will be explained in its place.

VI. *Manas*,[16] although referred to under substance, requires to be mentioned next in order.

VII. *Pravritti*, activity, or employing the mind, tongue and other organs in good and evil works. They maintain that four functions are necessary to an outward action, knowing, willing, resolving and bodily motion.

VIII. *Dosha*, (fault) they assert to be a cause of *prayatna* (effort), and is of three kinds; *rāga*, passion or extreme desire, *dvesha*, aversion; and *moha*, delusion of mind.

[70] IX. *Pretyabhāva*, (transmigration) signifies life, after death and the union of the soul with the body, followed by death after life and dissolution succeeding connection.

X. *Phala* (retribution) is the fruit of merit and demerit.

XI. *Duhkha*, is the opposite of *Sukha*, joy, which is not here introduced, as the pleasures of this world are by them accounted misery.

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[16] Is the first of the internal organs receiving the impression made upon the senses. Primordial matter, the *Elei* of the Greeks, produced *buddhi* or intellect, from which proceeded *Ahankāra* or egotism, and from this latter proceed the five organs of sense (*indriya*) and the five organs of action, and lastly *Manas*, the receptive or discriminating faculty. The tongue is classed as an organ of action, and the faculty of speech is as much sensation as touching or walking. The *Manas* has the nature of both classes, being formative or plastic and a sense organ. In the Sānkhya system of Kapila, it is not to be confounded with mind or the rational faculty of the soul, but is regarded as a form of matter I refer the reader to Davies' work whence I have taken in scattered notices the substance of the above, and to Colebrooke. This dismal philosophy is curious as an intellectual product, the precursor of the ghastly metaphysics of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. The Hindu has the merit of originality and a better excuse.

XII. *Apavarga,* (emancipation) is eternal release from pain. There are twenty-one varieties of pain, or evil, and these reside in the six organs of sense, the six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation, the six mental apprehensions that proceed from them, the body which is the centre of evil, pleasure itself which is filled with pain, and pain. In short, pain signifies all that men are averse from and by which distress occurs. The attainment of that state where these effects disappear, is called *mukti*, or final emancipation, where the soul rests without perception or consciousness, is no longer connected with the body and is delivered from heaven and hell. They consider the union of the soul with body which they call *janman* (birth),[17] as the source of pain. Its existence is due to merit and demerit, and through its companionship with the soul, it receives the recompense of good and evil. The cause of this is *karman* (action), from which proceeds befitting time. or unsuitable deed and pain or pleasure. *Yatna* (effort), which is synonymous with *prayatna,* and *pravritti*, activity, produce these consequences, and this in turn results from *rāga* or passion, which springs from *mithyājnāna,*[18] erroneous opinion, originated by *bhāvanā sanskāra.* By mortification of spirit and body and by good works, the means of perfect knowledge are secured, resulting in the attainment of perfected capacities. Ignorance is destroyed, true knowledge acquired, and the flux and reflux of existence vanish for ever.

Some say that when the intelligence attains its highest illumination, error and ignorance are annihilated and with them *rāga* and *dvesha,* that is passion and aversion depart,

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[17] In every form of earthly life, the soul is united to its own peculiar vehicle or body, but is not blended with it but enveloped by it. By this is meant, not the gross material body which perishes at each migration, but the *linga*, the subtle *umbra* or sheath formed from the substance of the three internal organs. and the finer elements of matter (*tanmātra*). For Body and Soul, see Hastings' *Encyclo.*, xi. 742-744. [J. S.]

[18] *Mithyā-jnāna* is used to signify that special misapprehension which estops release from the world.

and hence *pravritti*, activity, is extirpated, and by its disappearance *janman* (birth), is no more, and pain and grief are dissolved and *mukti* brings everlasting bliss. Another opinion is that *tattvajnāna*, true knowledge, dispels *mithyājnāna*, or error, which causes the subversion of desire, which overwhelms *prayatna*. By its fall *karman* (action) is subverted and overturns with it *dharma* and *adharma* (merit and demerit). *Janman* (birth), thus, is swept away carrying with it *duhkha* (pain) in its overthrow. The Nyāya school assert that when the material body perishes, knowledge dies with it. Perfect knowledge depends upon three conditions: (1) *sravana*, hearing, and studying the Vedas and the existing traditions of the sages, and this cannot be attained except by the aid of one who has travelled this road: [71] (2) *manana*, consideration, by which the sacred books and the precepts of the virtuous are when apprehended, studiously illumined by proofs that convince the mind. The effect of this study, according to one opinion, issues in a speculation as to the nature of the rational soul and whether it is not apart from all else;[19] (3) *nididhyāsana*, profound contemplation; by frequent reflection and reiterated thought on the objects of contemplation in their entirety, the mind becomes habitually absorbed herein and advancing beyond the objective sensations of sight and deed, becomes the recipient of truth.

It is asserted that the contemplation of the rational soul may be so continuous as not to be interrupted. When these three conditions are fulfilled with diligence and unwavering resolve, a sublime knowledge is attained and liberation secured from pain and pleasure and the fetters of the corpo-

[19] In Kapila's system, the soul is solitary and perfectly distinct from matter and therefore from the modifications the modes of Nature produce. It beholds as an *eye-witness*, for insight and cognition are not properties of matter. It is *neutral* (*Madhyastha*, lit. standing between) "as a wandering ascetic is lonely and unconcerned, while the villagers are being engaged in agriculture". The soul in its regal grandeur, has no part in the inferior life of action. It directs as a sovereign but does not work. Davies.

real state. This school professes the doctrine of *Kāyavyuha*, multiplication of bodies.[20]

They maintain that when any of the specially favoured are illumined by the light of this knowledge, and are cognisant of their past existences and future destiny, and know that a course of further transmigration awaits them, and desire to complete it, they receive a special power from the Supreme Being, and in a brief space receive these various forms and endure the pains and pleasures of life with the same spirit and the same intelligence, and when these forms pass away, attain eternal bliss. It is also said that all men will[21] arrive at final emancipation, and that though the world is without a beginning, birth and production will eventually cease.

The third predicament *Sansaya*, doubt, is three-fold: (1), it may arise from the sight of objects with common qualities, as for example, an object may be seen from a distance, and not distinctly, known whether it be a tree or a man, and the like; (2), cause of doubt is likewise (a non-general or special attribute) in regard to a particular object which is separate from the notion of eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality, and the doubt arises whether it be eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality: (3), Cause of doubt lies also in controversy when a subject may be the occasion of contradictory affirmation and denial between two learned disputants.

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[20] This subject is touched upon in the fourth chapter of the Yoga aphorisms of Patanjali. "When a Yogi, who has a mastery over the cardinal principles, with a view to enjoy at once the fruits of his actions, from the perception of his own superior transcendental powers, wishes to assume many bodies at the same time, whence does he derive many thinking principles" (to vitalize these bodies)? In reply the author says: "the created thinking principles (proceed) solely from egoism." That is, that his own consciousness or rather his absolute Ego, (for Fitchte distinguishes between the two) by force of will evolves the power, as fire emits sparks. *Vide* Rājendralāla Mitra's translation, p. 171-72.

[21] A variant, the reading of one MS., has a negative. According to the Sānkhya (and Mimāmsa) systems, acquiring knowledge and thus gaining deliverance from contact with matter is the privilege of the few rather than a duty manifest on all. See Davies, p. 114.

The fourth predicament, *Prayojana*, motive, is that which necessarily precedes and produces an effect and is termed causality. Of this there are not accounted more than three kinds: (1), the presence of efficient conditions and means is termed *nimitta kārana*, or instrumental causality: (2), the material cause is *samavāyi kārana*, intimate or direct causality: (3), the indirect or non-intimate causality is called *asamavāyi kārana*.[22] Cause is termed *kārana* and effect *kārya*, and *sāmagri* is total causality, (the aggregate of conditions necessary for the forming of either, a material product or a physical state). This subject is treated in Sanskrit philosophy under the first predicament.

[72] The fifth predicament is *Drishtānta*, instance or example, showing invariable connection (between subject and predicate).

The sixth predicament, is *Siddhānta*, dogma or determinate truth.

The seventh predicament is *Avayava*, (members of a) syllogism. This consists of five members.[23] 1. *Pratijna*, the

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[22] The usual order is the intimate, non-intimate and instrumental. An instance of the first, is thread from which cloth is made; for the second the conjunction of the threads ; for the third, the loom. Intimate causality belongs to substances. non-intimate causality to qualities and actions. Röer, p. 10.

[23] The members are these :—

1. This hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery.
4. This hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

or

1. Sound is non-eternal.
2. Because it is produced.
3. Whatever is produced is non-eternal.
4. Sound is produced.
5. Therefore it is non-eternal.

Some confine the syllogism to three members, either the first three or the last. In the latter form it is the syllogism of Aristotle. According to Röer, the Nyāya knows only the two first figures of syllogism, and of these only the two moods Barbara and Camestres. A complete syllogism is properly termed *nyāya*, the five members or component parts are called *avayava*.

proposition, as in the statement, "there is fire in this hill". II. *Hetu*, the concomitant reason supporting the proposition, "for it smokes", by which the presence of fire is apprehended which is the ground for the inference, and this, in regard to the invariable connection (between subject and predicate), is threefold. If the necessary connection is affirmative, it is called *kevalānvayin* (concomitancy of affirmatives), and if negative, *kevala-vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives), and if both, *anvaya-vyatirekin* (affirmative and negative induction). Of this third kind five members are necessary for a complete syllogism. (1) *Paksha sattva*[24] (subject of the conclusion) where the subject to be proved is supposed to be in a given place. (2) *Sapaksha sattva* (similar instance, involving the major term) where the place of the subject and predicate are with certainty known or inferred as smoke and fire in a kitchen hearth. (3) *Vipaksha sattva* (negative instance) where the subject and predicate exclude each other as water (and fire). (4) *Abādhita vishayatva*, non-negation of the object of proof (by other proof). (5) *Asatpratipakshatva*, (non-equalisation), where there is no counterbalancing reason proving the negation of what is to be proved. In the first classification of *Hetu*, (*kevalānvayin*), the third of these five is absent. In the second, (*kevala-vyatirekin*), the second of the five is absent.

III. *Udhāharana*, the instance or example. The subject of a proposition is called *vyāpya* : the predicate is the *vyāpaka*,

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[24] These and the following terms are thus rendered in Dr. Richard Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's commentary on the Sānkhya Sutras. "By means of a syllogism construed in this manner we discern (1), that the invariably concomitated (*vyāpya*) is an attribute of the subject of the conclusion (*paksha-dharmatva*), (2), that the *vyāpya* exists in those things in which the invariable concomitant (*vyāpaka*) undoubtedly exists (*sapaksha-sattva*), (3), that the *vyāpya* is excluded from those things from which the *vyāpaka* is also excluded (*vipakshādvyāvrittih*). (4) that no equally strong reason can be adduced against the reason which proves the proposition (*asat-pratipakshatva*), (5), that the *vyāpya* is not such that its object does not exist in the subject of the conclusion (*abādhita-vishayatva*).

and *vyāpti*, pervasion [73] or invariable concomitance, is the mutual relation of the subject and predicate.

IV. *Upanaya* is the application of the reason to the subject in question.

Nigamana is the conclusion. Although it lies implicate in the major premiss, it forms the statement in the general proposition and becomes the consequent in the fifth.

The eighth predicament *Tarka*, is inadmissible conclusion at variance with proof, that is, the perception of a deduction from wrong premises.[25] By its statement the disputant removes the doubt in the relation of subject and predicate. For instance to one who denied the existence of fire (in the hill) he would rejoin that without it there could be no smoke, of which fire is the cause.

The ninth predicament is *Nirnaya*, (ascertainment), or a certainty of conclusion on the completion of proof.

The tenth *Vāda*, (controversy) is the expression of their respective views of a subject by two seekers after knowledge, supported by reasons brought forward with good feeling, and in the interests of truth, allowing neither their several convictions nor self-assertion to influence them. Verily such courteous[26] disputants, like the phœnix, move with steps that leave no trace.

The eleventh *Jalpa*, or wrangling, is the debate of disputants contending for victory.

The twelfth is *Vitandā*, objection or cavilling: The object of one disputant being the advancement of what is true and reasonable, and of the other to dispute his statements.

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[25] The text is corrupt. The words of the *Tarka Sangraha*, are thus translated by Vidyā Sāgara, *Reductio ad absurdum* or Tarka is that which consists in *founding* the pervader (*vyāpya*) (here supposed to be denied) through the allegation of the pervaded (*vyāpaka* here supposed to be taken for granted). As for instance: If there were not fire (which you do not grant), there would not be smoke (which you admit there is). V. 68.

[26] I would read *farohindah* for *farohidah*. It is not wisdom nor ingenuity that is rare, but courtesy and good temper.

The thirteenth is *Hetvābhāsa*, fallacy. This is a syllogism with the semblance of a reason, of which there are five kinds. If this predicament were placed in order above *Vāda*, the tenth, or below the three following, it would be more in place.

The fourteenth is *Chhala*, perversion of an adversary's statement through malice, and disputing it.

The fifteenth is *Jāti*, futility, or a reply both irrelevant and reprehensible, advanced with speciousness and cavilling. This is of twenty-four kinds.

The sixteenth predicament is *Nigrahasthāna*, the confutation of an adversary, and is of twenty-two kinds.

Each of these sixteenth subjects have numerous questions arising out of them, supported by a variety of opinions, arguments and instances.

It is believed that whosoever apprehends these sixteen in their integrity, is released from further birth and death, lives in freedom from pleasure and pain, and attains his final end by three degrees of knowledge: *viz.* (1), *uddesha*, (enunciation), by which he distinguishes the name of each of these sixteen predicaments and bears them in memory; [74] (2) *lakshana*, (definition), by which he arrives at their essential truth; (3) *parikshā* (investigation), by which he ascertains the sufficiency and pertinence of their definition.

This school, though not acknowledging that the world had a beginning, yet believes in its final destruction. This they term *pralaya*, which is of two kinds.

In the first, Brahmā slumbers in the chamber of non-existence, and appears no more, and all created forms perish. His absolute cause is the divine will, the completion of a decreed period and the coming of an appointed time. When this time arrives, by the will of God, merit and demerit cease to exist, and by the same divine will, the indivisible atoms (of primordial matter) are set in agitation, from which

bhāga,[27] (disjunction), is brought into reality, and *samyoga* (union from contiguity) is dissolved. First the globe of the earth, next fire, followed by air and water are successively destroyed and creation ceases to exist and all souls attain final emancipation. This is termed *mahāpralaya.* In the second, is the final emancipation of Brahmā, which is called *Khanda-pralaya* (partial dissolution). In this, with the exception of merit and demerit, present consciousness, and action, all else perish. At the close of one hundred extraordinary years,[28] of which mention has been made, Brahmā attains this accomplishment of desire. After the lapse of this period, a succeeding Brahmā is born. Another opinion is that there are four dissolutions. Besides the above two, there is a third when right apprehension is taken up from mankind and this will happen at the close of a cycle of the four ages. The fourth is the dissolution of each particular thing which is called its *pralaya,* as when the *manas* first dissolves its connection with the rational soul, and following this, when the union of soul and body is then severed.[29]

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[27] Earth according to the Nyäya, is eternal in its atoms, non-eternal in its parts. An atom is defined thus: "an atom is; what exists has no cause and is without beginning and end: an atom is contrary to what has a measure." Röer, p. 14. Colour, taste and the like are said to be eternal, or otherwise according to the substances in which they exist, these two being eternal in the atoms of water and light but in other substances have a cause. The atomic nature of the mind is inferred from the fact that several objects of knowledge are not perceived by it at once.

I believe *vibhāga* is here meant, and the suffix has been omitted by the error of a copyist. This is undoubtedly the sense of the passage.

[28] The aggregate of the four ages, Krita, Treta, Dwāpara and Kali multiplied by a thousand, constitute a day of Brahmā; his night is of equal duration, and of such days and nights is the year of Brahmā composed. One hundred such years constitute his whole life. A great *Kalpa,* as distinguished from a minor *Kalpa,* is properly not a day but a life of Brahmā. *Vishnu Purāna,* Wilson, pp. 23, 25, 6.

[29] The following are the four kinds of dissolution as given by the *Vishnu Purāna.* 1. *Naimittika* occasional; *Prākritika,*

The (renewed) creation of the world is called *srishti*. Through the volition of the Supreme Being, and after the lapse of ages and at the advent of a special time, merit and demerit recover their sway, and the indivisible atoms of matter are again moved. Two atoms first combine: this is called *duy-anuka*; then three *duy-anukas* unite and are named *try-anuka*; the union of four *duy-anukas* is termed *chatur-anuka*, and thus they gradually coalesce, till numerous forms are manifested, and contrariwise to their dissolution, they are produced in the following order: air, fire, water, earth, and subsequently, Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva.[30] The three last are not apparent to the light of vision but assume shape and are beneficent in their operation. From air spring aerial forms which reside in *Vāyuloka*, a [75] sphere above the earth, and the sense of touch and the blowing wind whose energising

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elemental; *Atyantika*, absolute; *Nitya*, perpetual The first, also termed the Brahmā dissolution, occurs when the sovereign of the world reclines in sleep. In the second, the mundane egg resolves into the primary element from whence it was derived. Absolute non-existence of the world, is the absorption of the sage through knowledge into supreme spirit. Perpetual destruction is the constant disappearance, day and night, of all that are born. *Vishnu Purāna*, 56. The first three kinds are very powerfully described in the 6th book, the fourth chapter of which represents the elemental dissolution in very striking language. The third kind, involving the final liberation from existence, is the subject of the 5th Chapter, where the sufferings of infancy, manhood and old age are pourtrayed in a manner not surpassed in power by any description in literature. With no hope beyond the grave, with hell for the wicked and no cessation from pain even in heaven, whose inhabitants are tormented with the prospect of descending again to earth, no wonder that exemption from birth was the desire of the wise, and annihilation the last hope of those who were doomed to the sorrows of conception, birth and decay.

[30] "Then ether, air, light, water, earth, severally united with the properties of sound and the rest, existed as distinguishable according to their qualities, but possessing various energies they could not without combination create living beings. Having combined therefore, they assumed the character of entire unity and from the direction of spirit with the acquiescence of the indiscrete Principle, Intellect and the rest, to the gross elements inclusive, formed an egg. This vast egg was the abode of Vishnu in the form of Brahmā." *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 18.

essence is called in Sanskrit, *prāna* (vital breath), of which there are five kinds[31] as will be related.

From fire (light) spring fiery bodies dwelling in *Adityaloka*[31] which is the sphere of the sun, and vision and the modes of heat. From water are the aqueous bodies dwelling in *Varunaloka*[32] which is said to be near the mountain Sumeru, and the rudiment of taste and the seas and ice and hail. From earth, are earthly forms, and the rudiment of smell, minerals, plants and animals. Brahmā by his volition first brings into being all (immovable)[33] forms produced without generation,

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[31] These are (1) *prāna*, breath, the ordinary inspiration and expiration.

(2) *Apāna*, downward breath, the air or vital force acting in the lower parts of the body.

(3) *Samāna*, collective breath, so named from conducting equally the food, &c., through the body.

(4) *Udāna*, separate breath, the vital force that causes the pulsations of the arteries in the upper portions of the body from the navel to the head.

(5) *Vyāna*, separate breath, by which internal division and diffusion through the body are effected.

These airs are not the elemental air, but subtle inward forces necessary to vitality and the efficacy of the organic functions of the human frame. Davies, pp. 66, 67.

[31] A name of the sun ; his car is presided over by a troop of seven celestial beings who in turn, occupy his orb during several months of the year. Their names are given in the Vishnu Purāna (p. 234). They are the agents in the distribution of cold, heat and rain at their respective seasons. Their number was subsequently increased to twelve, representing the months of the year.

[32] Varuna a name which corresponds with *Oiranos*, was appointed to the sovereignty of the waters, according to the Vishnu Purāna (p. 153) and was likewise an Aditya, but his functions reached far beyond this sphere and he was considered anciently as sovereign ruler of the three worlds. The planets, the winds, the waters were equally in his power, and his attributes raised him to a height of moral grandeur above that of any of the Vedic deities.

Dr. Dowson who quotes Muir.

[33] The creation of the creator in his abstraction was the five-fold immovable world without intellect or reflection, and void of perception and sensation, and destitute of motion. Since immovable things were first created, this is called the first creation. *Vish. Pur.* 34. These, Wilson observes, are final productions, or the forms in which the previously created elements and faculties are more or less perfectly aggregated. By immovable things are meant the mineral and vegetable kingdoms.

and wonderful are the details they give herein, and it is said that a single eternal volition of the Deity at their appointed times operates to create and destroy. The creative will is called *Chikirshā* (desire to act) and the destructive will *Sañjihirshā* (desire to take away).

Their works are in a five-fold series. (1) *Sutra*, a short technical sentence: (2) *bhāshya*, commentary on a somewhat difficult *sutra*: (3) *vārttika*, a critical annotation on the two: (4) *tikā*, commentary (properly of the original or of another commentary) on No. 3; (5) *nibandha*, an explanation of technical rules. Another opinion is that the series runs to twelve. Besides those enumerated, (6) *vritti*, a brief elucidation of some complicated subjects in the first-mentioned; (7) *nirukta*, etymological interpretation of a word. Sound is held to be of two kinds, (*a*) inarticulate, which is termed *dhvani* (sound, noise), and (*β*) articulate, *varna* (a letter,) also called *akshara*. The junction of several letters is called *pada*, a word, and several words in connection form, *vākya*, a sentence, and a collection of these make a *sutra*, or aphorism, and several *sutras* are called *prakarana* (article or section). These last again when connected are [76] termed *āhnika*, and an aggregate of the latter, *adhyāya*, which combined together compose a *sāstra* or didactic work. In some treatises, ambiguities are discussed regarding the definitions of *pada* which are therein resolved: (8) *prakarana*, is a section treating of one or two topics: (9) *āhnika*, a short task sufficing for a diurnal lesson: (10) *parisishta*, a supplement to a technical work: (11) *paddhati*, a manual of the texts relating to each of the six sciences in prescribed order: (12) *sangraha*, an epitome of the sciences. These classes of works are not confined to this school alone. *Vrajyā* is a compendium or homogeneous collection, and instead of the divisions into sections and chapters, the following ten words are used.

(1) *anka*, (2) *uchchvāsa*, (3) *sarga*, (4) *visrāma*, (5) *ullāsa*, (6) *patala*, (7) *adhyāya*, (8) *uddesa*, (9) *adhina*, (10) *tantra*.

The Nyāya philosophy is divided into five *adhyāyas*. The first gives a list of the sixteen subjects to be discussed, and a definition of each. The second deals with the detail of *pramāna* (proof or evidence) and accurate knowledge and the like. The third is on the six kinds of objects of thought, namely, soul; body; organs of sense; objects of sense; intellect and mind. The fourth treats of its remaining heads. The fifth is on *jāti* (futility) and *nigrahasthāna* (confutation of an adversary). Although the system of Kanāda is antecedent in date, yet since the Nyāya treats of a multiplicity of subjects, and is generally the first studied, I have given it priority of place.

VAISESHIKA.

This great system of science owes its origin to Kanāda.[34] It agrees in the main, with the Nyāya, differing from it only on a few points.

In the works of this school, seven predicaments are named which comprise the entire scheme. [77] These are *dravya*, substance, *guna*, quality, *karman*, action, *sāmānya*, community, *visesha*, particularity, *samavāya* intimate relation, and *abhāva*, negation. Of *pramāna*, proof or evidence, they accept only *pratyaksha*, (perception) and *anumāna*[35] (inference). The change in qualities occurring in the process

[34] The Vaiseshika school as represented by Kanāda, the reputed author of the *Vaiseshika system*, in Hastings, *Encycl.*, xii. 568-570. [J. S.] Of Kanāda little is known. The Vaiseshika system is one of physical science; the Nyāya deals with elementary, metaphysical notions, and the forms of the syllogism, and is the standard work in logic among the Hindus. I refer the reader for a critical account of the system to the introduction to the *Categories* by Dr. E. Röer, Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous essays*), to the *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* by Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr Fitz-Edward Hall's *Refutation of Hindu Philosophy*.

[35] The text has *ātman*, a copyist's error for *anumāna*, which it would closely resemble even to the diacritical points. The Vaiseshika system differs from the Nyāya in this very point, admitting only two kinds of proof, perception and inference.

of cooking termed *pāka-ja*,[36] arises from the sun's rays or heat of the fire. These qualities are colour, taste, smell and tangibility.

The Naiyāyikas assert that bodily substance is unchanged, whether in its natural state or under the influence of heat. The Vaiseshikas, that the (conjunction of) atoms forming the body, disintegrate through the action of heat and are re-united by divine power.

Again, the Nyāya school make *samavāya* (constant intimate relation), perceptible to vision, while the Vaiseshikas allow it to be cognisable only by argument and proof.

MIMAMSA.[37]

The founder of this school was the sage Jaimini. It is more ancient than the two already described, and the chief exponents of its philosophy are Kumārila Bhatta, Prabhākara Guru, and Murāri Misra. Its professors are said to reject the notion of a Supreme Being, while some accept it, but do not

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[36] "The change produced by cooking takes place according to the Vaiseshikas in the single atoms". So the *Bhāsha Parichchheda*. The commentator observes on this, that as long as the parts are retained in the compound, no change by cooking is possible, but when by the union of fire, the compound substances have been destroyed, change occurs in the atoms which become independent units. Again by the junction of atoms changed by process of cooking, a production is effected from the compound of two, three &c., atoms, again to a compound of many parts, for by the extraordinary velocity of heat, the transition from the destruction of one compound to the formation of another is sudden. The Naiyāyika view is that compound substances have pores and the minute parts of fire enter them and therefore the change by the process of cooking is possible, although the parts be retained in the compound.

[37] The Mimāmsa is classed sometimes as the *Purva* or Prior and the *Uttara* or Posterior. The object of the first was to support the authority of the Vedas, to maintain their ritual, and interpret their true meaning. The second is the Vedānta or supplement of the Vedas, and was formed at a later date based on the synonymous term Upanishads, or the mystic teaching of the Vedas. The Upanishads are called Vedāntas, and their philosophy is known as the Vedāntic System. For Mimāmsā. see Hastings, viii. 648, also i. 137.

allow of a Creator, attributing the production of existing things to merit and demerit. When an assembly of the learned was convened with a view to ascertain the truth as to their creed, it was discovered that they were all of this latter opinion, but in deference to the variable character of minds, they are silent as to the nature of the Divinity, and lay the principal stress in discussion on the diversities of works. But men from ignorance and captiousness lay this opinion to their charge. Quantity is not accounted by them as attributable to God. *Parimāna*, quantity, which the Nyāya school places among qualities, is not predicated by them of the Deity, and they do not allow that Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva are divine manifestations, affirming that human souls attain that eminence through good deeds. They hold mystic hymns in the place of particular deities whose potency they ascribe to the subtile spells of sound. They allow no beginning, nor end to the world, and believe the four elements, the mountains, and the great seas to be eternal. They believe that bodies are produced from an aggregate of minute atoms, and not from one substance; *manas* and *ātman* are all pervading, and a man's actions are the result of his own free will and initiative, and while granting the states of hell and heaven, and transmigration into lower and higher forms of being, and final emancipation, they do not believe that the latter is attainable by all men but is the result of the union of perfected understanding and action, and a sublime knowledge and an ineffable repose will be the eternal portion of that state.

[78] The perception of sound by the ear, they believe to be one of the qualities of air. The Nyāya places it in ether. The second of the two philosophers above-named teaches that *samavāya*, co-inherence, exists as eternal in things eternal and non-eternal in things non-eternal, and everywhere separate, and they interpret it by the term *tādātmya* (identity of nature). They reject *visesha*. According to Kumārila

Bhatta and Murāri Misra, there are ten predicaments (*padārtha*): (1) substance, (2) quality, (3) action, (4) community, (5) identity of nature, and (6) negation. (7) *Vaisishtya* (endowment with attributes), is the term applied to the connection of non-existence[38] which they regard as a separate *énteléḵheia*, as the Nyāya regards *Svarupa* (true nature) and *Sabda*. (8) *Saḵti* (energy) is a characteristic imperceptible to sight but efficient in action, like the property of burning in fire, and quenching of thirst in water. This they affirm to be two-fold; essential (*jāti*) as has been exemplified, and accidental, such as may be produced by incantation and the like. The Nyāya school recognises the properties of burning and quenching of thirst as inherent in fire and water. (9) *Sādrisya*, similarity between two objects. (10) *Sanḵhyā*, number, is not regarded as a quality but as a distinct substance. Prabhākara Guru reckons nine predicaments and excludes *abhāva* (negation) from the notion of *things*.

Kumārila Bhatta acknowledges eleven substances, the nine already given and (10) *andhaḵāra*, darkness. The Naiyāyikas, with the Guru and Murāri Misra recognise the negation of light, but this school makes it a separate object of knowledge, which casts its shade over everything. Colour quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, and posteriority, are qualities appertaining to it. (11) *Sabda* (sound) is considered eternal[39] and all-pervading. Letters are substance and possess the same qualities as darkness, except colour. Qualities are twenty-two in number. Prabhākara Guru and Murāri Misra do not hold sound to be substance, but acknowledge its eternity. According to Kumārila Bhatta,

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[38] See the *Sarva Darsana Sangr.* Udayana tries to establish that although ether, the site of sound, is imperceptible, the non-existence of that which abides in this site is perceptible, p. 194.

[39] The Naiyāyikas deny this, asserting that it is non-eternal. The eternity of the Veda depends on the Mimāmsa doctrine that sound is eternal. The arguments *pro* and *con* are stated at some length in the Jaimini Darsana, v. *Sarva Darsana-Sangraha.*

intelligence operates like cognition arising from inferential reasoning. The Guru teaches that its own (indwelling) illumination proceeds from intelligence, as a lamp illumines itself while revealing other objects. The Misra holds with the Nyāya that it proceeds from the *manas*. This school does not accept the four kinds of proof (*pramāna*) but only the two first, *perception* and *inference*.

The Naiyāyikas say that gold has its origin in fire, the Mimāmsakas, in earth. The notion of time with the former, is apprehended by the reason, with the latter, by the senses, who also consider colour, among qualities, to be eternal, and each of the five colours in all diversities of position, to be one. Generality is innate in substance. They do not accept the notion of *Vega Sanskāra*, (velocity) and ascribe its effect to *karman* (action or motion).

According to Bhatta and Misra, *pramāna* (proof) is of six kinds, four of which are the same as those of the Nyāya, and the senses are said to be seven, as they add *tāmasendriya* by which the quality of darkness is cognized. They reject *kevalānvayin*, (con-comitancy of affirmative) and *kevala vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives); and the Guru, *mithyājnāna* (erroneous opinion). *Sansaya* (doubt)[40] and *viparyaya* (misconception), are recognised as two forms of veritable knowledge. [79] The Naiyāyikas prove the existence of air from inference, the Mimāmsakas from touch. The fifth kind of *pramāna* is *arthāpatti* (presumption), discerning the subject and assuming the predicate.[41]

The sixth kind of *anupalabdhi*, non-perception of things. They assert that perception of the non-existence of things

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[40] Doubt is founded on the notion whether a thing is what it seems to be, as a man or the stump of a tree ; misconception is incorrect notion, as the notion of silver in mother o' pearl.

[41] That is, the assumption of a thing not itself perceived, but necessarily implied by another which is seen, heard or proved. Colebrooke, I. 329.

arises from the non-knowledge of those things.[42] The Misra like the Naiyāyikas includes this in *pratyakṣha.*

The cardinal point of their system lies in works, which are of two kinds; *vihita* (enjoined), a work productive of good, and *nishiddha* (prohibited), resulting in pain. The first is again fourfold; (1) *nitya* (constant), that is, a daily duty, reprehensible to omit: (2) *naimittaka* (occasional rites), necessary duties at special times such as eclipses: (3) *kāmya* (desirable), things done with desire of fruition:[43] (4) *prāyaschitta*, expiatory acts. Of the nine schools, the first six recognize these obligations and carry them into practice to the prosperous ordering of their lives. A separate order of ceremonies is appointed to each of the four castes of men.

The questions comprised by this philosophy are set forth in twelve books. The first treats of the predicaments and of proof: the second, of various rites and certain elucidations of the Vaidic text: the third, of certain important ceremonies the results of rites which are revealed in that sacred volume and other minor points accessory to the main objects. The fourth, that the acquisition of worldly goods is twofold, personal comfort and (to procure oblations) for casting into the fire[44] (for sacrificial purposes). The fifth, of the order of various duties. The sixth, of the substitutes for various rites.

[42] The sophism *anupalabdhi-sama* is the trying to establish a fact from the impossibility of perceiving the non-perception of it. For the Nyāya on *pratyakṣha* see Röer, p. 26.

[43] Jacobi in his translation of the Vedānta-Sāra, illustrates "*nitya*" constant rites, such as the Sandhyā prayers and the like, (which) cause ruin if left undone, and *Naimittika*, occasional rites, as the birth-sacrifice following the birth of a son, &c. The prohibited things are the slaying of a Brahmnan, &c., which result in hell: and the "things done with a desire of reward" (*kāmya*) are such as are done to procure heaven.

[44] I have no doubt that the Persian words 'casting into the fire' is a translation of the Sanskrit *homa* which exactly expresses this meaning, that is, the oblations such as butter, &c., which are part of the ceremonial of worship, and the ability to purchase these goods is one of the advantages of wealth. Abul Fazl appears to assume in his readers a general acquaintance with the subjects he expounds, and the half lights under which he displays them, mislead and perplex.

The seventh, of the detail of the ceremonies to be performed which are only briefly described in the Vedas. The eighth is an exposition of dependent rites which are included in the performance of the primary. The ninth, a discussion of the mystic verses specified for a particular case in the sacred book, when quoted in a new connection, and hymns of praise. The tenth, the discussion of dependent rites which are precluded by non-performance of the primary rite. The eleventh discusses the occasion where one act suffices for the fulfilment of two (or more) acts. The twelfth, where the chief purpose of the rite is one only, but has a further reference without express assignment.[45]

VEDANTA.

The founder of this school was *Vyāsa*.[46] The Hindus ascribe extreme longevity to him among nine other persons as follows: Lomasa, Mārkandeya, Vyāsa, Ashwatthāmā,

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[45] This synopsis of the Mimāmsaka treatise is very imperfect and would be unintelligible without the aid of an exact and scientific summary of its contents. Fortunately this is furnished by the *Sarva-Darsana Sangraha* or review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy by Mādhava Achārya, translated by Messrs. Cowell and Gough. This work was composed by the author in the 14th century.

[46] For the Vedānta school, see Hastings, ii. 597-598, i. 137-9 (*advaita*), ii. 796-799 (*brahma*), xi. 185-189 (*Sankara*), besides very many excellent modern works and exact translations. The legendary personage, known as Veda-vyāsa or divider of the Vedas, is represented in the Vishnu Purāna, as an incarnation of Vishnu. He is also the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, known to mortals as Krishna Dwaipāyana, and to the gods as the deity Nārāyana, for none else, but a deity was considered capable of the feat. The name of Bādarāyana is also given to him. The principal tenets of the Vedānta are that God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuation, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. At the consummation all things are resolved into Him. He is sole existent, secondless, entire, sempiternal, infinite, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence and happiness. Individual souls emanate from Him like sparks from a fire and return to Him, being of the same essence. The soul is a portion of the divine substance. Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Ed. Cowell, I. 394 The original Vedānta did not recognise the doctrine of Māyā or illusion.

Hanumant Bāli, Vibhishana, Kripachārya, and Parasurāma, and relate wonderful legends regarding them. [80]

The professors of this important school of philosophy follow the Mimāmsa in the definitions of *padārtha*, and *pramāna* and other points, and accept the teachings of Bhatta, but heaven and hell, rewards and punishments and such other cosmical phenomena, they look on as a delusion under the appearance of reality. In some works there are two predicaments, (1) *drik* (discerning)=*ātman* (soul): (2) *drisya* (the visible creation). They allow of no existence external to God. The world is a delusive appearance, and as a man in sleep sees fanciful shapes, and is affected by a thousand joys and sorrows, so are its seeming realities. One effulgent light conveys a multiplicity of impressions and assumes diversity of names.

The subjects of discussion in this great system are six: *Brahman*, *Iswara*, *Jiva*, (intelligent sentient soul), *Ajnāna* (Ignorance), *Sambandha* (relation), *Bheda*, difference. These six are held to be without beginning, and the first without end.

Brahma is the Supreme Being; and is essential existence and wisdom and also bliss which is termed *ānanda*. These three alone are predicated of the Inscrutable. *Ajnāna*, Ignorance, in opposition to the ancients, is regarded as having a separate existence, and two powers are attributed to it. (1) *vikshepa-sakti*, the power of projection: (2) *āvarana-sakti*, the power of veiling the real nature of things. *Sambandha* is the relation of Ignorance with the first-mentioned. *Bheda* is the disjunction of these two.

It is said that Ignorance in connection with the first is called *Māyā*, or the power of Illusion, and with the second, *avidyā* (nescience).

[81] By the association of Illusion (*māyā*) with the essential sanctity (of Brahma), a definite hypostasis arises which is called *Isvara* in whose omniscience there is no defect.

This Supreme Being in his association with nescience (*avidyā*) is called *jiva* (the soul) and also *jivātmā*, (rational, conscious soul). Knowledge lurks behind the veil of concealment, and the dust of defect falls not on the skirt of the divine majesty. One sect believe that as *avidyā* is one, *jiva* can be only one, and these aver that none has ever attained emancipation. Another sect affirm that as *avidyā* is distributively numerous, so likewise is *jiva;* and that many of the wise have attained that accomplishment of desire which consists in the removal of *ajnāna* (Ignorance) before-mentioned, by right apprehension. *Ajnāna* has three qualities: *sattva* (goodness), which is attended with happiness and the like: *rajas* (foulness or passion), from which spring desire, pain, pleasure, and similar effects: *tamas*, darkness, which is accompanied by anger, dullness, love of ease, and the like. Isvara, in union with *rajas*, takes the name of Brahmā from whom, emanates the appearance of creation. Isvara, in union with *sattva*, becomes Vishnu, whose office is the preservation of the created. Isvara united with *tamas* is Mahādeva, who annihilates what has been created. Thus the chain of creation is linked in these three modes, and all are unreal appearances produced by Ignorance.

Like the ancients they hold the elements to be five, but each is twofold:—(1), *sukshma*, (subtile), imperceptible to the eye which is termed *apanchikrita*, (non-quintuplicated)[17]

[17] Literally "not becoming five by combination," that is, rudimentary. It is thus explained in Jacobi's Vedānta-Sāra. "From Intelligence associated with Ignorance, attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility (*tamas*) abounds, proceeds ether, from ether, air, from air heat, from heat, water and from water, earth. The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them. Then in those elements, ether and the rest, arise the qualities of pleasure, pain and insensibility in the proportion in which they exist in their cause." These are subtile, rudimentary or non-quintuplicated elements. "The gross elements are those made from combining the five (subtile elements).

...Then in ether, sound is manifested, in air, sound and touch, in heat, sound, touch and form, in earth, sound, touch, form, taste

in which the quality of *tamas* is more largely associated: (2), *sthula* (gross), the reverse of the other, and this is named *panchikrita* (quintuplicated). It springs from the greater admixture of foulness, and carried to a greater degree, receives the name of ether, the quality attaching to which is sound, and thus considered, air takes its origin which has the two qualities of sound and touch. From predominance of goodness, fire is generated, from which proceed three qualities, the two former and form. From the greater proportions of goodness and foulness, water is manifested which has four qualities, the three former and savour. From excess of darkness, earth is produced, to which appertain the whole five qualities, *viz.*, the four former and smell.

It is said that through the predominance of goodness, hearing is manifested from ether, tangibility from air, vision from fire, taste from water, and smell from the earth. These five are termed *jnānendriya*, organs of perception. From ether comes the power of utterance termed *vāch*, (speech). From air, the power of the hand (*pāni*) is manifested: from fire, [82] the power of the foot (*pādah*). From water, the power of evacuation, *vāyu*; from earth, urinary discharge, called *upastha* (*tā aidoia*).

In each of the five, foulness is predominant, and they are called *karmendriya*, organs of action.[48] The majority of Hindu philosophers hold to these opinions.

Through the predominance of *sattva* a subtile substance proceeds called *antahkarana* (the interior sense), which under four distinct states, has four separate names. That in which goodness predominates and where the intention of distinguishing and investigating enter, is called *chitta* (thinking-principle). Where foulness (or passion) has more promi-

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and smell." The process of quintuplication is described later by Abul Fazl.

[48] The organs of action are the mouth, hand, foot, arms and organ of generation, the five organ of sense are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin.

nence and doubt arises, it is called *manas*, (mind), and where the proportion of goodness exceeds to such an extent that certainty is attained, it is called *buddhi* (intelligence), and when through excess of darkness, it regards itself and attributes to itself what is extraneous to its own nature, it is called *ahankāra*, egotism or consciousness.

From the non-quintuplicated elements, through the predominance of foulness, five vital airs are generated:—(1), *prāna*, respiration from mouth and nose: (2) *udāna*, breathing upwards from the wind pipe; (3), *samāna* from the stomach: (4), *apāna*, flatulence; (5), *vyāna*, pervading the whole body. The ten organs (of perception and action) with *antahkarana*, (the interior sense) and the five vital airs, sixteen altogether, are called *lingasarira*[49] or *sukshma-sarira* (the subtile frame). Some distinguish *antahkarana*, the internal sense, as two in regard to (*a*) intelligence (*buddhi*) and mind (*manas*), and (*β*) the thinking principle (*chitta*), with egotism (*ahankāra*), and thus make seventeen members.

This body is affirmed to exist in all animals, but by reason of its tenuity is not apprehended by the senses. A living principle is generated which is cognisant of all subtile frames in their entirety, called *Hiranyagarbha*[50] (golden womb, or

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[49] The soul whose desire is fruition is invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the elementary rudiments (non-quintuplicated). The body is propagated by generation and is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, and capable of transmigration through successive bodies which it assumes as a mimic shifts his disguises. It is primeval, produced by original nature at the initial development of principles, and is of atomic size. v. Colebrooke, I. 257-58.

[50] This is the name given to Brahmā (in the masculine gender) the intelligent spirit whose birth was in the Golden mundane egg from which he is thus named. Māyā or the cosmical illusion, is fictitiously associated with Brahma from all-eternity. In the series of æons without beginning or end, the forms of life have at the beginning of each æon emanated in, first Isvara, the unreal figment of the cosmic fiction, unreal to the philosopher, real to the ignorant multitude; secondly Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ, or Prāna, the breath of life, or Sutrātman, the Thread-spirit, which is the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep. His body

fœtus) and all that is generated subsequently is believed to emanate from this immaterial form.

The origin of the gross body is thus described. Each of the (five) subtile elements is divided into moieties, and each of the first five of the ten moieties is subdivided into four equal parts. The remaining (undivided) moiety of subtile ether, combined with one part from each of the other four subtile elements, air, fire, water and earth, produces the coarse or mixed [83] element of ether. The (undivided) moiety of air, combined with one part of ether, fire, water, and earth becomes the mixed element of air. The (undivided) moiety of fire, with one part of ether, water, earth (and air), becomes the mixed element of fire, and so on with water and earth. Others say that the mixed elements of ether and air are formed without the combination of fire, water and earth, but that the mixed elements of fire, water and earth are formed as described. Each of these three is divided into two moieties; one moiety of each is left undivided and the other is divided into three equal parts, which are combined in the manner above stated, and thus these three mixed elements of fire, water, and earth are produced: from these quintuplicated elements, by the predominant combination of one of the threefold qualities (of goodness, foulness and darkness) the fourteen worlds[51] and their inhabitants are brought into existence. It is said, that a living principle is generated, which discerns all gross bodies. This is termed *Virāt.*

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is the sum of invisible bodies, the tenuous *involucra* in which the soul passes from body to body in eternal palingenesia. (Gough, 53-55).

[51] These *lokas* or worlds are Bhur, terrestrial; Bhuvar, the atmospheric sphere from the earth to the sun, Svar-loka, heaven; ten million leagues above is Maharloka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it through a day of Brahmā: at twice that distance is Janaloka where Sanandana and other pure-minded sons of Brahmā reside: at four times the distance is Tapo-loka, the sphere of penance inhabited by deities called Vaibhrājas, who are unconsumable by fire. At six times the distance is Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death. *Vishnu Purāna,* 213. The remaining seven are the nether worlds.

The annihilation of the world is thus described. The earth will be destroyed by water, the water by fire, the fire by air successively, and the air in its turn perishes in ether and ether in Māyā or illusion, and Ignorance (*ajnāna*) with its results rises out of this Unreality. Three degrees of this (dissolution) are described. (1). *Dainandina* (daily), when the (close of) the day of Hiranyagarbha which is the same as that of Brahmā, destroys the greater part of creation.[52] (2). *Prākrita,* (elemental), when all creation is absorbed in *ajnāna* (Ignorance). (3) *Atyantika* (absolute), when Ignorance ends and Right Apprehension sheds its radiance. The first kind has frequently occurred and will recur. The others happen but once, and Ignorance, with the constant recurrence of works and the co-operation of the wise of heart, together with the three principles [*satva, rajas* and *tamas*] before mentioned, will be absorbed into non-existence.

This system of philosophy is laid down in four books. The first contains an account of Brahma: the second removes the (apparent) discrepancies between form and substance: the third is the preparation of the soul for the reception of divine knowledge, and the fourth on the modes, forms, fruit and effect of its attainment.

The Hindu sages have divided the Vedas into three portions. The first is the *karmakānda* (relating to works), the practical section termed *Purva Mimāmsa,* which has been briefly described as the third school. The second is the *jnānakānda,* the speculative section, called also *Uttara Mimāmsā,* celebrated as the Vedānta. The third is the *Upāsanā* (service) [84] which is termed Sankarshana

[52] The destruction of creatures, not of the substance of the world. The incidental or occasional dissolution is termed *naimittika* (see p. 147) of this Vol. It is called incidental as occasioned by the interval of Brahmā's days, the destruction occurring during the night. The elemental occurs at the end of Brahmā's life, and the absolute or final, is individual annihilation and exemption from future existence. *V. P.* 630: *Dainandina-pralaya* is the destruction of the world after 15 years of Brahmā's age. Monier Williams, *Sansk. Dict.*

Mimāmsā. This regards the worship of God under a personal aspect, and is not now extant.

They profess that the study of the Vedānta is not suitable for every person, nor are its mysterious doctrines to be heard by every ear. The inquirer should accurately investigate what is eternal and non-eternal and discarding from his mind belief in the actuality of existence, he should zealously pursue the objects to be attained. He will then be no longer distressed by the annihilation of sense-perceptions, nor be fettered by pain and pleasure; and will gain a daily increasing hope of final liberation.

Sānkhya.

The founder of this philosophical system was Kapila.[53] Some assert that the followers of this school do not believe in God. The fact is, however, that they do not affirm the existence of a creator, and creation is ascribed to Nature (*Prakriti*), and the world is said to be eternal. All that is veiled by non-existence is not believed to be non-existent[54] but the caused is absorbed in the cause, as a tortoise retracts its feet within its shell. They accept the doctrine of freedom of will in actions, and of hell, of heaven, and the recompenses of deeds. With regard to emancipation, they agree with the Mimāmsā. Proof (*pramāna*), is of three kinds.[55] They do not

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[53] For Sānkhya, see Hastings, xi. 189-192, vi. 454, and for Yoga, xii. 831-833. Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, ii. 346. Davies and Colebrooke.

[54] That is, that the existent is produced from the existent only, as the Sānkhyas hold. Thus, cloth is not distinct from the threads as it abides in the latter. "As the limbs of a tortoise when retracted within its shell are concealed, and when they come forth are revealed, so the particular effects as cloth, &c., of a cause, as threads, &c., when they come forth and are revealed, are said to be produced; and when they retire and are concealed, are said to be destroyed: but there is no such thing as the production of the non-existent, or the destruction of the existent." *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*. Cowell, Gough, pp. 225-26, and Colebrooke, I, 266.

[55] Perception, inference, and fit testimony.

believe in the soul (*āman*).[56] Analogy and comparison are not accounted sources of knowledge, nor are time and space, substances, but caused by the motion of the sun. The word *tattva* (first principle) is used in their treatises for *padārtha*, of which there are twenty-five, and these are comprised under four heads. 1. *Prakriti* (Nature), which is evolvent and not evolute. 2. *Prakriti-vikriti* (developments of Nature), evolvent and evolute; these are of seven kinds, *viz.*, *mahat* (the great one, *Buddhi* or Intellect), *ahankāra* (consciousness or egotism), and five *tanmātra* (subtile elements). 3. *Vikriti* (modifications), are evolutes only, and are not more than sixteen, namely the eleven *indriya*—(five senses, five organs of action and *manas*) and the five gross elements (ether, air, light or fire, earth and water). 4. The fourth is neither Nature, nor modification, nor evolvent nor evolute, and is called *Purusha*, that is *Atman*, the soul.

The first of the principles above-mentioned is primordial matter, *ilei*, which is universal, indiscrete, and possessing the modes of goodness, passion and darkness. The fourth is viewed under two aspects, (*a*) the Supreme Being, as absolute existence and knowledge,[57] (*b*) the rational soul, omnipresent, eternal and multitudinous. By the union of the first and fourth, existence and non-existence come into being. Nature is said to be blind. It has not the power of vision nor of perception but only that of flux and reflux and the soul is

[56] It exists as pure inward light without any instrumentation by which it can become cognisant of the external world. This has been supplied, but it is foreign to the soul and as objective to it as any form of matter. Like Kant, the Sānkhyas hold that there is no knowledge of an external world save as represented by the action of our faculties to the soul, and they take as granted the objective reality of our sense-perceptions. The soul is different in kind from all material things, and will be finally severed from them by an eternal separation. It will then have no object and no function of thought, and will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose. v. Davies, pp. 18-20.

[57] The theistical Sānkhya, as opposed to the system of Kapila, understands by *Purusha*, not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Isvara*) the ruler of the world. Colebrooke, I. 256.

regarded as a man without feet. When the two conjoin, [85] the renewal and destruction of life come into successive operation. At the time of elemental dissolution, the three modes (of goodness, passion and darkness) are in equipoise. When the time of creation arrives, the mode of goodness preponderates, and *Mahat* (Intellect) is revealed, and this is considered the first emanation, and it is separate for every human creature. It is also called *Buddhi,* and is a substance, and the primary seat of eight states or qualities, *viz.*, virtue, vice, knowledge, ignorance, absence of passion or passivity (*virāga*), from which springs perception of the nothingness of worldly things, and indifference; *avirāga* its opposite: *aisvarya,* supernatural power acquired through austerities, and acts that seem incredible or impossible to human vision, of which eight kinds are given in the Pātanjala system: *anaisvarya* its opposite. Four of the above positive states arise from the predominance of the mode of goodness and the other four from that of darkness. From *Mahat* (Intellect),[58] proceeds consciousness (*ahankāra*). It is the principle of egotism and is the reference of every thing to self. In *Mahat* (intellect), when the mode, goodness predominates, it is called *vaikrita ahankāra,* modified consciousness. If under the influence of the mode, darkness, it is called *bhutadi ahankāra* (source of elemental being). If passion is in the ascendant, it becomes *taijasa ahankāra* or impellent consciousness. From the first kind of consciousness, the eleven organs proceed, six of sense (including *manas*) and five of action, as before described. From the second, the five *tanmātra* (subtile elements), sound, tangibility, colour or form, savour and odour. These are regarded in this system as subtile substances from which the five gross elements take their rise: from sound, ether; from tangibility, air; from form, fire; from savour, water, and from odour, earth.

[58] That is, not the exaltation but the predominance of self in thought to the supreme conviction of the sole subjective personality of the thinker. v. Davies and Colebrooke.

From this exposition it is clear that the seven substances mentioned (intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements) are on the one hand evolvents, and on the other evolutes, and the sixteen, that is, the eleven organs and the five gross elements, are evolutes. The soul (*ātman*) is considered neither evolvent nor evolute. The five senses are held to be organs of perception, and *manas* discriminates between advantage and detriment. Consciousness cognizes itself by act or the omission of act, and intellect determines one or the other. From the five gross elements, other productions are evolved, but as *tattvas*, are incapable of further creations, causality is not attributed to them.

The elemental order of creation is sixfold:—(1) *svarga-loka*, the world above, in the constitution of which goodness prevails: (2) *mrityu-loka*, (world of death), the abode of men, in which foulness or passion predominates: *pātāla-loka*, the world beneath, in which darkness is prevalent: *devatā* (superior order of being) in which the element of goodness is predominant. [86] Through their extraordinary power they can appear in divers shapes, and assume astonishing appearances, and from the transparency of their essence their true forms are invisible to the sight. There are eight orders of these:—(1) *Brāhmya*, blessed spirits, that inhabit the abode of *Brahmā*. (2) *Prājāpatya*: *Prajāpati* is the name of a great divinity to whom is assigned a sphere, and those that dwell therein are thus styled. (3) *Aindra*: *Indra* is the regent of the heavens, to whom a sphere is likewise referrible, and its dwellers are thus denominated. (4) *Paitra*:[59] the belief of the Hindu sage is that each individual's progenitors that have died after a life of good works, will receive celestial shapes and enjoy their recompense in a special abode. The *devatās* therein, are called by this name. (5) *Gāndharva*: this is said to be a sphere where the heavenly choristers reside. (6) *Yākshā*: in this sphere the *Yakshas* dwell; they are great

[59] Relating or consecrated to the Manes, Sanskrit *pitarah*

ministering spirits, the guardian of the north. (7) *Rākshasa*, is a sphere inhabited by the *Rākshasas*, who are the malignant fiends of these orders and who slay men. (8) *Pisācha*: by this name an order of beings is defined who are characterized by an evil nature and perverted intelligence. They are less powerful than the *Rākshasas*, and are assigned a special sphere, and extraordinary legends are related of each of these orders.[60]

The Animal creation (*tiryagyonya*)[61] is one in which the mode *rajas* (passion or foulness), prevailed at its production and is of five kinds:—(1) *pasu*, domestic animals: (2) *mriga*, wild animals: (3) *pakshi*, birds: (4) *sarisripa*, creeping things applied to the different reptiles and fishes: (5) *sthāvara*, the vegetable kingdom. *Mānushya*, man, was produced through excess of the quality of passion. The general opinion adopts this division and belief. At the dissolution of the world, these creations perish with the five elements, and the elements are absorbed in the five *tanmātras* (rudimentary elements) which again are veiled in egotism (*ahankāra*), and this in turn is absorbed in the secret recesses of *mahat*, intellect, which is (finally) lost in the pure depths of *Prakriti* (Nature).

Pain is of three kinds:—(1) *ādhyātmika*, intrinsic pain, both bodily and mental: [87] (2) *ādhidaivika*, supernatural pain or calamity from a divine source, and (3) *ādhibhautika*, extrinsic pain arising from the natural source of the elements. *Bandha*, bondage, is the source of all that fetters the spirit and debars it from emancipation.

Prākritika signifies one who holds Nature (*Prakriti*), in place of God. *Vaikritika* is one who from ignorance assumes the eleven organs (of action and sense), (*indriya*) to be the Supreme Being. *Dakshina* (religious offerings or oblations

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[60] An account of these various orders will be found in the Vishnu Purāna.

[61] This was the fifth or animal creation. The compound is derived from the Sanskrit *tiryak*, crooked or horizontal, applied to an animal (as not erect) and *yoni*, womb, or source.

in general) implies the being attached to the performance of works and believing them to be the ultimate aim of spirituality.

They affirm that he whose mind is concentrated upon one object (of contemplation) and the fruition of the celestial abode, if the subject of his absorption be the first-mentioned and his thoughts be thus continuously applied in efficacious devotion, he attains to the enjoyment of bliss in the sphere above for a hundred thousand *manvantaras*,[62] after which he returns to this world; in the organs of sense and action (*indriya*), during ten *manvantaras*, in the elements during one hundred, in consciousness (*ahankāra*), during one thousand, and in intellect (*mahat*), during ten thousand, he enjoys the fruition of heavenly delights; after which term he reverts to this earth. A *manvantara* is one and seventy enumerations of the four ages.[63] For each good action a period of heavenly bliss is allotted: for instance, he who gives to a Brahman sufficient ground for the erection of a house, will be recompensed by ten *kalpas* in heaven, a *kalpa* being equivalent to four *yugas*. He who bestows a thousand cows in charity, passes one *kror* and 14,000 *kalpas* in paradise, and after numerous alterations of earth and heaven, the severance between nature (*Prakriti*) and the soul (*Purusha*) is evolved before the vision, and right apprehension arises. This is the

[62] 12,000 years of the gods or 4,320,000 mortals.

[63] Thus the Krita Yuga 4,800
Tretā ,, 3,600
Dvāpara ,, 2,400
Kali ,, 1,200

12,000 years of the gods.

By multiplying each of the above by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, the total is 4,320,000 for a Mahā-yuga or great age: this multiplied by 71 = 306,720,000. According to the Vishnu Purāna there is a surplus which Wilson shows to be the number of years required to reconcile two computations of the Kalpa. The later is equal to 1,000 great ages or 4,320,000 × 1,000 = 4,320,000,000. But a day of Brahmā is also 71 times a Great Age, multiplied by 14: or 4,320,000 × 71 × 14 = 4,294,080,000 or less than the preceding by 25,920,000 and it is to make up this deficiency that an addition is made to the computation by *manvantras*. See the *V. P.*, p. 24, n. 6. Abul Fazl makes a *Kalpa* to consist of four *Yugas* only.

goal of emancipation and the renewal of embodiments ceases for ever.

This school also like that of the Vedānta, recognises two kinds of body, the *linga sarira*, or subtile frame, consisting of eighteen members, *viz.*, the eleven organs of action and sense with *manas*, the five subtile elements, with intellect and consciousness. The other is the *sthula sarira* or gross body, and death signifies the divulsion of the one from the other, the subtile frame continuing till final liberation.

The subjects of this system are treated in sixty *tantras* which like the term *adhyāya* is used for division or chapter.

The first treats of the existence of Nature and the soul; the second describes Nature as one: the third shows the distinction between the soul and Nature: the fourth, that there is no effect without a cause: the fifth that Nature exists as the root-evolvent of all other forms: the sixth, that all evolved action must be associated with one of the three qualities; [88] the seventh, that the separation of the soul from Nature is attained through perfect knowledge: the eighth, the association of these two with Ignorance: the ninth, that in the light of perfect knowledge when Nature ceases from alterations of embodiment, if for a time the elemental form should continue to endure, it is solely through the residuum of ignorance otherwise it would also perish: the tenth, that causality lies in Nature and not in the soul, and it treats of the five states of the five afflictions (*klesa*), *viz.*, ignorance, egotism, desire, aversion and ardent attachment to life, as briefly alluded to in the Pātanjala school. Twenty-eight topics treat of the defect of the twenty-eight faculties of the eleven *indriya*, and the seventeen injuries of Intellect. Nine topics treat of the nine distinctions of acquiescence (*tushti*):—(1) *Prakriti-tushti*, (relating to matter), concentration of thought on Nature and contemplation thereof, in the belief that Nature will increase knowledge and sever the soul from itself: (2) *Upādāna-tushti* (relating to means), the knowledge that Nature of itself will

solve no difficulty, and that until the heart is detached from all objects, the end is not attainable: (3) *Kālatushti*, (relating to time), the notion that all desires are fulfilled by the passing away of time, upon which therefore, the mind should be fixed while the heart is detached: (4) *Bhāgya-tushti* (relating to fortune); in the knowledge that to the many the world passes away and effects nothing, to understand that the solution of difficulties rests with fortune and to turn thereunto freeing the mind from all other attachment; (5) *Pāra-tushti*, withdrawal from all worldly unsubstantial pleasures in the assurance that thousands have sought them with pain and profited nothing thereby, and hence to abandon their pursuit: (6) *supāra-tushti*, to detach the heart from personal possessions, in the view that they have no stability, since tyrants may take them by force, and thieves may by cunning, steal; (7) *Pārāpāra-tushti*, abstinence from pleasures of sense with the knowledge that even if followed by personal gratification, they must cease, and to such as these, attachment is vain: (2) *Anuttamāmbhas-tushti*, detachment from all enjoyments, from consciousness of pain in their loss: (9) *Uttamāmbhas-tushti*, detachment from pleasure with the motive of avoiding injury to others.[64]

Eight *tantras* or topics treat of the eight perfections (*siddhi*): (1) *uha-siddhi* (reasoning), without the necessity of reading to understand a subject by the light of reason: (2) *sabda siddhi* (oral instruction), without need of teaching, to understand by the mere hearing of the words: [89] (3) *adhyayana-siddhi* (study), becoming wise by the perception of truths: (4) *suhridprāpti-siddhi*, attaining knowledge by intercourse of friends: (5) *dāna-siddhi*, (*gift*), serving one who accepts an invitation to a repast, or the bestowal of a gift

[64] Three kinds of prevention of pain which would make up the eight, have been for some reason omitted by Abul Fazl, and he has accounted for only fifty-five out of the sixty topics. The remainder are partly included in those mentioned, and may be seen in Colebooke, and in Dr. Garbe s translation of Aniruddha's Commentary.

on him, and manifesting a desire of knowledge and success in obtaining it.

PATANJALA.

The founder of this system was the sage Patanjali.[65]

With regard to the predicaments and the nature of proof and other points, he follows the Sānkhya, but he acknowledges a Supreme Being whom he holds to be absolute existence and intelligence. The creation[66] of the five subtile elements (*tanmātra*), he believes to proceed directly from intellect (*mahat*) without the intermediate agency of *ahankāra* (conciousness). From *vaikrita ahankāra* (modified consciousness), when the mode of goodness prevails, the five external senses are produced, and from *taijasa ahankāra,* (ardent consciousness), when the mode of passion is predominant, the five organs of action (*karmendriya*) arise, and from the combined

[65] For Patanjali, see Hastings, ix. 670, and for *Yoga sutra* also vii. 565. The *Yoga sutra* has been translated into English with a commentary, by Dr. R. L. Mitra. The accounts of this philosopher and grammarian are like those of the founders of the preceding systems, meagre and legendary. The period in which he flourished is disputed. But though the antiquity of the system is undoubted, it is not the case with the text-books which are, of all the systems, of later date than Buddha. The Yoga Sutra takes for granted the twenty-five categories of the Sānkhya as the basis of its doctrine and copies some of its aphorisms *verbatim*. I have previously mentioned the common references to each other of the text-books of the other schools. The cardinal difference between the Sānkhya and the Yoga lies in their theistic and atheistic belief, and hence, it is that the Hindus call the Yoga the *Sesvara Sānkhya* or theistical, as opposed to the atheistical or *Nirisvara Sānkhya*.

[66] The punctuation in the text is incorrect and misleading and must be altered in accordance with the translation. The physical substratum of consciousness is affected by the modes like every other emanation of Prakriti. From the influence of goodness', it produces the ten organs and the *manas* which are called 'good', because of their utility: but it is only when affected by the mode 'darkness' that inanimate matter is created. The passion-mode, (*taijasa*) ardent or glowing, being the exciting mode, must co-operate in the production of all. Davies, p. 60. The Supreme Being with this system is a soul untouched by affliction, action, fruit or stock of desert, who of his own will assumed a body to create. *Sarva Dorsana Sangraha.* He facilitates according to Dr. Mitra the attainment of liberation, but does not directly grant it and though the creator of the world is absolutely unconnected with it.

influence of goodness and passion springs *manas* or mind. They believe that the subtile frame (*sukshma sarira*) is subject to extinction, but receives new birth when another body is produced until final liberation is accomplished. But this is not attained without Yoga which is the cardinal doctrine of this attractive system. The thinking principle, *Chitta*,[67] is the substrate of *manas*. *Vritti* (function), is the action of *manas* in the acquisition of good and evil qualities. *Nirodha* (suppression) is the restraint of those functions in action and the attainment of quiescence. Yoga or meditation is then secured when the root of desire is obstructed from advance. Certain means to this end are laid down, and I here make a brief abstract in the hope that it may prove of value to the heart-stricken in the path of search. It is said that through the union with *Mahat* (Intellect) of *manas* and the three qualities, five conditions or states of the thinking principle arise which are called the five stages (*bhumi*). These are, (1) *kshipta*, (restless activity), the heart from the predominance of passion being never at rest: (2) *mudha* (bewildered), from excess of darkness, being quiescent without attaining the object sought: (3) *vikshipta* (voluptuousness), from excess of the quality of goodness, the goal is reached and a certain repose is secured, but through excess of passion (*rajas*), this is not lasting, and the mind becomes dissipated: (4) *Ekāgra* (concentration), through excess of goodness, power is obtained to keep the mind from wandering from the subject of meditation: (5) *Niruddha* (the suppressive state) is a condition in which by dissolution of the three qualities, the mental *residua* (*anamneisis*) of active volition are effaced and (those of) the quiescent or suppressive state arise.[68]

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[67] This is the same as the Sānkhya *mahat* and the Buddhist *buddhi*, or what Schopenhauer understands by Will, the absolute existence from which primordial root all organic and inorganic being proceed.

[68] I read *numaid* for *namānd*. The definition of the suppressive state seems to apply to what is called "suppressive modification" (*nirodhaparināma*) thus defined by the Parichchheda Bhāshya: "the

Under the first three conditions, Yoga or meditation, is rarely obtained. They assert that under the first condition *manas* is the recipient of unrighteousness: [90] under the second, of ignorance; under the third, of sensuousness (*avirāga*) and impotence (*anaisvarya*); under the fourth, of virtue, (*dharma*), absence of passion (*virāga*), and supernatural power (*aisvarya*); and under the fifth, the *residua* of good and evil are suppressed and functions (*vritti*), are dissolved. These latter are of two kinds, *klishti* (painful), tendency to evil works, and *aklishti*, tendency to good works and each according to its good or evil tendency is five-fold. (1) *Pramāna-vritti* (right notion); perception of things by proof is attained through prevalence of *sattva* (goodness); (2) *viparyaya*, (misconception) arises from prevalence of goodness and darkness. If this abides in the person forming a definite conclusion it is called *vipariti*, (perverted) but if he be in uncertainty whether a thing be itself or some thing else, it is called *sansaya*, doubt; (3) *vikalpa* (fancy),[69] ambiguity regarding a thing, arising from goodness and darkness; (4) *nidrā* (sleep), the state of sleep arising from excess of darkness in which consciousness is lost.[70] The opinion of other Hindu philosophers is

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residua of the waking state are the attributes of the thinking principle, but they are not intelligent. The *residua* of suppression produced by the intelligence of the suppressive state, are also the attributes of the thinking principle. On the overthrow and success (prevalence) of the two, the *residua* of the waking state are put down and those of the suppressive state rise up, and there is then a correlation of the thinking principle, and the changes thus constantly occurring in a thinking principle is suppressive modification." Dr. Mitra deserves, "The theory is, that every image, shape, or idea exists from eternity in a latent form, circumstances make it manifest, and when those circumstances are over it *reverts* to its former condition." This is in fact that Platanic notion of ideas, and their objective reality either *ante rem* as eternal archetypes in the divine intelligence or *in re*, as forms inherent in matter. This formed in the 12th century, the Realist side of the controversy with Plato and Aristotle, against the Nominalists with Zeno.

[69] "A notion without reference to the real character of the object." Dr. Mitra.

[70] The aphorism is, "sleep is that function (of the thinking principle) which has for its object the conception of nothing": that

that the mind is withdrawn from its peculiar association with the senses; (5) *smriti* (memory), is the recovery through the influence of goodness of what has passed from the mind. In the fourth state, the second, third and fourth functions cease and in the fifth, the first and fifth are dissolved and final liberation is attained.

Although this sublime contingency does not occur save by prosperous fortune and the divine favour, yet the sagacity of the experienced base its acquisition on twelve principles.

I. Meditation on the divinity (*Isvara-upāsanā*), that is, to illuminate the interior spirit by constant thought of God and to be conscious of its freedom from four things, afflictions, works, deserts, desires. *Klesa* (affliction) signifies the sum of grief and pain, and this is five-fold: (1) *avidyā*, ignorance of the reality of things: (2) *asmitā* (egotism), conceiving oneself to possess that which one has not: (3) *rāga*, desire for one's own gratification: (4) *dvesha*, aversion, or anger: (5) *abhinivesa* (ardent attachment to life), fear of death. *Karma* (works), signifies merit and demerit (from works). *Vipāka*, (deserts), the recompense of actions. *Asaya*, thought regarding merits and demerits which after effacement may recur.

[91] Those who have reached the goal in this path, assert that assiduous meditation on God after this manner, annihilates all evil propensities and exterminates nine depredators of the road. These are (1) *vyādhi, sickness*: (2) *styāna* (langour), indisposition (of the thinking principle) to efficacious work: (3) *sansaya*, doubt regarding the (practicable) means of meditation and its results: (4) *pramāda* (carelessness), forgetfulness of the duties of meditation: (5) *ālasya*, slothfulness in the performance of these duties; (6) *avirati*, (worldly mindedness), propensity (of the thinking principle) to enjoy the pleasures of the world: (7) *bhrānti-darsana*, error in per-

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this is a function of the thinking principle and not a mere blank is said to be proved by our recollection on arising from sleep of having slept well which could not happen without a consciousness of it. *Yoga Aph.*, 12.

ception, (such as mistaking mother of pearl for silver): (8) *alabdha-bhumikatva,* (non-attainment of any stage), the non-attainment of the fourth out of the five states: (9) *anavasthitatva* (instability), not abiding in the fourth stage and receding from it.

II. *Sraddhā,* (inclination), zeal in following the Yoga and making it the sum of desire.

III. *Virya* (energy), seeking the fulfilment of the object sought with much eagerness.

IV. *Smriti* (memory), retaining in view the transcendent advantages and great results of this devotion, and never relaxing attention.

V. *Maitri* (friendliness), desiring the welfare of humanity.

VI. *Karunā,* (compassion), being distressed at the sorrows and affliction of mankind, and resolving to relieve them.

VII. *Muditā,* (gladness), being pleased in the happiness of others.

VIII. *Upekshā,* (indifference), avoiding the wrong-doer lest evil principles be acquired, and yet not entertaining malevolence nor rebuking him.[71]

[92] IX. *Samādhi,* (meditation), unity of intention and contemplation of one object.

X. *Prajnā* (discernment), allowing only understanding, rectitude, and the search after truth to enter the mind.

XI. *Vairāgya,* (dispassion), is of various kinds, its ultimate stage being detachment from all, and contentment with only the Supreme Being.

XII. *Abhyāsa* (exercise), being unintermittingly assi-

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[71] This indifference is to be acquired both as to pleasure and pain, by friendliness towards the happy, compassionating the sorrowful, being content with the virtuous and neither encouraging nor reproving the vicious. This condition of mind facilitates the meditation called Samādhi, in its external aspect by removing distractions, and producing concentration, through cheerfulness of mind.

duous in the control of knowledge and action till this (steadfastness) becomes habitual.

In the works on this system, *Isvara-upāsanā*, *vairāgya* and *abhyāsa* are treated together: five separate expositions are allotted to *virya*, *sraddhā*, *smriti*, *samādhi* and *prajna*, and the four following *maitri*, *karunā*, *muditā* and *upekshā* are likewise separately discussed. They have all been concurrently reviewed in this work.

In this field of philosophy, Yoga is regarded as two-fold, (1) *samprajnāta-samādhi* (conscious meditation), directing the easily distracted mind to one object and gradual concentration on the ideal conception of the Divine Being; and (2) *asamprajnāta* (unconscious meditation), in which this ideal conception of the divinity ceases, and absorption in unitive communion with its essence is obtained. The first is of three kinds, (1) *Grāhya-samāpatti* (Tangible Forms), meditation on one of the five gross elements. With regard to the gross and subtile elements it is two-fold. The latter is termed *vitarkānugati*, (attendant argumentation) and the former *vichārānugati*, (attendant deliberation). *Vitarkānugati* is of two kinds; *savitarka* (argumentative meditation), when the cogitation is regarding the relation of words to their meanings, and *nirvitarka* (non-argumentative), when it is independent of this relation. *Vichārānugati* is cogitation on one of the eight principles, *viz.*, nature, intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements. If the element be considered in its relation to time and space, it is called *savichāra* (deliberative), and if otherwise *nirvichāra* (non-deliberative).

II. *Grahana-samāpatti* (Acceptance Form), is cogitation on one of the organs of sense which with reference to time, space, and cause is termed *savitarka*, and if in regard to the inherent meaning only, *vitarka*, and [93] both kinds are called *Sānanda* (joyous).[72]

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[72] The commentator explains that when the quality of goodness of the internal organ, tinctured with a little of the qualities of foul-

III. *Grihitri-samāpatti* (Form of the taker). In this stage the votary withdraws himself from all other pre-occupation, and is merged in the single contemplation of the Supreme Soul. This also in relation to time and space receives the two names above-mentioned, and both kinds are termed *Asmitā* (Egotism).

Asamprajnāta is two-fold :—(1) *Bhavapratyaya* (caused by the world), not distinguishing Nature from the soul, nor holding it to be separate from the elements or the organs of action and sense. If Nature is cognized as soul, this meditative state is called *Prakritilaya* (resolved into nature), and if the elements and organs be so cognized, it is termed *videha*, (unembodied). (2) *Upāya-pratyaya* (means of ascertainment); by good fortune and a happy destiny, under the guidance of the twelve principles above-mentioned, the cognition of the soul is attained and the fruition of bliss secured at the desired goal where final emancipation presents itself to view.

The devotees of the Yoga practice are of four classes. The first, called *Prāthama kalpika*, (entering upon the course) is he who with firm resolve and steadfast foot enters upon this waste of mortification. The second, *Madhubhumika* (in the honey-stage), is he who by mortification of the senses and right conduct, effaces rust from the mirror of the heart to such degree that he can divine the reflections in another's mind and see whatever from its minuteness is imperceptible to others. The third, *Prajnājyotis* (illuminated), by happy fortune and zealous endeavour subdues the organs of sense and the elements, and the far and the near, with reference to sight and hearing, &c., become relatively the same to him, and he acquires power to create and destroy. The fourth, *Atikrānta bhāvaniya* (attaining the highest dispassion), is one to whom the past becomes present.

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ness and darkness, is pondered, then consciousness being under the influence of goodness, becomes *Sānanda* or joyous. *Yoga Aphorisms*, p. 18.

It is said that conscious meditation consists of eight particulars and these are, as it were, intrinsic parts thereof, in contradistinction to the twelve principles which are accounted extrinsic means. They are called *Ashtānga-Yoga* (meditation on eight particular parts of the body). [94] These are:— (1) *Yama*, (2) *Niyama*, (3) *Asana*, (4) *Prānāyāma*, (5) *Pratyāhāra*, (6) *Dhārana*, (7) *Dhyāna*, (8) *Samādhi*.

Yama, restraint, is five-fold:—(1) *Ahinsā* (non-slaughter), avoiding destruction of life and injury (to others). When this habit is formed, in a devotee, enemies are conciliated: (2) *Satya* (veracity) is the habitual practice of speaking the truth, and thus securing acceptance of his desires[73]: (3) *Asteya*, (non-theft), the non-appropriation of goods beyond what is customarily permitted: the keys of the world's treasures are entrusted to the observer of this principle: (4) *Brahmacharya* (continence), to abtain from women, by which means the ignorant will be able to light the lamp of knowledge from the inspired efficacy of his will. (5) *Aparigraha* (non-avarice), retaining nothing of worldly goods which, being regarded as the capital source of pain, should be abandoned and by this the future will be revealed.

Niyama (obligation), is also five-fold:—(1) *Saucha* (purification), internal and external purity, avoiding association with men, and acquiring self-control; (by this means) the mind is rendered essentially stainless, commendable desires bear fruit, and the fourth state is reached: (2) *Santosha* (contentedness), desisting from improper desires and being satisfied with the fulfilment of this excellent devotion. Happiness is thus obtained and worldly pleasures have no relish: (3) *Tapas*, (penance), mortification of the spirit and body and enduring heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and silence, until all five afflictions are effaced from the tablet of the mind. Through this practice the votary gains the faculty of seeing

[73] Another reading runs and thus desires cease to be inclined to evil.'

things distant, concealed or minute and can assume any form at will. (4) *Svādhyāya* (sacred study), repetition of the names of the deity, and recounting his attributes and all that is condusive to liberation. If there is inability to read, then by the constant repetition of the word *Omkāra*,[74] the deities and other celestial spirits associate with him and vouchsafe him their assistance. [95] (5) *Isvara pranidhāna* (devotion to God), is absolute resignation to the will of God; by this means various faculties of knowledge are acquired and illumination regarding all the degrees of perfection is attained.

Asana (posture), signifies sitting. The austere recluses of this temple of retirement, give the number of these as eighty-four, of which thirteen are esteemed the most efficacious, and each has a special mode and a separate name. Under their influence, cold, heat, hunger and thirst are little felt. Some learned Hindu authorities reckon the same number of sitting attitudes for those who are still attached to worldly concerns but of a different kind. The writer of these pages who has witnessed many of these postures, has gazed in astonishment, wondering how any human being could subject his muscles, tendons and bones in this manner to his will.

Prānāyāma, regulation of the breath at will, is threefold :—(1) *Puraka* (inspiration), drawing in the breath by the nose in the following manner: with the thumb of the right hand let the left nostril be closed and the breath slowly inspired by the right nostril. (2) *Kumbhaka*[75] (suspension),

[74] The abbrevivated form of this ejaculatory prayer, *Om*, is a combination of three letters a, u, m, invested with a peculiar sanctity. According to Wilson (*Vish. Pur.*) it is typical of the three spheres of the world, the three steps of Vishnu, &c., and in the Vedas is said to comprehend all the gods, and one text of the Vedas, "Om, the monosyllable Brahma," is cited in the *Vāyu Purāna*, which devotes a whole chapter to this term, as signifying by the latter word, either the Supreme Being or the Vedas collectively, of which the monosyllable is the type.

[75] This term is derived from *kumbha*, a jar, because the vital air at that time remains quiescent as water in a jar. Hastings, *Ency.* ix. 490-492, long discussion of *Om*.

to retain the breath within and to make as long an inspiration as possible closing both nostrils with the thumb and little finger of the right hand. The ascetics of this country can so hold their breath that they will breathe but once in twelve years. (3) *Rechaka* (expiration), letting out the drawn breath, very gradually, with the thumb pressed below the right nostril and removing the little finger from the left nostril, suffering it to escape. In short, to inspire with the right and expire with the left nostril. These three functions constitute the *Prānāyāma*. It is said that the breath extends as far as sixteen fingers from the nose, and some say twelve. By this operation the mind is quiescent, and perfect knowledge is obtained; but this is secured only through the assistance of an experienced master of this knowledge.

At this time the devotee should abstain from meat, hot spices and acid and saline food, and be content with a little milk and rice. He must also avoid the society of women lest his brain be distracted and melancholy ensue.

Pratyāhāra (abstraction), is the withdrawal of the five senses from their respective objects of perception. When the mind is quiescent, these perforce cannot escape. Thus objects may present themselves before him without exciting desire.

Dhārana (steadiness), is the confinement of the thinking principle to one place, such as the navel, the crown of the head, between the eyebrows, the point of the nose, or the tip of the tongue.

Dhyāna (contemplation), is uninterrupted reflection on what is before the mind, and the absence of every thing but the object, the thought, and the thinking principle of the individual contemplating.

[96] *Samādhi* (meditation);[76] in this the thinker and the consciousness of thought are both effaced. At this stage the

[76] This is a more advanced stage of contemplation than *Dhyāna* in which the ideas of objects other than the one in view are suppressed, but not altogether effaced. In *samādhi* the effacement

degrees of conscious meditation are surmounted and unconscious meditation begins, till perfect knowledge is attained and Yoga is finally reached. This condition is called *Samādhi.*

The first and second of these eight processes are likened to the sowing of seed in a field: the third and fourth are as the commencement of growth: the fifth is the flower: the sixth, seventh and eighth are regarded as the stages of fructification.

The last-named three-fold acts are termed *Sanyama.*[77] At this period, the most extraordinary powers are witnessed in the adept which astonish the beholder.

The occult powers are termed *Aisvarya* and are eight in number.

(1) *Animā* (molecularity), the power of minute disintegration so as to pass through the tissues of a diamond. (2) *Mahimā* (illimitability), capacity of prolongation so as to touch the moon. (3) *Laghimā* (tenuity), to possess such extreme levity as to ascend to the upper regions on a beam of light. (4) *Garimā* (gravity) to acquire illimitable ponderosity. In some works the word *Prāpti* (accessibility), is used for the fourth term, and signifies to reach to any point at will. (5) *Prākamya* (irresistible will), to sink into the earth and to rise up elsewhere as if in water. (6) *Isitva* (sovereignty), the power of creating or destroying. (7) *Vasitva* (subjugation), to command the elements and their products. (8) *Kāmāvasāyitva* (self-control), the fulfilment of every wish.

Although this language may seem incredible in the eyes of those affected by the taint of narrow custom, those who

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is complete, and thinking merges into thought which is the sole residuum. The body is then in a state of catalepsy or trance, and is not influenced by external objects: *Yoga Aph.*, p. 124.

[77] The word is derived from the intensive particle *sam* prefixed to *yama*, restraint, and means vow, binding or confinement, and indicates three means of accomplishing the Yoga. *Yoga Aph.*, p. 125.

acknowledge the wonderful power of God will find in it no cause of astonishment.

The doctrines of this great system are comprised in one *Adhyāya* or section, divided into four *charana,* (feet or) chapters. The first is an exposition of the nature of Yoga meditation. The second on the means of its acquirement. The third, on the wonders of the occult powers. The fourth on the liberation of the soul.

CHAPTER V

JAINA

[97] The founder of this wonderful system was Jina, called also Arhat[1] or Arhant. With regard to the Supreme Being, and the doctrines of voluntary actions, rewards, punishments, hell and heaven, they follow the Mimāmsā and the Sānkhya. In *Svar-loka* twenty-six degrees are assigned to the last mentioned abode (heaven) in three groups of twelve, nine and five, in the highest of which dwell the most perfect among the chosen of God. Bodies are believed to be compounded of indivisible atoms. The four elements are composed of homogeneous atoms, and the substrate of each element is different. The world regarded in its atoms is eternal, but non-eternal in its form. Existence takes place on the union of five principles:—(1) *Niyata* (crude matter) potentiality of cause. (2) *Kāla*, determinate time. (3) *Svabhāva*

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[1] For the Jaina philosophy, Hastings, vii. 465-574, x. 493-495 (purification), and xii. 799-80: (worship). The Jains take this name from the term Jina, a deified Saint, a being worthy of universal adoration and having subdued all passions, equivalent to Arhat, Jinesvara, Tirthankara and other synonyms of this incarnate being. Colebrooke (*Essay*, II, 171) mentions 24 Jinas or Arhats, who have appeared in the present Avasarpini age. The most celebrated of the Jinas, was Pārsvanatha of the race of Ikshwāku, and is thought by Colebrooke and Lassen to be the real founder of the sect. The last Jina, was Vardhamāna, named also Vira, Mahāvira &c. His life and institutions form the subject of the Kalpa Sutra translated both by Stevenson (very faultily according to Weber), and Jacobi. They deny with the Bauddhas or Saugatas, the divine authority, of the Vedas, and admit like the Sānkhya philosophy, the eternity of matter and the perpetuity of the world. Their avoidance of injury to life is wellknown. Like the Buddhists they are divided into a clerical body, *Yatis* or ascetics, and laity, *Sravakas*, (hearers) and observe the rules of caste without attaching any religious significance to it.

Hermann Jacobi in his preface to the *Jaina Sutras*, with Colebrooke and Stevenson asserts the independent rise of the Jaina creed against the combined authority of Lassen, Wilson, Weber and Barth, who derive it from Buddhism. This point is discussed in Hastings, *Ency.*, ii, 495-496.

inherent nature. (4) *Atmā* the rational soul. (5) *Purvakrita*, the result of good and evil in former births. Some Hindu philosophers ascribe the creation to God, some to Time, and others to the results of actions, and others again to inherent nature (*svabhāba*). Their belief is that the whole universe will not perish, but that some of every kind will survive from the whirlwind of non-existence whence creation will be renewed.

This sect allow only two predicaments:—*Pramāna* (proof) and *Prameya* (objects of thought). The first of these is two-fold:—(1) *Pratyaksha*, perception by the five external senses, and by the mind and the soul. The Nyāya, applies this term to the means by which perfect knowledge is obtained. (2) *Paroksha* (imperceptibility), knowledge obtained not mediately through the senses.

Pratyaksha (perception) is two-fold. (1) *Vyāvahārika* (conventional, or practical): this is acquired by the five senses and *manas*, is employed in external affairs, and called *mati-jnāna* (mind-knowledge). This is also two-fold, namely, that which (α) is apprehended through the five senses, and (β) apprehended through *manas* (mind), which this sect does not include among the five senses; and each of these two again is four-fold: (1) *Avagraha*, distinguishing from the type whether it be horse or man but not discerning the characteristics: (2) *Iha* inquiring, as to whence the man, and from what country the horse: (3) *Avāya* arriving at a correct identification of the above: [98] (4) *Dhārana*, recollecting the thing particularised and keeping it in mind. (II) *Pāramārthika* (transcendental), knowledge that comes from the illumination of the rational soul and is profitable to emancipation. It is two-fold: *viz.* *Vikala* (defective), knowing some thing and not knowing some other: and *Sakala*, (entire), knowing all, called also *Kevala-jnāna* (pure unalloyed knowledge). *Vikala* is again subdivided into *Avadhi-jnāna* (limited knowledge), knowledge of special objects which near or remote,

are not differentiated;[2] and *Manas-paryāya-jnāna*, definite knowledge of another's thoughts and the laying bare of the secrets of the heart.[3]

Paroksha (imperceptibility) is five-fold. (1) *Smarana*, recollection of what is unseen. (2) *Pratu-abhijnāna*, knowledge derived from witness of another. (3) *Tarka*, the knowledge of the mutual relation between subject and predicate. (4) *Anumāna*, knowledge from inference, which is established in a series of ten terms, given in detail. (5) *Sabda*, the knowledge obtained from the narration of a speaker without partiality or affection, of clear understanding and true in speech.

Prameya (objects of thought) are six-fold and each is regarded as an eternal substance, and not an aggregate of a determinate measure of atoms: they are likewise held to be imperceptible to the eye and pervade all space. The first is the soul which is a subtile substance in which intelligence abides. It is to the body as the light of a lamp to a house and is believed to be the active agent, or passive recipient of good and evil. It is, of two kinds, *Parātmā* and *Jivātmā*. The first is restricted to the Supreme Being and is distinguished by four attributes. *Ananta-jnāna* or analytic knowledge extending to the most minute atoms. *Ananta-darsana* or synthetic knowledge of things collectively. *Ananta-virya*, infinite power. *Ananta-sukha*, infinite happiness.

They do not accept the doctrine of divine incarnations but believe that a man by virtue becomes omniscient, and his utterances in regard to the things appertaining to the spiritual and temporal life are the word of God, and such a one is termed *Sākāra-Paramesvara* (Divinity in bodily form). [99] In the six *aras*,[4] of which mention has been made in a previous

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[2] That is, the abolition of hindrances causes their right intuition.

[3] By the absence of all envy, by sympathy and the like.

[4] These are the six periods into which each of the Utsarpini and Avasarpini ages are divided. Their names are given in Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains in Vol. IX, *As. Research*, p. 257.

section, twenty-four such beings come into existence, and in the third and fourth, their earthly existence terminates.[5]

The first being of this series was *Adinātha*, and the last, *Mahāvira*. Each of them is named a Jina, and wonderful legends are told of them which will be briefly noted later on. The Supreme Being is called *Nirguna Paramesvara*, or the Deity without qualities.

Jivātmā (soul) is variously distinguished. It may be two-fold, *viz.*, locomotive and immovable, as a man or tree: or three-fold, as man, woman, hermaphrodite: or four-fold, namely, forms of men, of vegetable life, of beings of heaven, and those of hell: or five-fold, possessing but one sense, [touch] as the four elements and trees. And these also are of two kinds: (1) such as can be seen, (2) such as are too minute to be perceptible. Each of these (last) five possesses life and has the sense of touch. There are those that possess (at least) two senses, touch and taste, such as shell-fish, leeches &c.; those with three, as the ant which has the additional sense of hearing: those of four, *viz.* flies and wasps which to the above three senses, add that of sight: those of five, mankind. There is a further division of soul into two kinds;[6] those possessing an internal sense and such as are without it, as a leaf. The Nyāya school also hold this opinion. Since the first and the fifth are of two kinds, animal life collectively does not exceed seven, and each may be classed

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[5] The periodical creations and destructions of the world form part of the Pauranic legends and of the Jaina creed. The heavens and earth in general, are supposed to be eternal, but this portion of the earth, Arya or Bharata, is liable to destruction and renovation.

[6] More correctly, the division of souls is into 'mundane' and 'released'. The "mundane" pass from birth to birth and are divided into two, those possessing an internal sense (*samanaska*) and those destitute of it (*amanaska*). The former possess *samjnā*, the power of apprehension, talking, acting or receiving instruction, and the latter are without this power. These last are again divided into the locomotive and immovable. Those that possess only the one sense of touch are considered as 'released', as incapable of passing into any other state of existence. (Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, *5n.*)

under two heads: (1) *Prajā-pati* possessor of six powers, namely, of bodily form, of reception of food, of organs of sense, of the powers of speech, of breathing, and the internal sense (*manas*): (2) *Aprajāpati*, life which is incapable of these functions. All that possess but one sense, have four faculties, *viz.*, capability of nourishment, assuming form, command of the organs of sense, inspiration and expiration of breath. All that possess two, three, four or five senses, without the internal sense, have five faculties, *viz.*, the four former and that of speech. Those that possess the internal sense have six faculties.

They consider the conjunction in the soul of ten qualities, entitles it to be called living, otherwise it is dead; they are severally called *prāna, viz.*, the five senses, the internal sense, faculty of speech, reception of form, inspiration of breath, duration of life. Those that possess five senses are of four classes. (1) *Devatā* (celestial spirit); (2) *Manusha* (man); (3) *Nāraki* (inhabitant of the infernal regions); (4) *Tiryagyoni* (animal creation). The *Devatā* is formed of a subtile luminous substance by the volition of the Deity, without the process of birth. Their bodies are not of flesh and bone, nor defiled by impurities, and their breathings are redolent of fragrance. They suffer not from maladies, nor does age steal away the freshness of youth. [100] Whatever they desire is fulfilled; they can assume a thousand shapes, and they move at four fingers' breadth above the surface of the earth. They are of four classes:—

1. *Bhavana-pati.* The Jainas believe the earth to consist of seven tiers superimposed one above the other. The earth inhabited by mankind includes a space of 180,000 *yojanas*. The intervening region between one thousand *yojanas* and as many below, is the location of the *Bhavana*-

[1] These ten are the progeny of *Asuras*, Serpents, *Garuda*, *Dikpālas*, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning, who are

patis. They are of ten[7] orders, each governed by two rulers, one for the northern, the other for the southern region. The colour, appearance, raiment, food and modes of life of each are separate. Their duration of life extends between a minimum of ten thousand and a maximum of an ocean (*sāgara*) of years, and this is considered the lowest order of all.

2. *Vyantara*. These inhabit a region extending between a thousand *yojanas* above and a hundred below, and they pass likewise into the sphere allotted to men. They are of sixteen orders, each governed by two rulers. Their age extends from ten thousand years to one *palyopāma*.

3. *Jyotishka*. Their location is seven hundred and ninety *yojanas* above the level of the earth, and one hundred and ten *yojanas* is its eastern limit. They consist of five orders (of luminaries), the first are stars: the second, suns throned at a distance of ten *yojanas* above the stars: the third are moons, eighty *yojanas* higher than the suns: the fourth, constellations of twenty-eight mansions: the fifth, planets at an altitude of four *yojanas* above the mansions, eighty-eight in number. Of these the five most important are Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Saturn with an interval of three *yojanas* in altitude between them severally. The duration of life of each of the five, ranges between the eighth part of a *palya* at the lowest, to one *palya* and a hundred thousand years as an extreme limit.

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supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the earth. The Vyantaras have eight orders. These are the *Pisāchas*, *Bhutas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas* and other monstrous divinities inhabiting woods, and the lower regions and air. The third has five orders, the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms and other heavenly bodies. The fourth includes the gods of present and past *Kalpas*. Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens *Saudharma Isāna*, *Mahendra*. *Brahmā Sanatkumāra*, *Sukra*, &c., to the number of twelve. A great number of *Indras* are recognised, but *Sukra* and *Isāna* the regents of the North and South are chief. Above all these rank in dignity as objects of worship the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* or with those of the past and future periods, seventy-two. Wilson (*Essays*, I, 320).

4. *Vaimānika*. Their abode is the highest of all, and they are of two orders. The first, *kalpupapanna*, (existing age), dwell in the twelve zones of heaven each with a special presiding deity, but four have (only) two regents. These ten principalities possess ten illustrious distinctions, (1) a just prince, (2) a capable minister, (3) a benevolent sage, (4) loyal counsellors, (5) sword bearers, (6) guards, (7) commanders of seven armies of elephants, horses, chariots, bulls, footmen, sword players and musicians, (8) administrators of state, (9) news reporters, and (10) sweepers. This sublime order is said to dwell at a little less than the distance of a *rāju*[8] in altitude. The second order is *kalpātita* (past age). They do not occupy themselves with others, but keep aloof from friendship, enmity, governance and subjection, and are engaged only in contemplation of the Deity. Above these again are twelve abodes of rest in nine tiers, one above another, and five others like a face, two above, and one below and one between, making fourteen tiers in all.

[101] They consider the world to be composed of three spheres..[9] (1) *Manusha-loka*, nine hundred *yojanas* from the

[8] A measure of space through which the gods are able to travel in six months at the rate of 2,05,7152 *Yojanas* of 2,000 *Krosa* each in the twinkling of an eye. Colebrooke. II, 198, but Abul Fazl gives another measure lower down.

[9] The world, writes Colebrooke, (*Essays*, II, 198) which according to the Jains is eternal, is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another, or as three cups of which the lowest is inverted and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. The spindle above is the abode of the gods, and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *rāju*. The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the disance of a *rāju* from each other and its base is measured by seven *rājus*.

The upper spindle is also seven *rājus* high and its greatest breadth is five *rājus*. Its summit which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints: beneath this are five *Vimānas* or abodes of gods. The earth consists of numerous distinct continents in concentric circles separated by seas forming ways between them of which the first is *Jambu-dwipa* with the mountain *Meru* in the centre.

lowest extremity of the earth to nine hundred above. This is the sphere of men. The earth is said to be one *rāju* in length and the same in breadth, and within 4,500,000 *yojanas* of this space, mankind dwell. Below this is (2) *Patāla-loka*. Its extent is nine hundred *yojanas* less than seven *rājus*. The second is twice the size of the first, and to each tier is added a *raju* so that the seventh is something less than seven *rājus*. (3) *Svarga-loka* is the celestial region, and is a little less than seven *rājus* high. Its inhabitants possess five organs of sense. Among them the *Vaimānikas* dwell in twenty-six orders which represent paradise. They attain to these bodies and enjoy happiness through good works. Eight orders of *Vaimānikas* dwell within five *rājus*, and four in the sixth *rāju*. Fourteen orders of the inferior class occupy one *rāju*. A *rāju* is the distance traversed by an iron ball of three and a half Akbari *ser's* weight, *thrown* downwards and continuing to fall for a period of six months, six days and twelve *gharis*. It is said that for six *karoh* [*krosa*] above the twenty-six orders aforesaid, there is a circular area like crystal. Its length is 4,500,000 *yojanas* and its breadth the same, with a height of eight *yojanas*. After traversing a distance of three and five-sixth of a *Karoh* upwards, the sacred haven of final liberation is reached where men are absorbed in the divinity as light in light.

The ages of the gods extend from something less than a *palyoparna* to not more than a *Sāgara*. The four classes of deities including two orders of the *Vaimānikas* have a stature of seven cubits; the third and fourth are of six cubits; the fifth and sixth, of five; the seventh and eighth, of four; from the ninth to the twelfth, of three; from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of two, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth of one cubit, but all of them possess the power of assuming various shapes. All the deities are said to have the desire of food, but it is not taken by the mouth, as they are satisfied by mere volition. Each of the deities who arrives at the age

of ten thousand years, requires food every other day, and breathes once during the time in which a healthy man would breath forty-nine times. Those whose age extends beyond this term to one *Sāgara*, eat once between a minimum and maximum of three and nine days and breathe once between four and eighteen *gharis*. Those who live beyond the period of a *Sāgara*, eat once after a thousand years, and breathe once in fifteen days. Such as live to a still greater term than this, for each *Sāgara*, allow upwards of a thousand years to elapse before they touch food, and in the same proportion of time, increasing intervals of fifteen days pass before a breath is drawn. They also believe that all the deities including two orders of the fourth class, (the *Vaimānika*), have sexual intercourse after the manner of mankind, but pregnancy does not take place : the third and fourth orders by conjunction and the sense of touch : the fifth and sixth by sight, and the seventh and eighth, by hearing : four other orders, by mere effort of imagination, while fourteen orders of the second class are innocent of this intercourse. These are said to attain to this eminence by good works. Extraordinary legends are told of these beings, of which let this little from among much be a sufficiency.

The mundane (*manushya*), consists of (souls) of two kinds :—(1) *Samjna*, possessing the power of apprehension, and (2). *Asamjna*, without power of apprehension. The latter appear (as animalcula) in the flesh, blood and saliva of men and do not live more than the space of two *gharis*. The *Samjna* class is sub-divided into two. The Jainas apportion the earth into two parts, and assign one to each division. In the first, commands and prohibitions are in full force, and happiness and misery are the recompense of good and evil actions. Fifteen considerable portions of the earth are allotted to this division.

The Jainas believe that during the six *aras*, the extent of which has been mentioned in a former section, twelve

Chakravartis successively appear. Thirty-two thousand kingdoms are beneath his sway, and thirty-two thousand princes are subject to him. He possesses 8,400,000 elephants and as many horses and chariots. He has likewise fourteen thousand ministers of state, nine hundred and thirty millions of footmen, eighty thousand sages, three hundred thousand cuirassiers, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wedded wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand female slaves, sixteen thousand mines of gems, nineteen thousand mines of gold and twenty-eight thousand of other minerals, sixteen thousand provinces of barbarians (*mlechchhas*), that is, of races foreign to his institutions, thirty-two thousand capital cities, sixteen thousand royal residencies, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks for the royal table, and three hundred and sixty for his private service. Many other endowments are attributed to him. The first cycle of these began with Rājā Bharata (*Chakravarti*), son of Adinātha. Some of these on account of their good works, are translated to heaven while others go down to hell. They assert that nine other individuals are born, entitled *Vāsudevas*, which is a rank possessing half the powers of a *Chakravarti*, and they believe that these dignitaries descend into a hell, and that Krishna is among their number. Nine other persons, designated *Baladevas*, are said to exist who possess half the powers of a *Vāsudeva*. Over all these, the *Tirthankara*, who will be presently described, is the supreme head. Much has been written regarding the denizens of this sphere.

There is another extensive region, where its people have garments of the leaves of its trees[10] and their food is wild fruits or the sweet verdure produced by its soil. They are beautiful of countenance and pleasing in disposition. Their stature varies from one to three *karoh*, in height. One son or

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[10] These are the *kalpa-vrikhas* or celestial trees, of which Major Mackenzie mentions nine varieties. Their gradual disappearance portends the destruction of the work.

daughter is born to them after which they die. They are called *Juglyah*[11] and when they grow to adolescence, they marry, and their duration of life extends from one to three *palyopama.*

It is said that those who have not been charitable in deed, nor practised good works, pass after death among this race, and obtain the recompense thereof and bear no burden of pain.

The *Nārakis,* like the *devatās,* can assume various shapes and many of their conditions, but their aspect is terrible and always in dejection and gloom. In the six degrees in which hell is said to be divided, they are agitated in burning torment, and though in agony are ever maleficent and from innate wickedness torture each other.

The class called *Bhavana-pati* have ingress to three degrees of this sphere and are the ministers of chastisement to these fiends. The stature of the dwellers in the first degree is from three to thirty one cubits and six fingers, and their age between ten thousand years and one *Sāgara.* The stature of those in the second degree is double that of the first, and this proportion of increase runs through the remaining degrees: the duration of life in the second degree is from one to three *Sāgaras.* The age of the denizens of the third degree extends from a minimum of three *Sāgaras* and attains to a maximum of seven: of the fourth, from seven to ten; of the fifth, to seventeen; of the sixth, to twenty-two; and of the seventh, to thirty-three.

Tiryagyoni signifies the rest of the animal creation and is three-fold:—(1) aquatic; (2) terrestrial; (3) aerial. The first named order is five-fold, *viz.,* (1) acquatic animals like the *Susmār,*[12] which resemble men, elephants and horses etc.;

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[11] For Prākrit, *Jugala,* Sanskrit, *Yugala,* a pair, turned into adjectival form.

[12] Derived from the Sanskrit *Sisumāra* (child-killing), the Gangetic porpoise: in Persian it commonly means a species of lizard. *Karāh,* probably some kind of eel.

(2) fishes of various kinds; (3) the tortoise; (4) the *Karāh*, an animal in the shape of a tent-rope, four yards long and more, which twines itself round the legs of elephants and other animals and prevents their getting out of the water: (5) the crocodile.

The second order is of three kinds: quadrupeds like cattle: those that creep on their bellies, as snakes: and such as can move upon two feet like the weasel.

The third order is of four kinds: two domesticated with man, *viz.*, whose pinions are of feathers, like the pigeon, or of skin, like the bat; and two others that fly in the blissful abodes of the gods, each of which is described with its peculiar characteristics, and many circumstances are related of them. The duration of life in the first class is from two *gharis* to one *purva* which is equal to seventy krors of lakhs and fifty-six thousand krors of years. (70,560,000,000,000). The second and third classes in their minimum are like the first, but the second does not extend beyond three *palyopama*, while the third has no determinate limit. They assert that the duration of age among such as have but one sense, if formed of the subtile elements, is two *gharis*, and the gross body of the earth does not endure above twenty-two thousand years, nor that of water, above seven thousand; nor of fire, above three days, nor of wind, above three thousand years. Such as have two organs of sense live twelve years; such as possess three organs, forty-nine days, and four organs, six months. The animal creation possessing five organs of sense together with mankind have a life of three *palyopama*, while the *Nārakis* and *devatās* live thirty-three *Sāgaras* but not beyond this term.

In the interchange of embodiment of these four classes, they allow twenty-four habitations to the soul which enters into air, fire, water, earth, the vegetable creation of two, three and four organs of sense, quadrupeds born of the womb, the ten classes of the infernal regions, the *Bhavanapati*,

Vyantara, *Jyotishka*, *Vaimānika*, men and *devatās*. After death, [104] it enters into one of the following five, *viz.*, mankind, the animal creation with five organs of sense, water, earth, and vegetable forms. The souls of men may come and go through twenty-two forms and when they pass into air or fire, no more assume human shape. Hell-bodies may assume two forms, those of men or of animals with five senses born of the womb, and their lives like those of the *Juglyah* class are not of any considerable length, nor do they ever enter paradise. Those of the seventh degree of hell, do not even enter human bodies, but each of the (other) three kinds of animals having five organs of sense, have entry and exit through all the twenty-four habitations.

The arithmeticians of this sect apply the term *laksha* to one hundred thousand, which the vulgar pronounce *lakh*. Ten *lakhs* make a *prayuta*, and ten *prayutas* are termed a *koti*, called generally a *kror*. One hundred *krors* make an *arba* (Sansk. *arbuda*), and ten *arba* or *kharba*, and ten *kharbas* a *nikharba*, ten *nikharbas*, a *mahā-saroja*,[13] called also *padma*. Ten *padmas* make a *S'ankha*, ten *S'ankha*, a *Samudra*, called also *Korākor*.

They state that if of a seven day's child of the *Juglyah* age, the hair, being four thousand and ninety-six times as thick as the hair of the Delhi people, be taken and cut up till further sub-division be impracticable, and a well, four *karoh* in length, breadth and depth, be filled with such particles, and a single one of the aforesaid particles be taken out of the well at the expiry of each hundred years till the well be emptied, this period would constitute a *palyopama*. The lapse of ten *Samudra* of a *palyopama* constitutes a *Sāgara*.

Having now discussed the first of the (six) objects classed under *Prameya*, I briefly mention the other five. The second,

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[13] Lake-born ; an epithet of the lotus which in Sanskrit is also called *padma*.

Akāsa, ether, is a subtile substance, eternal and all pervading, possessing neither intelligence nor soul. The third, *kāla*, time, is a substance like the preceding, but not all-pervading. It circumscribes the terrestrial abode of man. The fourth *Pudgala*[14](matter or substance), is four-fold. If not divisible (atomic), nor compounded with another body, it is called *pramāna*, and if in conjunction, *pradesa*. When, several *pradesas* unite, they are called *desa, and* the conjunction of several *desas* is termed *skandha*.[15] The first is accounted eternal and has five qualities, colour, odour, phlegm, and two out of eight opposite states of gravity or tenuity, rigidity or softness, heat or coldness, greediness or its contrary. [105] The fifth is *Dharmāstikāya*, (the predicament virtue). It is a substance by the instrumentality of which, the rational soul and mind (*manas*), and matter (*pudgala*), *are* capable of movement, as a fish by means of water. The sixth is *Adharmāstikāya* (the predicament vice). This is a substance, quiescent, and favourable to repose. In some works there is mention of nine first principles called *tattvas, viz.*, (1), *Jiva*,[16] soul; (2). *Ajiva*, the contrary to this, as ether, time, &c.; (3), *Punya*; (4), *Pāpa*. By the conjunction of a multiplicity of matter and soul-forms, joy and sorrow, ease and pain are produced and this conjunction is termed *karman* (works), and is also distinguished as *prakriti*. All that is productive of virtue is

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[14] Compounds sometimes arise from separation and conjunction combined and hence are called *pudgalas*, because they "fill" (*pur*) and "dissolve" (*gal*). *Sarva Darsana Sangr.*, p. 52. Weber translates it Atom-Stoff. *Fragment der. Bhag.*, p. 236.

[15] This word signifies the elements of being or the forms of mundane consciousness of which there are five in the Buddhist philosophy. *Pradesa*, one of the forms of the soul's bondage, is the entrance into the different parts of the soul by the masses, made up of an endless number of parts, of the various bodies developed by the consequences of action. *S. Darsana*, p. 56.

[16] *Lebens-geist*. Weber. There are three descriptions of this: the perfect soul of the deified saints: the liberated soul: and the soul in bondage. *Ajiva* comprehends the four elements and all that is fixed, as mountains, or moveable, as rivers, and is synonymous with *Pudgala*.

called *punya*, and *pāpa* is vice. *Karman* is eight-fold:— (1), *Jnānā-varaniya* (shrouding of knowledge), forms of matter that by their conjunction veil each of the five kinds of knowledge that have been noticed. (2). *Darsana-varaniya* (shrouding of study), shrouds apprehension by the five organs of sense. (3). *Vedaniya* (individual consciousness), conjunction of matter by means of which the soul is affected by joy or sorrow. (4). *Mohaniya*, (producing delusion), conjunction of atoms which causes good to be mistaken for evil and the reverse. (5). *Ayus* (age), conjunction of atoms on which depends the continuance of animal life. (6), *Nāman*, (name), conjunction of things which is the creative complement of genus, species and individual existence. (7). *Gotra* (race), the conjunction of atoms by which the soul assumes the forms of eminent and ignoble persons. (8). *Antarāya* (interference), conjunction of atoms by which men abstain from works, are unable to take nourishment, have no inclination for sexual intercourse, take no profit in trade nor practise liberality or mortification.

V. *Asrava*[17] (flow, movement), evil actions of five kinds, *viz.* bodily injury, falsehood, theft, incontinence, unbridled desire.

VI. *Samvara* (stopping), is abstention from the above five actions.

VII. *Bandha* (bondage), is the union of matter with soul.

VIII. *Nirjarā* is the gradual disruption of conjoined atoms by the mortification of the body.[18]

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[17] This means the movement or natural impulse of the soul to act, called *Yoga*. As a door opening into the water is called *Asrava*, because it causes the stream to descend, so by this impulse, the consequences of acts flow in upon the soul. It is the association of the body with right or wrong deeds and comprises all the *karmans*. All these eight classes of acts are mentioned in the Bhagavati. v. Weber's *Fragment der Bhagavati*, p. 166, II.

[18] *Nirjarā* is that which entirely (*nir*), wears and antiquates (*jarayati*), all sin previously incurred and the whole effect of works.

IX. *Moksha,* called also *mukti,* is the total disseverance of atoms, which cannot be attained without knowledge and works. As when a fire takes place in the dwelling of a lame and a blind man, neither of them [106] alone can escape, but the blind man may take the lame on his back, and by the vision of the one and the movement of the other they both may reach a place of safety.

It is said that without concurrence of three conditions, this great end cannot be secured: (1). knowledge of the Supreme Being: (2). the acquisition of a guide who makes no distinction between praise and blame, wounding and healing: (3). constancy in good works. These three take rise in obedience and service, by which knowledge is gained. This latter is the chief source of a passionless state (*virāga*) which annihilates the impulse (*āsvara*) of the embodied spirit, whence proceeds the closing (*samvara*) of the passage to such impulses, and this again incites men to austerity whereby they are occupied in the mortification of the spirit and the body. This mortification is of twelve kinds:—(1). not to eat at particular times. Formerly abstinence from solid food for a whole year was practised, and by some for nine months, but in these days six months is the longest duration: (2). to eat sparingly, and to beg for food from not more than five houses, and to fast till the next day if none be forthcoming, and to abstain from five things: *viz.,* milk, curds, butter, oil of sesame and sweets: (3). mortification of the body in enduring the sun's heat: (4). to take rest on hot sand: (5). to endure nakedness in cold: (6). to draw up the arms and legs and sit on the haunches. They say that it requires a long time before these six practices can be successfully accomplished, and many fail in their performance.

It consists chiefly in mortification. Bondage is that which binds the embodied spirit by association of the soul with deeds. *Moksha* is its deliverance from the fetters of works, v. Colebrooke I, p. 407.

Regarding the expiation of sins, strange penances are prescribed for each transgression, such as, obedience to the religious director; service of ascetics; reading of voluminous books; bowing the head in meditation. This latter must not be for less than two *gharis*, and some among former devotees continued it for twelve years: to stand with the arms hanging down, and to refrain from movement. These six exercises quickly lead to perfection.

There are forty-five great texts among this sect, of which twelve are termed *Angas*, considered to be sacred books. (1). *Achārānga*, rule of conduct for ascetics. (2) *Sutrakritānga*, containing three hundred and sixty precepts of devotees and demonstrations of each. (3). *Sthānānga*, in which from one to ten (acts) essential to purity are enumerated, beginning with one, applicable to the upper and lower worlds, and so throughout the series to ten. (4). *Samavāyānga;* herein from ten to ten millions are enumerated and divers other truth. (5). *Bhagavatyānga;* this contains thirty-six thousand questions put by Gautama to Mahādeva[19] and the answers thereto. (6). *Jnātādharmakathā*, containing thirty-five million ancient legends. [P. 107] (7). *Upāsakadasā*, an account of ten devotees of Mahadeva. (8). *Antakriddasā*, on those who have attained the eternal beatitude of liberation. (9) *Anuttaropapāti-kadasānga*, on the blessed who for their good works have passed into the twenty-sixth degree of paradise. (10). *Prasnavyākaranānga*, mentions various works, the source of good and evil acts. (11). *Vipākasrutānga*, former consequences of actions, which having borne the recompense of good and evil are forever laid to rest. (12). *Chaudah-purvānga* (*anga* of fourteen *Purvas*), containing questions that concern mankind generally, with various reflections and classes of acts.

The twenty-four *Tirthankaras* having in these deliverances revealed the will of the Supreme Being, their successors

[19] An error for *Mahāvira*.

collected them and reduced them to writing. Twelve of them are termed *Upāngas*, in which the purport of the former books has been concisely recorded with some additional matter. Four books are called *Mula-Sutras*, in which are given the usages of religious preceptors, the mode of begging, manner of life, mortification, worship of God and rules of composition. Six works are termed *Chedda-grantha*, on expiation of sin. Ten others are called *Pāinna*,[20] explanation of the anatomy of the limbs, the manner of birth in animals, and all that takes place at the dissolution of elementary connection, and other subjects. Another work designated *Nandi-Sutra*, treats of the five kinds of knowledge, which have been already mentioned.

The devotees of this sect are called *Yatis*. *Sishya* (disciple), is an inquirer who enters on this path. *Ganesa-sishya*[21] is an ascetic who for six months at a stretch restrains the inordinate spirit within the prison of freedom from desire.

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[20] The Sanskrit for this Prākrit word is *Prakirna*, and signifies a collection of miscellaneous rules.

Weber in his *Sacred literature of the Jains* says that the third group of texts of the Siddhānta is formed by the ten *pāinnas*, a name which denoting "scattered, hastily sketched" pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *parisishtas*. It is as yet undetermined how old is their position as the third part of the Siddhānta and what caused their location there. They are with few exceptions in metre and a considerable portion of them refers to the proper sort of euthanasy, the confession required for this end and the abjuration of everything evil. Physiology, mythology and astrology and hymns are also treated. (*I. A*. Part CCLIX, April 1892). Weber is unable to make out the significance of the title *Mula-Sutra*, of which there are four. The text is composed in metre and principally *slokas*. The entire Siddhānta according to Weber, at present embraces 45 texts divided into six groups. (1) eleven or twelve Angas. (2) twelve Upāngas. (3) ten Painnas. (4) six Cheddasutras. (5) two Sutras without a common name, Nandi and Anuyogadvāram. (6) four Mula-Sutras.

The names of all these will be found in *I. A*. Part CCXIII, October, 1888.

[21] From *Gana-isa* lord of troops ; *Gana* with the Jains signifies a school or a school derived from one teacher, and *Ganadhara*, the head thereof.

If he eats one day, he fasts two, and defiles not his hand with milk, curds, butter, oil, nor sweets. He eats only of a little parched wheat thrown into hot water, and begs for alms only from one house; his nights are spent till morn in prayers, and five hundred times during each night he prostrates himself in worship, and in the day reads the book of Bhagavati.[22]
[P. 108]

The *Pravartaka* (founder), has much the same character, but on account of his zeal and experience is nominated by the chief religious authority of the time over the pilgrims in this desolate wilderness, to superintend their daily actions and appoint suitable penance for such as are idolent and inclined to ease. The *Sthāvira* (elder), is an assistant to the preceding who controls the refractory and aids the languishing. The *Ratnādhika*, or *Paniyāsa* as he is also called, is zealous in the service of God wherever duty calls and thither speeds to remedy disorder: he also prepares the place for the *Achārya* or spiritual teacher, and has the care of his garments and the settlement of disputes among the ascetics is committed to him. The *Upādhyāya* (sub-teacher), has nearly the same rank as an *Achārya*, and the disciples verify under his direction the words of the sacred texts and the questions thereto appertaining. These teachers possess nothing of their own but the garments which will be particularised later. The *Achārya* is a personage of a genial disposition, reverent of aspect, pleasant of speech, grave, learned and benevolent. He must be acquainted with the proofs of the doctrines of his sect, and learned in the precepts of the other eight schools and skilled to refute them, and no treatise

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[22] This work is mentioned by Wilson (I. 281. *Essays* 1862. Rost) as one of the eleven primary works of the Jainas, an instruction in the various sources of wordly pain, or in the paths of virtue, and consists of lessons given to Gautama by Mahavira and is in Prākrit, in 36,000 stanzas. It consists of a series of questions by Imdabhuti, Roha, and other disciples of Mahāvira to that sage, and his answers, relating to a variety of topics.

should be unknown to him. The burden of the care of his flock lies upon his shoulders, and to promote the welfare of his institute must be his chief aim. Garments and books that are in excess of ordinary requirements are in his keeping for supply at need to inquirers of this road. The *Ganadhara* by fullness of knowledge and good works arrives at an exalted degree of wisdom, and possesses the eight miraculous endowments mentioned in the Pātanjala system. He is the representative of the *Jina*. The *Jina* who is also called *Tirthankara* (creating a passage through the circuit of life), surpasses this dignity and attains omniscience, is beautiful of countenance, and perfect in the moral order. His breath is redolent with fragrance and his words full of wisdom. His flesh and blood are white, and none has ever seen him eat or defecate. Neither sickness nor sweat nor dirt contaminate his holy person. His nails and hair grow not long. His words fall so harmoniously that every listener might deem that his speech was music. In whatsoever land he resides, snakes, scorpions and other venomous reptiles disappear, neither excess nor deficiency in rainfall occurs, and war, pestilence and drought cease. When he moves abroad, the trees are voiceful in praise, and many ministering spirits attend to guard him. It is said that his beautiful soul is imprisoned in the ventricular cavity of his form by a special connection, and in contradistinction to men in general, he is illumined by three kinds of apprehension, obtains cognition through the organs of sense and mind (*manas*) and the purport of all books is laid open to him. He discerns all that has form whether far or near, and after being born, and through the discipline of austerities, he becomes cognisant of the secret thoughts of men and arrives at the sublime degree of omniscience. These qualities belong to the whole twenty-four *Tirthankaras* of whom mention has been made. [P. 109]

The ascetics of this body have no intercourse with women, and avoid the spot where the sound of her voice is

heard. They abstain from meat, fruit and sweetmeats. They cook no food in their own dwellings, and at the meal-time of others, they approach a house and there stand and announce themselves by the words, "*dharma lābha*" that is, 'he who doeth good, receiveth a reward', and without importunity, take whatever of daily cooked food is brought. They may not take away milk, oil and rice together for food, and without being covetous of the taste thereof must speedily swallow their meal. And they must not knowingly accept food cooked especially for them or for the sake of mendicants in general, nor which has been brought from out of a dark room, nor fetched by mounting from a low to an elevated place, nor for which the lock of a door has been opened nor brought out having been previously purchased.[23] They drink nothing but warm water and do not eat or drink[24] during the night. They never light a lamp nor have a fire in the house in which they dwell. They may not pick up any thing fallen nor wash any member of the body but that which is actually soiled. They must avoid avarice and anger, and abstain from falsehood, from injury to life and from theft, and may have no worldly goods, but only necessary raiment. This, in other than winter time, consists of three robes. One of these is used as a loin cloth, a second thrown over the shoulder like a belt and the third worn over the uncovered head.[25] In winter a special woollen garment is added. They have also a cloth a little more than a span and a half in length and breadth which they keep folded in four This is placed over the mouth when reading and the two ends are stuffed into the ears so that no

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[23] I translate with diffidence this crabbed and ungrammatical sentence. The Akāranga Sutra lays down rules for these cases.

[24] The text has *pushidan* by mistake for *nushidan*.

[25] Two of the three robes and linen under garments. *Kshaumikakalpa*, and one woollen upper garment (*aurnikakalpa*). Besides these (*kalpatrya*), the monk possesses an aims-bowl (*patra*), with six things belonging to it, a broom (*rajoharana*), and a veil for the mouth (*mukhavastrika*). Jacobi, p. 67, n. 3.

insect may enter and be injured, nor the person nor the book be defiled by saliva. They also carry a *Dharmadhvaja*[26] made of woollen hairs like a tassel, bound with scarlet cloth and fixed in a wooden handle. As they constantly sit on the ground, they first gently sweep it with both hands that nothing may remain beneath. The elders of this sect, who have been briefly mentioned, spread an old woollen cloth by way of carpet, and spend their days profitably in fasting and good works. Every six months they pull out the hairs of their head with their hands and nails, and go barefoot among thorns and stony places, but in the rainy season they do not stir abroad.[27]

The laity of this sect are called *Srāvaka*. They observe, firstly, the following twelve rules. I. Never to injure the innocent. II. To avoid (the following) five kinds of untruths which are accounted great falsehoods; (1) false testimony, (2) breach of trust, (3) regarding land, (4) in praise and blame of others, (5) concerning a cow. III. Not to stain their hands with dishonesty. IV. Not to look upon the wife of another. V. To be content with a moderate share of worldly goods. VI. To give the surplus in charity. VII. On journeys, to move stated distances. VIII. To determine the daily need of food and other necessaries, and to live accordingly. IX. Not to approach a spot where a *sati* has taken place or a robber executed. X. To set apart two or three *gharis* of the twenty-four hours, and with complete detachment of heart to employ these in devotion to the bountiful Creator. XI. At the hour of sleep to resolve on abstention from further food, and effacing the suggestions of desire, to lay down to rest. XII. On the 8th, 14th, 15th, and 1st day of the 1st quarter of the moon, [P. 110] to abstain from food and drink through-

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[26] "The emblem or ensign of religion".
[27] The reason of this is, that many living beings are produced and many seeds spring up, the footpaths are not recognisable. (Jacobi), p. 136.

out the day, and to feed the first beggar (met with) on the morn of the break of fast. The points aforesaid should be gone over every day and at the time of rest, and the conscience be therein examined.

The claim of rectitude of life in this austere sect is applicable to a man who fulfils the following conditions:— He should constantly listen to the reading of the sacred texts, perform work of charity, make a practice of praising the virtuous, defile not his tongue in disparagement of another, especially of temporal rulers. He should take in wedlock one who is his equal, and be ever in fear of committing sin. He should conform to the laws of the land wherever he abides, and should so choose his dwelling that it be not public to every passer-by, nor yet so secluded that none can discover it, and it should not have more than two or three doors. He should choose good neighbours and associate only with the virtuous. He should be dutiful to his father and mother, and avoid a city or a province invaded by foreign troops. He must regulate his expenses in accordance with his income, and make his dress conform to the same standard. He must be assiduous in reading the divine books, and avoid an unrestrained spirit in the regulation of his life. He must take his meals at stated times, and observe due measure in his regard for wordly wealth, and the getting thereof and attachment thereunto, and should be zealous in hospitality to a guest, an ascetic, and in the care of the sick. He should not be self-opinionated, nor a lover of his own speech. He must prize learning. He must not journey out of season, nor into a country where he cannot practise his religion, nor enter into a quarrel without discerning his ally from his enemy. He must sympathize with his kindred, and be provident and far-sighted, and recognize the claims of gratitude, and so bear himself in his outward conduct that men may hold him in regard. He must be modest, gentle and courteous in demeanour, and exert himself in the interests of others, and

subduing his internal enemies, hold his five senses under the control of reason.

The prohibitions to be observed by both the ascetics and the laity are, to abstain from flesh-meat, wine, honey, butter, opium, snow, ice, hail, everything that grows beneath the earth, fruits whose names are unknown, or that contain small seeds, and from eating at night.

The Jaina institutes recognize two orders, the *Svetambaras* (clad in white) and *Digambaras* (sky-clad). The latter wear no clothes and go naked. According to the *Digambaras*, a woman cannot attain final liberation.[28] They say that when any one arrives at the sublime degree of *mukti*, he needs no food till he dies. They are at one with the *Svetambaras* on many points. The writer has met with no one who had personal knowledge of both orders and his account of the *Digambaras* has been written as it were in the dark, but having some acquaintance with the learned of the *Svetambara* order, who are also known as *Sewra* he has been able to supply a tolerably full notice. From ancient times, throughout the extent of Hindustan, the Brāhmans and Jains have been the repositories of knowledge and ceremonial observance, but from short-sightedness have held each other in reproach. The Brāhmans worship Krishna as a deity, while the Jainas relegate him to service in hell. The Brāhmans deem it better to face a raging elephant or a ravening lion than to meet with one of this sect. His Majesty, however, in his earnest search after truth, has partially dispelled the darkness of the age by the light of universal toleration, and the numerous sectaries, relinquishing their mutual aversion, live in the happy accomplishment of a common harmony.

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[28] There is a division between the Digambaras and Svetambaras on this point, the latter conceding the doubtful privilege of final annihilation to women also. The other points of difference may be read in Wilson's *Essays* I p. 340

BAUDDHA.[29]

The founder of this rational system of faith is known as Buddha, and is called by many names. One of these is *Sākyamuni*, vulgarly pronounced *Shākmuni*. It is their belief that by the efficacy of a life of charity, he attained to the highest summit of wisdom, and becoming omniscient, secured the treasure of final liberation. His father was *Rāja Suddhodana*, prince of Behār, and his mother's name was *Māyā*. He was born by way of the navel and was surrounded by a brilliant light, and the earth trembled, and a stream of the water of the Ganges showered down upon him. At the same time he took seven steps, uttered some sublime words, and said, "This will be my last birth." The astrologers foretold that on his attaining the age of twenty-nine years and seven days, he would become a mighty ruler, institute a new religion, and accomplish his final liberation. At the very time foretold, he renounced the world and retired into the desert. For a short period he lived at Benares, Rājgir, and other sacred places, and after many wanderings reached Kashmir.

Many of the Hindu race, and from the coasts, and from Kashmir, Tibet and Scythia were converted by him. From the date of his death to the present time, which is the fortieth year of the Divine Era, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed. He possessed the gift of an efficacious will and the power of performing miracles. He lived one hundred and twenty years. The learned among the Persians and Arabs, name the religious of this order

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[29] For Buddhism, see Hastings, *Encyclo.* ix. 846-853; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss series), and the works of the two Rhys Davids. The legends about Buddha are to be found in Asvaghosha's *Buddha-charita* (Cowell), the *Lalita Vistara*, Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, Beal's *Romantic Legends of Sakya Buddha*, Bigandet's *Gaudama* (Burmese legends), all in English. [J. S.]

Bhikshus;[30] in Tibet they are styled *Lāmās*. For a long time past scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindusthan, but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim and Tibet. The third time that the writer accompanied His Majesty to the delightful valley of Kashmir, he met with a few old men of this persuasion, but saw none among the learned, nor observed anything like what is described by Hāfiz Abru and Banākati. The Brāhmans regard him as the ninth *avatāra*, but do not accept the doctrines commonly ascribed to him, and deny that he is their author.

They hold the Deity to be undefiled by incarnation, and with the *Sānkhya*, *Mimāmsā*, and *Jaina* systems, do not consider him the author of creation. The world, they deem to be without beginning or end, and the whole universe to be at one moment resolved into nothingness, and at another created again as before. They accept the doctrine of the recompense of good and evil deeds, and of hell and heaven, and knowledge, according to them, is a quality of the rational soul. The ascetics of this religion shave their heads, and wear garments of leather and red cloth. [P. 112]

They are frequent in their ablutions, and refuse nothing that is given them as food, and hold all that dies of itself as

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[30] In the text *Bakhshi*. This word occurs in Marco Polo (Yule I, 293) as *Bacsi* and in a note (p. 305) it is explained to be a corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanskrit term for a religious mendicant and in particular for a Buddhist devotee. The word was probably applied, adds the note, to a class only of the Lāmas, but among the Turks and Persians became a generic name for them all, and this passage from the Ain is quoted in support. It continues, that according to Pallas the word among the modern Mongols is used in the sense of *teacher*, and is applied to the oldest and most learned priest of a community, who is the local ecclesiastical chief. Among the Kirghiz Kazzāks the word survives in Marco Polo's sense of a "medicine-man" or conjurer. In Western Turkistān it has come to mean a bard. From its association with persons who could read and write, it seems to have gradually passed into the sense of a clerk. Under the Mahomedan rule, it was applied to an officer who performed duties analogous to those of Quarter-master General and thence came to mean a paymaster. *Ency. Isl* i. 600. [J. S.]

killed by the act of God, and therefore lawful. They hold no commerce with women, and kill nothing that has life, and looking on plants as possessing it, they refrain from digging them up or cutting them.

Their spiritual energies are directed to six objects: the repression of anger, the pursuit of wisdom, soliciting alms, true understanding of the worship of the Supreme Being, fortitude in austerities, perpetual commune with God. Three things are affirmed by them to be the source of goodness: knowledge, disinterestedness, freedom from envy; and twelve seats the source of good and evil, *viz.*, the five senses, their faculties,[31] the common sensory, and intellect. These twelve, they term *Ayatana* (seats).

There are four objects of thought which in place of *padārtha* (categories), they call (*chaturvidha*) *Arya-satya*, four sublime truths. The first is *Duhkha-satya* reality of misery, which is of five kinds. (1). *Vijnāna*, (sensation). (2) *Vedanā*. consciousness, the recompense of good or evil. (3). *Sanjnā*. name or denomination of things. (4). *Sanskāra*, (impression), aggregate of merit and demerit. Some assert that since all things are in a state of momentary flux and reflux of existence, the intellectual consciousness thereof is designated by this term. (5) *Rupa* (form) comprehends the five elements, and their evolutes, and because all these five produce bodily sufferance, they are distinguished under this head.

The second, *Samudaya-Satya* (progressive accumulation of evil), is all that arises from desire and anger, and which under its influence says, 'I am,' or, 'that is mine.'

The third is *Mārga-satya* (reality of means), the habit of thought that the world is in momentary annihilation and

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[31] So in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, "After acquiring wealth in abundance, the twelve inner seats are to be thoroughly reverenced: what use of reverencing aught else below." The five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, the common sensory, and the intellect have been described by the wise as the twelve inner seats."

reproduction. The fourth is *Nirodha-satya* (reality of annihilation) which they call *Mukti* or final liberation. Ten conditions are necessary to attain this degree: (I). Charity. (II). Abstention from evil and practising virtue, that is, to refrain from the following ten actions, *viz.*, taking life, molesting, taking that which is not given, incontinence, falsehood, speaking ill of the good, irascibility, idle speech, evil intention, intercourse prohibited by religious precept. Seven duties are to be fulfilled. Respect for religious guide and spiritual director; veneration of idols; observing the service of others; praise of the good; influencing to good works by gentle speech; perseverance through success or failure in sustaining others in virtue; learning the duties of worship. (III). To be neither elated nor depressed by praise or blame. (IV). To sit in a particular posture. (V). To introduce an idol into a temple which they call *chaitya*. (VI). To regard the things of the world [P. 113] as they really are. (VII). To be zealous in the seven practices of *Yoga* prescribed in the Pātanjala system. (VIII). To acquire the habit of five duties, *viz.*, a true and firm acceptance of the commands of the religious director; to be mindful of them and to carry them out; to reduce the body and spirit by rigid austerities; to efface from the heart all external impression; to keep the mind fixed only on the Supreme Being. (IX). To strengthen the bonds of knowledge so that they cannot be broken. (X). To enter upon the knowledge by which final liberation is accomplished. *Pramāna,* proof, with this sect, consists of *pratyaksha* (perception), and *ātman*[32] (self), and there are two causes of knowledge, evidence of the senses, and demonstration. The first is four-fold, *viz.*, apprehension by the five

[32] The Bauddhas do not recognize soul (*Jiva* or *ātman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*). This latter dwelling within the body and possessing individual consciousness, apprehends objects and subsists as self. In that view only is *ātman*, self or soul. Colebrooke, I. 47. For the Buddhist conception of the Soul, Hastings, *Encyclop.* xi. 731-733 and xii. 429 ; also *ātman* in ii. 195-197. [J. S.]

senses, or perception by the common sensory or apprehension of the knowledge of the things themselves, or when by reason of the mortification of the senses, the non-apparent and the visible become identical.

In regard to inference and the exposition of the external *percipibile* their argumentation is lengthy and extremely subtile.

The Bauddhas are divided into four sects.

1. The *Vaibhāshikas*, like the Nyāya school, believe in separate indivisible atoms for each of the four elements but perceptible by the eye; and with them existence is predicable of two entities, cognition and its objects, the latter being apprehended by the senses.

2. The *Sautrāntikas* affirm that objects are cognised by inference.

3. *Yogāchāras* admit only intellect which produces the forms of objects.

The *Mādhyamikas* hold both cognition and objects to be void (*sunya*, Hindi *sun*) and confounded existence and non-existence.

Many treatises have been written on each of these divisions and there is considerable variance of opinion on questions of objective and subjective existence. Three sciences are regarded by them as important; the science of proof: the science of administration: the science of the interior life.

NASTIKA.[33]

Chārvāka, after whom this school is named, was an unenlightened Brāhman. Its followers are called by the Brāhmans, *Nāstikas* or Nihilists. They recognise no existence apart from the four elements, nor any source of perception save through the five organs of sense. They do not believe

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[33] For the Nāstika philosophy, Hastings, *Encyclo.* viii. 493-494 The term *Nāstika* signifies one who disowns the existence of a future life. Chārvāka in Hastings. viii. 138 and 493 : i. 47 (nihilism).

in a God nor in immaterial substances, and affirm faculty of thought to result from the equilibrium of the aggregate elements. Paradise, they regard as a state in which man lives as he chooses, free from the control of another, and hell the state in which he lives subject to another's rule. The whole end of man, they say, is comprised in four things: the amassing of wealth, [P. 114] women, fame and good deeds. They admit only of such sciences as tend to the promotion of external order, that is, a knowledge of just administration and benevolent government. They are somewhat analogous to the sophists in their views and have written many works in reproach of others, which rather serve as lasting memorials of their own ignorance.

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEEN SCIENCES..

(*Athāra Vidyā*).

Having taken a brief survey of the nine schools of philosophy existing in this country, I proceed to state some of the points on which the Brāhmans of the first six systems are agreed and thus brighten the interest of this exposition.

They say that he has attained the summit of knowledge who has garnered his stores of wisdom from this number of sciences and by fathoming their depths, satisfied the desire of his heart.

The first division consists of the *Rig Veda*[1] : the second is the *Yajur Veda*: the third is the *Sāma Veda*: and the fourth, the *Atharvan*.

These four are considered to be divine books, as already mentioned. Each of them treats of four matters :—(1). *Vidhi*, precept and its cogency; (2). *Arthavāda*, praise and its recompense; (3). *Mantra*, invocation and prayer which are profitable in particular cases; (4). *Nāmadheya*, appellation of important acts. Each of them also treats of three things :—(1). *Karma*, exterior works; (2). *Upāsanā*, religious meditation; (3). *Jnāna*, perfected knowledge.

The fifth, the *Purānas*. Eighteen distinct works are styled by this name. They explain in a clear manner the difficulties occurring in the four Vedas above mentioned, and each of them treats of the following five subjects :—(1). The creation of the world. (2). The dissolution thereof. (3) Genea-

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[1] On the Vedas, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, viii. 106-109. (Vedic Literature, by Bloomfield), xii. 601-618 (Vedic Religion by Macdonell). Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (now available in an English translation) i, and also the Grundriss.

For the Purānas, Hastings, viii. 110 (as literature) and x. 447-455 (full description and discussion by Pargiter). [J. S.]

logies of various families. (4). Account of the fourteen *Manvantaras*. These are fourteen *Manus* or holy spirits who, during the whole life of Brahmā, will appear successively for the guidance of mankind, and sustain by their power the burden of the world. The life of each is seventy-one times the four ages, a revolution of the four ages being four million three hundred and twenty thousand years. They likewise mention the fourteen *Indras* associated with them, (for they say that [P. 115] during Brahmā's life, fourteen deities will successively rule the celestial regions), and the actions by means of which they attain to this dignity. There are further the legendary narratives of celebrated monarchs.

The names of the *Purānas* are:—(1). *Matsya*. (2) *Mārkanda*. (3). *Bhavishya*. (4). *Bhāgavata*. (5). *Brahmavaivarta*. (6). *Brahmānda*. (7). *Brahma*. (8). *Vāyu*. (9). *Vāmana*. (10). *Vishnu*. (11). *Vārāha*. (12). *Agni*. (13). *Nārada*. (14). *Padma*. (15). *Linga*. (16). *Kurma*. (17). *Skanda*. (18). *Garuda*.

There are eighteen other books called *Upa-purānas*, explanatory of the foregoing, which are said by some to be of recent origin. Their names are:—(1). *Sanatkumāra*, originally *Saura*, so called from the name of its compiler. (2). *Nāradiya*. This was also the name of a *Purāna* and the same may be said of some others. The *Upa-purānas* in fact, contain accounts not given in the *Purānas*, and they are styled by the designations of their originals. (2). *Nārasinha*. (3). *Sivadharma*. (4). *Durvāsana*. (5). *Kāpila*. (6). *Mānava*. (7). *Sāukara*. (8). *Ausanasa*. (9). *Vāruna*. (10). *Brahmānda*. (11). *Kāli* and also *Kālikā*. (12). *Māhesvara*. (13). *Nānda*. (14). *Sāmba*. (15). *Aditya*. (16). *Pārāsara*. (17). *Bhāgavata*. (18). *Kurma*.[2]

The sixth of the sciences is called *Dharma-Sastra*, (institutes of the law) or doctine relating to good works. This is

[2] Some of these names do not occur in Wilson's lists and their right to be called *Purānas* is disputed.

also taken from the Vedas, and accompanied by a multiplicity of detail. It is also called *Smriti*,[3] and has a similar number of divisions. The principal subjects of these books are three. The duties of the four castes regarding religious worship, the duties of administration, and the expiation of sins.

The names of the eighteen codes of memorial law (*smriti*) are as follows:—

(1). *Manu*. (2). *Yājnavalkya*. (3). *Atri*. (4). *Angiras*. (5). *Usanas*. (6). *Gautama*. (7). *Parāsara*. (8). *Sankha Likhita*. (9). *Vishnu*. (10). *Hārita*. (11). *Vasishtha*. (12). *Yama*. (13). *Sātātapa*. (14). *Apastamba*. (15). *Kātyāyana*. (16). *Vrihaspati*. To these some have added the following two. (17). *Vyāsa*. (18). *Daksha*. [117]

The names of the eighteen *Upa-smriti* or minor law codes are—

(1). *Angiras*. (2). *Jābāli*. (3). *Nāchiketa*. (4). *Skanda*. (5). *Laugākshi*. (6). *Kāsyapa*. (7). *Vyāsa*. (8). *Sanatkumāra*. (9). *Shatrzu*.[4] (10). *Janaka*. (11). *Vyāghra*. (12). *Kātyāyana*. (13). *Jatukarnya*. (14). *Kapinjala*. (15). *Baudhāyana*. (16). *Kanāda*. (17). *Visvāmitra*. (18). *Sumantu*.

The seventh is *Sikshā* (Phonetics), the science of letters.[5]

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[3] For the *Dharma-Sastras*, Hastings, *Encyclop*. viii. 109 (as literature); x. 807 and scattered ref. (*Smriti*); vii. 352-353 (*Sruti*); iv. 283-284 (on crimes), vii. 850-853 (Hindu Law). Besides the evidence of precept from an extant revelation (*sruti*), another source of evidence is founded on the recollections (*smriti*) of the ancient sages. These recollections have come down by unbroken tradition, and are known under the title of *Dharma-Sāstra*, the institutes of law, civil and religious. This sacred code of law comprises a system of duties, religious and civil. The latter includes law, private and criminal, the forms of judicial procedure, rules of pleading, law of evidence, adverse titles, oaths, ordeal, &c.

[4] Or *Shatarzu*. Doubtless the *Shattrinsa* a well-known work on law. The *Shattrinsanmata* was a collection of the opinions of 36 Munis of whom the names of all 18 mentioned in the above list, occur; and several of the second.

[5] For these following six doctrines of Phonetics, Prosody, Grammar, Etymology, Astronomy and Ceremonial, commonly called the Vedāngas, see Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Litera-*

The eighth is *Kalpa,* ceremonial, a science which treats of ten kinds of duties from the beginning of marriage to the time when the son is invested with the Brahmanical thread; *viz.,* the marriage; cohabitation: the third month from pregnancy to the fifth: the sixth to the eighth: the birth: the naming of the child: carrying him out to see the sun: feeding him: cutting his hair: investing him with the sacred thread. At each of these times special prayers and important ceremonies are required.

The ninth is *Vyākarana,*[6] the science of grammar and linguistic analysis, upon which are based the rules for the composition of letters. Firstly, they reckon fifty-two letters under three kinds. Fourteen are vowels (*Svara*) which are both letters and diacritical accents, and can be pronounced without extraneous adjunct: These are, a (अ) : ā (आ) : [118] i (इ) : i (ई) : u (उ) : u (ऊ) : ri (ऋ) : ri (ॠ) : li (ऌ) : li (ॡ) : (diphthongs) e (ए) : ai (ऐ) : o (ओ) : au (औ). Thirty-three letters are called *Vyanjana,* consonants which cannot be sounded without a vowel. These are k (क) : kh (ख) : g (ग) : gh (घ) : n (ङ) which is a letter having a nasal sound produced by the throat and nose, ch (च) : chh (छ) : j (ज) : jh (झ) : n (ञ) : t (ट) : th (ठ) : d (ड) : dh (ढ) : n (ण) : t (त) : th (थ) : d (द) : dh (ध) : n (न) : p (प) : ph (फ) : b (ब) : bh (भ) : m (म) : y (य) : r (र) : l (ल) : v (व) : s (श) : sh (ष) : s (स) : h (ह) : There are five other letters, one of which is called

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...ture, p. 113, ff. The first are considered requisite for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifies. *Sikshā* is derived from *sak* to be able and means a desire to know. The doctrine of the *Sikshā* was embodied in the Aranyakas, and perhaps the Brāhmanas. Kalpa or Ceremonial is the fifth and most complete Vedānga. The ceremonies mentioned by Abul Fazl, are described in the *Grihya-Sutras* and are briefly alluded to by Müller, p. 264.

[6] The third Vedanga is *Vyākarana* or Grammar, represented by the grammarians ending with Pānini, whose work however, superseded those of his predecessors to such an extent that little but their names and a few rules under their authority have come down to us. V. *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*

Anusvāra, sounded like *ḳan* with a quiescent nasal. Another is *visarga* (a surd breathing), like the final *h* in *ḳah*. A third is called *jihvāmuliya*, a letter between an *h* and a *ḳh*, and occurs as a medial and is sounded from the root of the tongue. The fourth is called *gaja-ḳumbha ḳriti*, a quiescent medial letter approximating in sound to a *bhā*. The fifth is *ardha-bindu*, a quiescent nasal, like a suppressed *nun* (ں).

Such is the exposition of the Sanskrit alphabet as far as I have been able to transcribe it. Some points which it has been beyond my power adequately to explain I have but alluded to. The last five letters are employed with vowels and consonants alike, and each consonant is capable of being vocalized with the fourteen vowels. At the present day the fourteen vowels (*svara*) are called *mātra*[7] and two being commonly omitted,[8] twelve only are employed Each written letter is separate and unconnected with the next. Letters are of four kinds. If without a [P. 119] moveable vowel a letter is called (*vyānjana*). If it be a simple short vowel or if it add one *mātra* to a quiescent long vowel, it is called *hrasva*. Twice the prosodial time of a short vowel is called *dirgha*, and if longer than two (*i.e.* three *mātras*) it is called *pluta* or prolated.

Eight modes of utterance are reckoned, *viz.*, from the middle of the chest: the throat: the root of the tongue: between the teeth: the nose: the palate: the lip: and the crown of the head. There is considerable diversity of opinion in all that they discuss but I have chosen the most generally accepted view. Before the writer had gained any acquaintance with this language, he considered the grammatical structure of Arabic to be without a rival, but he is now more fully

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[7] Properly the prosodial time of a short vowel.

[8] These are the long i and the long l: the latter does not occur in a single genuine word in the language, and is added, says Whitney, for the sake of an artificial symmetry.

aware of the immense labours of Hindu philologists, and the powerful regulative influence of their system.

The tenth science is *Nirukta*, (etymology), a detailed commentary of Vedic texts.[9]

The eleventh *Jyotisha*[10] is on astronomy and its wonders.

The twelfth *Chandas* is on metre and the classes of verse.

The last six are called *Angas*, that is to say that a knowledge of these six is necessary to the comprehension of the Vedas.

The thirteenth is the *Mimāmsā* of which the three kinds have been already mentioned.

The fourteenth is the *Nyāya* which has been summarily treated among the sciences.

The fifteenth is the *Ayur-veda*, the science of anatomy, hygiene, nosology and therapeutics. It is taken from the first Veda.[11]

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[9] This is the fourth Vedānga as represented by the *Nirukta* of Yāska and applies to Vedic etymologies exclusively. It is important to distinguish his *Nirukta*, the text of which is usually called *Nighantu*, from his commentary of the *Nirukta* to which the term *Nirukta* alone is often applied. The *Nirukta* consists of three parts; the *Naighantuka*, the *Naigama*, and the *Daivata*, in five chapters, containing lists of synonyms, words and Divinities. Max Müller points out that the Greeks and Hindus alone of all nations have had independent conceptions of the sciences of Logic and Grammar, but they started from opposite points. The Greeks began with philosophy and endeavoured to adjust its terminology to the facts of language. The Hindus began with etymology and their generalisations never went beyond arrangements of grammatical forms, partly due to the sacred character of the Vedic hymns, wherein a mispronunciation might mar their religions effect. Thus the grammar of the latter has ended in a colossal pedantry, while that of the Greeks still influences modern culture throughout the civilised world. *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 160, ff.

[10] *Jyotisha* is the last of the Vedāngas. Its literature is scanty and is mainly represented by a small treatise representing the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy.

[11] Medicine,—Hastings *Encyclo.* iv. 762-772 (under Disease and Medicine, Vedic, by Bolling), viii 292 (Magic and Religion, by H. A. Rose); ix. 43-48 (Indian Medicine) 53-57 (Muhammadan Medicine). *Ayur-veda* contains eight departments: 1. *Salya*, surgery; 2. *Sālākya*, inquiry into diseases of the head and its organs: 3. *Kāya-chikitsā*, treatment of diseases affecting the whole body;

The sixteenth is *Dhanur-veda*, the science of archery and of the use of various other weapons, taken from the second Veda.[12]

The seventeenth is *Gāndharva-veda*, the science of music, vocal, instrumental and practical, taken from the third or Sāma-veda.

The eighteenth is *Artha-shāstra*,[13] treating of the acquisition of wealth and its profitable employment. These four are termed subordinate or *Upa-vedas*. [P. 120]

The arts and sciences cultivated throughout the extent of Hindustan are too numerous to mention, but somewhat of them shall be briefly reviewed as an acceptable offering to the curious, in the hope that it may prove interesting as well as an incentive to inquiry.

KARMA-VIPAKA.

Or the ripening of actions.[14] This is a system of knowledge of an amazing and extraordinary character, in which the learned of Hindustan concur without dissentient opinion. It reveals the particular class of actions performed in a former birth which have occasioned the events that befall men in

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4. *Bhuta-vidya*, treatment of diseases of the mind supposed to be produced by demonical influence: 5. *Kaumāra-bhritya* treatment of children: 6. *Agada-tantra*, doctrine of antidotes: 7. *Rāsāyana-tantra*, doctrine of elixirs. 8. *Vājikarana-tantra*, rules for increasing generative powers. Monier Williams. *Sansk. Dict.*

[12] Regarded as an *Upa-veda* connected with the Yajur-veda, and ascribed to Visvā-mitra ; or, according to others, to Bhrigu. *Ibid.*

[13] According to Monier Williams, it is the science of polity, or moral and political government.

[14] That is, the good and evil consequences in this life of human acts performed in previous births. This work of Visvesvara-bhatta explains expiatory rites to be performed in cases of disease, supposed to be the punishment of offences committeed in a previous state of existence, written in *Slokas* in the form of a dialogue between Sakuntalā Bharata and Sātātapa-Bhrigu. Monier Williams. For *Karma* see Hastings *Encyclo.* vii. 673-677, and for the caste system, ii. 230-239.

this present life, and prescribes the special expiation of each sin, one by one. It is of four kinds.

THE FIRST KIND discloses the particular action which has brought a man into existence in one of the five classes into which mankind is divided, and the action which occasions the assumption of a male or female form. A *Kshatriya* who lives continently, will, in his next birth, be born a *Brāhman*. A *Vaisya* who hazards his transient life to protect a Brāhman, will become a *Kshatriya*. A *Sudra* who lends money without interest and does not defile his tongue by demanding repayment, will be born a *Vaisya*. A *Mlechchha* who serves a *Brāhman* and eats food from his house till his death, will become a *Sudra*. A *Brāhman* who undertakes the profession of a *Kshatriya* will become a *Kshatriya*, and thus a *Kshatriya* will become a *Vaisya*, and a *Vaisya* a *Sudra*, and a *Sudra* a *Mlechchha*. Whosoever accepts in alms a *Krishnājina* or skin of the black antelope, or the bed on which a man has died, or a buffalo, or receives an alms in the shrine of *Kurukshetra*, will, in the next birth, from a man become a woman. Any woman or *Mlechchha*, who in the temple of *Badari-Nārāyana*[15] sees the form of *Nārāyana*, and worships him with certain incantations, will in the next birth, if a woman, become a man, and if a *Mlechchha*, a *Brāhman*. This shrine is in the hills north of Hardwār. They say that for any one who has not an accurately defined caste, the horoscope of the result of any particular action is taken, and the place of Mars is observed. Whatever may be its position, the *dominus domus* shows the caste of the inquirer, and the dominant of the seventh house of Mars shows the caste of the inquirer in his former birth. If Venus and Jupiter, his caste is *Brāhman*: if the sun and Mars, a *Kshatriya*: if the

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[15] Commonly *Badrināth*, a peak of the Himalayan range in Garhwāl Dist. N. W. P. reaching to a height of 23,210 feet above the sea. Its glaciers are the source of the Alaknanda river. Immense numbers of pilgrims visit Badrināth annually, 50,000 persons having in some years attended the great festival. *I. G.*

moon, a *Vaisya*: if *Saturn*, a *Sudra*: if the head and tail of the Dragon, a *Mlechchha.*[16]

THE SECOND KIND shows the strange effects of actions on health of body and in the production of manifold diseases. Physicians attribute these to constitution, but this science to the results of former conduct. Hindu philosophers class diseases under three heads:—(1). Those that can be cured by medicinal treatment; (2). Those that are removable by observing the following courses of procedure; (3). Those that require the application of both. To diagnose each of these, certain symptoms are recognised which are classed under three states, *viz.*, (1). actions deliberately committed in a state of wakefulness; (2). such as are unconsciously done [121] in that condition;[17] (3). and those that are effected during sleep. In the first, the sickness is incapable of remedy; in the second a remedy can be applied; in the third case, medicinal treatment to some extent restores health, but there is liability to relapse. Disorders of the heart, they consider, as originating in intention, and those of the body from inadvertency and error. Volumes have been written on this subject and the advice of physicians disregarded as unprofitable. Some of these causes of sickness are here set down for purposes of illustration.

HEADACHE is caused by former violent language used to father or mother. The remedy is to make the images of

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[16] The last chapter of Albiruni's Indica is occupied with the complicated explanation of the astrological calculations of the Hindus. I refer the curious reader to the tabular representations of the different planets, their aspects, influences, houses and indications, together with the tables of the Zodiacal signs and their dominants which are there given.

[17] "By what is a man impelled, O Vārshneya!" says Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gitā*, "when he commits sin even against his will, as if compelled by force?" "It is lust:" replies Krishna "it is wrath born from the 'passion' mode: know, that this all-devouring, all-defiling is here our foe. Knowledge is enveloped by this which is the eternal foe of the wise man . . . . and is an insatiable flame." Davies' Translation.

Kasyapa[18] and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold and give them to the poor. The first of these two is regarded as the father of the *Devatās*, and the latter as the mother.

MADNESS is the punishment of disobedience to father and mother. The cure is to perform the *Chāndrāyana*, which is to eat one mouthful on the first day, and to increase the food daily by the same quantity for one month, and then to decrease in the same measure till one mouthful is again reached, and to make two images as above of two *tolahs* of gold and bestow them in alms with one cow.

EPILEPSY results from having administered poison to another at the command of a superior. The cure consists of these two images, a cow, a piece of land and thirty-two *sers* of sesame-seed, with a repetition of some incantations in the name of *Mahādeva*.

PAIN IN THS EYES arises from having looked upon another's wife. The cure is *Chāndrāyana*.

BLINDNESS is the punishment of a matricide which is followed by many years of suffering in hell. The cure is *Prājāpatya*,[19] which is of five kinds:—(1). Bestowing a cow in charity; (2). Or one *tolah* of gold; (3). Or feeding twelve *Brāhmans*; (4). Or throwing into the fire ten thousand times a mixture of sesame-seed, butter, honey and sugar; (5). Or walking a *yojana*, bare foot to a shrine. Let one or several of these be done in charity thirty times. Or let him make a boat of four *tolahs* of gold, the mast of silver, and six paddles of copper. Or, if it be a punishment of disobedience to father and mother, the cure is, as already described, the images of

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[18] One of the Prajāpatis or mind-born sons of Brahmā. He married thirteen of the daughters of Daksha, of whom the first was *Aditi* by whom he had the twelve *A'dityas*. See the *Vishnu Pur.* Wilson, v. also Vol. II, 38.

[19] Sacred to Prajāpati. It signifies the giving away of the whole of one's property before entering on the life of an ascetic. It is also a kind of fast lasting twelve days and likewise a form of marriage. Monier Williams.

Kasyapa and *Aditi.* These should not be of less than two *tolahs.*

DUMBNESS is the consequence of killing a sister. The cure is to bestow in charity a cow made of four *tolas* of gold, its horns be of two *tolahs* of silver, its hump of two or three *māshas* of copper with a brass vessel for milk, and for seven days he should eat a mixture of curds, butter, urine and cowdung.

COLIC results from having eaten with an impious person or a liar. The cure is to fast for three days, and to give twelve *tolahs* of silver in charity.

STONE IN THE BLADDER is the punishment of incest with a step-mother. [P. 122] The cure is *Madhu-dhenu* (honey-milch cow). Let it be supposed that milch-cow of honey is formed thus :—Fourteen vessels full of honey, each of which shall contain a *man* and a quarter, must be placed with one *tolah* of gold in front to represent the mouth; four *sers* of sugar-candy must represent her tongue; thirty-two sers of fruit, her teeth; pearls for the two eyes; and two sticks of lignum aloes for her horns; two plantains stand for her two ears; and barley-flour for her teats, with three sticks of sugar-cane for each leg. A white woollen cloth is thrown over the vessels to represent her hide, and *Dāba,*[20] which is a particular kind of grass, is strewn above it. The hoofs are to be of silver, the hump of a *ser* and a quarter of copper: the tail of silk, thirty fingers in length, with skeins of silk eleven fingers long hanging therefrom. Two pieces of red cloth must be thrown over her neck, and seven heaps of grain, each of two *sers* weight, must be made, and a brass vessel placed in front, and another vessel full of honey set near to represent her calf, and a copper vessel filled with sesame-

[20] The *Kusa, Poa Cynosaroides ;* a sacrificial grass. A Brāhman when he reads the Vedas, must, according to Manu (*Institutes*, II. 75), sit on *kusa* grass with the points to the east.

seed. Next, certain incantations are made, and prayers are said, and alms given.

LAMENESS is the result of having kicked a *Brāhman*. The cure is to bestow in charity a horse made of a *tolah* of gold, and to feed one hundred and eight *Brāhmans*.

FEVER arises from killing an innocent *Kshatriya*. The cure: thirteen *Brāhmans* should read incantations in the name of *Mahādeva* one hundred times, and sprinkle water over his image.

CONSUMPTION is the punishment of killing a *Brāhman*. A lotus flower of four *tolahs* weight of gold should be made, and the ceremony of the *Homa*[21] performed and alms given to righteous *Brāhmans*.

TUMOUR is caused by killing a wife without fault on her part. The cure is to spread a black antelope-skin (*Krishnājina*) and place thereon a heap of sesame-seed and a hundred *tolahs* or more of gold, and read incantations and perform the *Homa* oblation. But the acceptance of such an offering is considered blameable.

ASTHMA results from having accepted of this oblation, or of one of the sixteen great offerings, or of an alms at *Kurukshetra*. The cure is to take a buffalo of iron, with hoofs and horns of lead, and to make a sectarial mark of stone on its forehead, garland it with flowers of the *Kaner* (*Nerium odorum*), and place upon it a black blanket and four *tolahs* of gold, and three *man* and a half of pulse (*Māsh, Phaseolus mungo*). The performer must have a sectarial mark drawn upon his forehead with the finger. The accepter of this charity is not well regarded. [P. 123]

DYSENTERY is the punishment for robbing a house. The cure is to give in alms a house and its necessary furniture, and seven kinds of grain, thirty-two *sers* of each kind, a handmill, a pestle and mortar, a repository for drinking

[21] This is an oblation to the gods made by casting clarified butter into the fire, accompanied by prayers and invocations.

water, a kitchen-hearth, a broom, a cow, and money according to means.

THE THIRD KIND indicates the class of actions which have caused sterility and names suitable remedies.

A WOMAN whose husband dies before her, was in a former birth of a great family and followed a stranger and on his death consigned herself to the flames. The cure is self-martyrdom by austerities, or suicide by throwing herself into snow.

A WOMAN who does not menstruate, in a former existence while in her courses, roughly drove away the children of her neighbours who had come as usual to play at her house. The cure is to fill an earthen vessel with water from a hundred wells, and to throw therein a betel-nut and one *māsha* of gold, anoint it with perfumes and give it to a *Brāhman*. She should also give five, seven, nine or eleven kinds of fruit to children to eat.

STERILITY is occasioned by a man or woman in a former birth having sold the children of other people, or the young of an oviparous animal, or reproached others for barrenness. Cure: the man and woman should enter the water at the meeting of two streams, wrapped in a single sheet, and bathe, and reciting certain incantations, pray to *Mahādeva* and give one *mohar* each to eleven *Brāhmans,* and a cow in alms on certain conditions, and make two images of *Kasyapa* and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold each, and making an image of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation (*Vāmana*), bestow it in charity. And they should also fill eight winnowing-baskets with seven kinds of grain, and lay upon it a cloth and cocoanuts and various kinds of fruit, with flowers of saffron, and sandal-wood, and give each of these to a virtuous woman, and hear the recital of the *Harivansa,* which is the conclusion of the *Mahābhārata.*

A WOMAN whose son dies shortly after his birth is thus punished for having in a former birth followed a common

practice in Hindustan of exposing any child to die that is born when the moon is in the lunar station called *Mula* (v. Scorpionis) or *Aslesha* (α 1 and 2 Cancri) or near the end of *Jyeshthā* (α Scorpionis, Antares), and a birth is especially a matter of reproach in *Mula*. The cure is to make a cow of four *tolahs* of gold, its hoofs of a *tolah* of silver, jewels for her tail, brass bells on her neck, a calf of a *tolah* of gold, its hoofs being of half a *tolah* of silver.

A WOMAN who gives birth to only daughters is thus punished for having contemptuously regarded her husband from pride. The cure is to plate the horns of a white cow with four *tolahs* of gold and burnish its hoofs with four *tolahs* of silver, and make a hump of one *ser* and a quarter of copper and a vessel of two *sers* and a half of brass, and bestow this in charity. One hundred *Brāhmans* should also be fed and she should fashion a figure of the deity of ten *māshas* and two *surkhs* of gold, and reciting incantations, give alms and feed fifty *Brāhmans*.

A WOMAN who has had but one son, is punished for having taken away a calf from its dam. Cure: let her give away a fine milch-cow with ten *tolahs* of gold.

A WOMAN who has given birth to a son that dies and a daughter that lives, has in her former existence, taken animal life. Some say that she had killed goats. The cure is the fast of the *Chāndrāyana*, a cow given in charity and the feeding of twelve *Brāhmans*.

[124] A WOMAN who has continued in a state of pregnancy for sixteen years, has in a former birth been burnt when pregnant; the cure is an alms of *Hiranya-garbha*.[22]

BEING A MAID-SERVANT is the punishment for having in a former existence, from ignorance, had criminal intimacy with the husband of another and been burnt for his sake. The cure is, if she be in the house of a *Sudra*, to convey her to the

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[22] That is, the figure of Brahmā.

house of a *Vaisya*, and thus by graduation of caste to a *Brāhman's*, where she should remain in service till her death.

In order to discover whether these punishments are for the deeds of the man or the woman, they should both take the horoscopes of the results of particular actions. If in the horoscope, either the fifth or eleventh (mansion), shows the *ascendens* to be the Sun, Mars, or Saturn or the head or tail of the Dragon (ascending or descending node), and these affect the character of the woman (as based on the three modes of goodness, passion and darkness) which is considered under the influence of Saturn, the punishment is reckoned to be that of the woman, otherwise it appertains to the man. If in both mansions, the results apply to both.[23]

THE FOURTH KIND treats of riches and poverty, and the like. Whoever distributes alms at auspicious times, as during eclipses of the moon and sun, will become rich and bountiful (in his next existence). Whoso at these times, visits any place of pilgrimage, especially *Ilahabās* (Allahabad), and there dies, will possess great wealth, but will be avaricious and of a surly disposition. Whosoever when hungry and

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[23] Each of the Zodiacal signs has peculiar qualities, and these have been tabulated by Alberuni, from the *Laghujātakam*. The cardinal points of Hindu astrology, as he observes, are the planets, zodiacal signs and the houses. The nature of the aspect of every sign depends upon the nature of the *ascendens* which at a given moment rises above the horizon. The aspect between one sign and the fourth or eleventh following is a fourth part of an aspect: that between one sign and the fifth or ninth following, is half an aspect; between the sixth and tenth, three quarters, and between a sign and the seventh following, a whole aspect. If a planet stand in signs which in relation to its rising, are the 10th, 11th, 12th, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th signs, its nature changes for the better: if in other signs for the worse. The Houses indicate severally, various parts of the body, future events as to life, property, disposition, the influences of particular planets and Zodiacal signs, etc. Some of the signs are male and others female alternately from Aries to Pisces. The first half of each male sign is unlucky, as under the influence of the sun which produces males, while the second half is lucky under the influence of the moon which produces females. Women are indicated by the seventh House which is under the influence of Saturn, as Abul Fazl rightly observes.

with food before him, hears the supplication of a poor man and bestows it all upon him, will be rich and liberal. But whosoever has been deprived of these three opportunities will be empty-handed and poor in his present life. The cure is to fulfil scrupulously the duties of his state to whichsoever of the five classes he belongs, and also at *Kurukshetra*, in times of eclipse of the moon and sun, to bury in the ground a piece of gold, if it be but one *māsha*, as an oblation.

Works have been written on each of these four kinds, detailing the causes, symptoms, and remedies of these actions. I have but adduced a little as an exemplar of much by way of illustration.

SVARA

Is the extraordinary science of predicting events by observing the manner in which breath issues from the nostrils. The expiration of breath from the nostrils is in three ways. The first is when it comes principally from the left nostril, and this they ascribe to the influence of the moon. It is then called *Idā* (vital spirit), or *Chandra-nādi*.[24] The second is chiefly from the right nostril, and is called *Pingala* (sun, or fire) and *Surya-nādi*. The third is when the breath issues from the nostrils equally, which is styled *Sushumnā* and also *Sambhu-nādi*. This is attributed to the influence of *Mahādeva*. [P. 125]

Experts in this science distinguish the excess or even breathings by placing the thumb beneath the nostril. Two and a half *gharis* is the time usually allotted to the two former kinds. The third occupies the time taken to pronounce a long vowel (*guru*), that is, a prolated vowel, as in *mā*, thirty-six times. From the first *tithi* called *pariwā*[25] to the third *tithi*,

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[24] *Nāri*, or properly, *Nādi*, signifies in Sanskrit any tubular organ of the body, vein, etc.

[25] A lunar day, or the thirtieth part of a whole lunation, the first of which is called *pariwā*.

the order of breathing is the *Chandra-nādi*, followed by the *Surya-nādi* for the same period, and, so on, alternately, to the end of the month. Some authorities regulate the order by weeks, allotting Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday to the *Surya-nādi*, and Monday, Wednesday and Friday to the *Chandra-nādi*: others, according to the sun's course through the Zodiacal signs, beginning with Aries for the *Surya-nādi* breathings, Taurus for *Chandra-nādi*, and so alternately through the signs to the close of the year. Others again take the retardation of the moon in the Zodiacal signs in the same manner. All are however agreed that irregularity in the prescribed order is productive of temporal misfortune. If the intermission continue for two or three days, quarrels will ensue; if for ten days, a misfortune will befall the wife; if for fifteen days, a severe illness will disturb the happiness of the house. Should it last for a month, the brother will die. If the *Surya-nādi* breathings are in excess for one day and night, the man will die after the expiration of a year. If this anomaly continues for two and three days at a time, he will live a year for every day after the close of the year, according to the number of days. But if it continue for one month, he will die in a month. If the excess of the *Chandra-nādi* be a day and night, the man will fall ill after expiration of the year, and in the same way, according to the number of days, after the close of the year, his sickness will continue. If the irregularity last for one month continuously, he will be ruined in estate. If the excess of *Sushumnā* continues for ten days, the man will die at the entry of the sun into Aries. If *Chandra-nādi* last this period, perturbation of mind and sickness will ensue. If *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation throughout sixteen days after the entry of the Sun into Aries, symptoms of sickness will supervene. When the Sun is in Scorpio, if *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation for two or five days, the man will die in eighteen years, but if the Sun be in Virgo, in fifteen years.

All are agreed that if at sun-rise, either *Surya-nādi* or *Chandra-nādi* will be operative, and the reverse of either at its setting, good fortune will result, otherwise a calamity will ensue, and if the *Chandra-nādi* breathing be reversed in four *gharis*, it is a sign of the occurrence of fortunate events. [P. 126]

According to the varied conditions of hours, days, Zodiacal signs, planetary movements, and manner of breathing in the three ways, divers events attended with joy or sorrow and other circumstances may be predicted. The *Surya-nādi* and *Chandra-nādi* are each five-fold, and each division is named after one of the five elements. In two *gharis* and a half, twenty *pals* are allotted to air; thirty *pals* to fire; forty *pals* to water; fifty *pals* to earth; and ten to ether.[26] Some however give five *pals* to ether, ten to air, fifteen to fire, twenty to water, and twenty-five to earth, which are altogether equal to a *ghari* and a quarter. When this revolution is completed, the recurring series begins with earth, followed by water, fire, air and ether. Some suppose one *ghari* to be allotted severally to the elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether, and each element is distinguished by the manner of the breathing. If it rise upwards, it appertains to the element of fire; if laterally and not beyond the measure of four fingers' breath, to that of air; if it descend, to that of water, its motion being sensible at a distance of twelve fingers. If the impulse be on a level with the nostril, neither upwards nor downwards, nor high nor low, and extending to a distance of eight fingers, it belongs to ether.

In what relates to the particular conditions affecting human actions, this science also furnishes information. Repose betokens the elemental influence of earth; love of sensual pleasures and interior coldness signifies that of water; anger and the conditions that dispose the good inclinations of men to evil are the result of the fiery influence; and that

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[26] Two and a half *gharis*=60 minutes, and a *pal* is equal to 24 seconds.

of ether produces states of divine contemplation, and the emptying of the interior soul of extraneous affections.

They also erect a gnomon on a level surface of ground, and take the extent of its shadow according to determinate finger-measures, counting the length of one finger for Sunday, two for Monday, and so on, up to seven fingers for Saturday. To this they add twelve more and divide the whole into five parts. If no digit-index is left, it is ascribed to ether; if one, to air; if two, to fire; if three, to water; and if four, to earth.

Another practice is to insert the two thumbs in the orifices of the ears, and to close the mouth with the little and fourth fingers of each hand, while the middle fingers press each nostril, and the corners of the eyes are drawn down by the fore-fingers, and the glance is directed between the brows. A spherule then becomes visible. If it have a quadrangular shape, and as if liquescent, it appertains to the element of earth; if it be the shape of a half-moon, and incline to white and appear hard and cold, it is of water; if it be round, bright, hard and black, and variously spotted, it is thought to belong to the element of air; if triangular and luminous, to that of fire, and if no spherule be visible, it is the effect of ether.

Imparting instruction, donations, visiting religious teachers and guides, repairing to the presence of idols, entering a city or house, and other particulars of movement and change of place, and (according to one opinion), undertaking a journey into a foreign country (and in accordance with general custom), buying and selling, the antidotes to various poisons, the repelling of ominous stellar influences, conditions of friendship, culling medicinal plants and herbs in the woods, operations in alchemy, works relating to [127] *Yoga* and other duties of the same gracious character, are believed to be most salutary during the *Chandra-nādi* period; while entering the presence of kings, and undertaking war are best during the *Surya-nādi*. In the *Chandra-nādi* times, in battle, the enemy should be engaged from the left; during

the *Surya-nādi*, from the right. Bodily safety is generally ascribed as dependent on the particular side of the breathing. The conquest of a province and (according to one opinion) travelling in one's own country, eating, sexual intercourse, bathing, imprisonment, withdrawing from any work, obstructing another's affections, and the like inauspicious actions, are suitable to the *Surya-nādi*. In the *Sushumnā* period, no work is undertaken.

All works of an auspicious nature are undertaken under the influence of the elements of water and earth, while those that are to be durable are chosen with reference to the elements of fire and air. No good work is ascribable to ether. When proceeding to any place, that foot is first lifted on whichever side the breathing is greatest, and if a person meets a superior to whom reverence is due, or from whom he expects to receive a favour, he takes care in his movements to keep that personage on the side on which he himself breathes; but an evil-disposed person, or a creditor, and the like, should be kept on the non-respiratory side. They also say that upper and forward situations are dominated by *Chandra-nādi*, and those inferior and behind. by *Surya-nādi*, and in both cases the parties must continue in their several positions till the action is concluded.

Answers to inquirers.

Should any one inquire whether a child about to be born, will be a boy or a girl, the person questioned must ascertain from which of his own nostrils the breathing is greater. If the questioner be on that side, he will gladden him with the news of a son.; if not, he will reply that it will be a girl. If he breathes equally through both nostrils, there will be twins. If it should so happen that during the inquiry, he should breathe through one nostril more than another, he will predict the extinction of that life. Another opinion is that if the

questioner stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, it will be a girl; if on the *Surya-nādi*, a boy, and if the breathing be of the kind *Sushumnā*, an hermaphrodite. Some say that the times referrible to the elements of earth and water, indicate a boy, and those of fire and air, a girl, and ether implies death. If the inquiries relate to matters concerning study, tuition, marriage, menial service or its employment, attendance on the great, and buying and selling, the element of water prognosticates speedy success; that of earth, more tardy; of air, the success will be small; of fire, gain followed by loss. Ether shows no benefit. If the inquiry be regarding rain, the elements of earth and water indicate that rain will fall, but in the latter there is great evidence of a plentiful supply to the crops. The element of air predicts clouds without rain; and fire, gentle showers. Regarding questions as to crops, water and earth show that they will yield the revenue, and in the latter case a full harvest; air indicates a moderate crop, and fire that it will be burnt up. No evidence of result is shown by ether. Should the inquiry be relative to sickness, and if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner be on the *Surya-nādi* side, or *vice versa*, the sick person will die, but if he stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, the patient will quickly recover. Should the question be made on the *Surya-nādi* side, the illness will be protracted, but recovery will follow. Others look to the manner of the breathing. If the question be put during an inspiration which is called living breath, it is a sign of life; but if during an expiration, which is styled lifeless breath, the patient will die; in all inquiries this rule is regarded. A man bitten by a snake or under demoniacal possession, or mauled by a hyæna[27] is accounted among sick persons. [P. 128]

Should the question be regarding invasion by a foreign

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[27] That is, a mad hyæna, which only in that state is supposed to attack a man.

force: if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner stand on that side, it indicates an affirmative; if he stand on the *Surya-nādi* side, a negative. Others say that if the times appertain to the elements of earth and water, no invasion will occur, but those of fire and air denote an advance. Ether gives no response. If the inquiries be concerning war and peace, *Chandra-nādi* implies the latter, and *Surya-nādi* the former. Some maintain that the earth-periods predict a severe engagement and that many will be wounded, while fire, air and ether point to losses on both sides. Water signifies a peace. If the question relate to the issue between the querist and his enemy, earth implies war, and that many will fall; fire predicts victory to the questioner; air defeat, and ether his death in the engagement; water indicates a coming peace. If information be sought regarding the result of hostilities between defenders of a country and foreign troops, *Chandra-nādi* denotes victory to the former, and *Surya-nādi* tc the latter. Some are of opinion that if the questioner stand on the left, and the period be *Chandra-nādi*, if the letters of the name of the questioner he even, he will be successful: if he stand on the right, and it be *Surya-nādi*, and the number of the letters be odd, victory will rest with the latter. If both names have an equal number of letters, and the questioner be on the side of the breathing nostril, the former will have the advantage; if on the side of the non-breathing nostril, the latter.

If information is asked, regarding a person absent, the water-periods indicate his speedy arrival; earth, that he is settled where he is; air, that he has emigrated to another country, and fire implies his death. Ether reveals nothing. If the thoughts of the questioner refer to any subject of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, earth-periods imply the vegetable; water and air, the animal, and fire, the inorganic and mineral; the ether-periods point to the absence of these thoughts from the mind of the questioner.

Such is this strange account, of which let the foregoing suffice :—

AGAMA

is a doctrinal treatise on incantations relative to things that will produce advantage or repel hurt, increase knowledge and remedy diseases, augment wealth, destroy enemies, cement friendship, secure conquest and advance good government, and the like.

SAKUNA

or augury,[28] is the extraordinary art of predicting events from the motions of birds. Their song, their silence, their movements and repose, and indications of pleasure and sadness, and similar signs, discover the present and the future. There are many in this country who are skilled in this important science. One day, in a royal preserve, two *mainàs*[29] sat perched side by side chirping low together. His Majesty deigned to inquire the subject of their converse from an expert in this divination, who replied [129] that were he to reveal their confidence to his Majesty, he would not be believed. The male desired to pair while the female excused herself. It was not improbable that if the nest were searched stains of blood would be found. On examination being made, his words were found to be true. The sooth-sayers of Hindustan foretell future events chiefly by means of five methods, the stars, breathing from the nostrils, augury, incantations, and *ḳevala,*[30] which is divination by the throwing of dice, and it comprises various other kinds of prognostication.

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[28] *Augury* in Hastings, iv. 800.

[29] *Acridotheres tristis.* The word is *sār* in the Persian, a starling. The *Sturnus vulgaris*, or common starling, is the *teliyā mainā*.

[30] Abul Fazl spells this word carefully as *ḳyul*. But the Sanskrit word *ḳevala* has nothing to do with dice-casting. The word nearest to that sense is the Arabic *Ka'b*, meaning a cube or die, also *Ka'bt*. In Sanskrit the word *ḳevala* means spiritual liberation or pure unalloyed knowledge. [J. S.]

SAMUDRIKA

or Palmistry, predicts events from observation of the character of the members of the body and their movements, and from lines and marks, and the results are generally accurate.

GARUDA[21]

is a science treating of snakes, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, the effects of whose injuries it averts. By reciting incantations and repeating the genealogical descent (of the person affected) and praising his ancestry, the animal is made to appear. An extraordinary circumstance is the following: They take an old snake of a particular kind, and after certain incantations they make it bite a Brāhman. When the poison works, the man becomes senseless, in which state he answers any questions put to him, and these prove correct. The Hindu sages believe that during the Kali cycle, nothing can be more true than these revelations of the unknown, and several works containing these answers are still extant.

INDRA-JALA

is the art of sorcery, of magical spells, and sleight of hand. The wonders performed by these means are beyond the power of expression.

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[21] This is the name of the 17th Purāna relating to the birth of Garuda, the mythical bird of vulture, half-man, half-bird, on which Vishnu rides. He is the king of birds, descended from Kasyapa and Vinatā, a daughter of Daksha, and a great enemy of serpents; a hatred inherited from his mother who had quarrelled with her co-wife Kadru, the mother of serpents. He is represented as having the head, wings, and talons of an eagle, and the body and limbs of a man, and has many names and epithets. According to the *Mahābhārata*, his parents gave him liberty to devour wicked men, but was recommended not to touch a Brāhman. Curiosity, or hunger, however, once prevailed, and he is said to have swallowed a Brāhman and his wife together; but his throat was so burnt in the act that he was glad to disgorge them. It is probably this circumstance which gave rise to the practice mentioned by Abul Fazl.

Rasa-vidya

or Alchemy, is the science of the fusing of mercury (*rasa*), gold, silver, copper, and the like. It is by this art that the elixir, or philosopher's stone, is produced.

Ratna-pariksha

is the art of testing jewels and precious stones of various kinds, and treats of their production, properties, value, and kindred subjects.

Kama-sastra

treats of the generation of the human race. [P. 130]

CHAPTER VII.

SAHITYA

or rhetorical composition, is a science comprising various kinds of knowledge. It sets forth the shades of signification in words, appropriateness of expression, and solecisms of language. They hold the Supreme Being to be its author. The meaning underlying a word is said to be four-fold :—(1). *Sakti* (*power* of a word), is denotation and its conventional relation to the thing designated. (2). *Lakshanā* (indication)[1] communicates the applied meaning desired. (3). *Gauna*, (qualitative), illustrates figuratively the thing compared. (4). *Vyanjanā* (suggestion), is to say one thing and mean another which has no apparent application. As, for example, a woman sent her maid-servant with a message to call her husband who, when she entered his private apartment, used criminal familiarity with her and sent an excuse by her for his not returning. When she took back the message, from the pallor of her face

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[1] This term is thus explained in the *Sāhitya Darpana*, by Visvanātha Kavirāja. to which work Abul Fazl is apparently indebted for his information. 'The power by which in such an expression as "the impetuous Kalinga." a word such as "Kalinga," incompatible with the epithet 'impetuous,' if taken in its own sense of a particular country on the Coromandel coast, causes one to think not of the country, but the men connected therewith . . . . this power communicated to it, other than that which belongs to it naturally, is called Indication. Of this element in the drama there are 6 kinds. The treatise classes a word according to the three-fold accident of its function, as Expressive, Indicative and Suggestive. The *expressed* meaning is termed *Vāchya*, conveyed to the understanding by the word's denotation (*abhidha*, literally, power or sense of a word) as a 'cow', or 'horse'; the *meaning indicated* is held to be conveyed by the word's indication, *lakshanā*, as above explained : the *meaning suggested* (*vyangya*), is conveyed by the word's Suggestion (*vyanjanā*). "Indication" has a further eight-fold subdivision, into pure (*suddha*), and qualitative (*gauna*), which latter Abul Fazl classes separately, though acknowledging, later on, its inclusion by some authors under the second head. c. p. 16 and ff. of Pramadā Dāsa Mitra's translation of the above treatise.

and the obliteration of her marks of sandal-wood and collyrium, and of the colour (from her lips), the wife understood what had really occurred. Though much pained, she showed no signs of it in her speech, but said,—'You are speaking on untruth; you never went to fetch him, but you went to the banks of the stream and bathed, for the collyrium is no longer round your eyes nor the sandal-wood unguent on your person.' By this delicate irony she discovered her knowledge of what had taken place, and her own distress of mind.[2]

Some consider the figurative sense (*gauna*), to belong to the second head, and they describe with pecular force and elaborate detail all that makes for literary ornament and grace of expression. It is held to be the highest form of dramatic poetry, of rhetorical art, and metrical composition.[3] This science also comprises the *Navarasa*, or the nine sentiments, which inspire universal interest. The first is *Sringāra-rasa* (the erotic passion), that is, the mutual affection of men and women, and all that relates to their union and separation. Secondly, *Hāsya-rasa*, mirth of various kinds. This is produced, they say, by variations in person, speech, action and dress. It is three-fold :—1. *Smita*. (smile), a slight alteration in cheek, eye and lip. (2). *Vihasita* (gentle laugh), in which the mouth is a little open. (3). *Apahasita*, laughter accompanied by sound of the voice.[4] [P. 131] Thirdly, *Karuna-rasa*, pity or regret, as at the loss of a friend or property. Fourthly, *Raudra*, anger. Fifthly, *Vira* (heroism), the admiration produced by acts of munificence, clemency and valour.

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[2] This identical example occurs in the *Sāhitya Darpana*.

[3] This refers to Chapters IV and V on what is called "Suggestive poetry," which is regarded as its chief beauty. The Sanskrit term for this figurative style is *Dhvani*, and it is said by the author of the work of this name. "Like a beautiful woman with a single member ornamented, the sentence of a good poet shines with 'Suggestion' displayed by a single word."—*Sahitya Darpana*, p. 150.

[4] A fourth division is mentioned in the S. D., *viz.*, *Atihasita*, convulsion of laughter where the limbs lose all control.

Sixthly *Bhayānaka*, terror. Seventhly, *Bibhatsa*, aversion. Eighthly, *Adbhuta*, wonder, as at the sight of any (extraordinary object. Ninthly, *Sānta* (quietism), the tranquillity that comes of knowledge and the indifference which regards friend and foe as alike. Of these they make various subdivisions and illustrate them by delightful examples.

The relations between the sexes are also considered in this branch of knowledge, and the passion of love amply discussed. In Irān and Turān, this affection chiefly subsists between men; in Hindustan and Hijāz, between men and women. Devotion to the female sex is the characteristic of the Arab, while the native of India includes both sexes alike in his regard.

The Hindus term a heroine (in dramatic poetry), *nāyika*, and three kinds are named. (1). *Sviyā*, (own wife), a virtuous woman devoted to her husband: from modesty she looks neither to the right hand nor to the left, but only from the corner of her eyes so that her glance is rarely seen: her laugh does not pass beyond her lips and her teeth are not disclosed: she speaks seldom and never loudly: she rarely loses her temper, and if she be provoked to anger, it is restrained within her heart and does not appear in her eyes or manner. (2). *Parakiyā*, (belonging to another), is one who clandestinely carries on an intrigue with other than her husband. If a married woman she is called *Praudha*; a maiden, *Kanyakā*. Other classifications of this kind are carried to an indefinite extent. *Sāmānyā* (courtesan), is the property of none, and is concerned only in making money.

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[3] A tenth is sometimes added, *vātsalya*, paternal fondness; but according to others there are only eight *rasas*, the last two being omitted. These affections are supposed to lend to dramatic composition its relish and interest, and examples are culled from works that illustrate their force and beauty, as for instance, Bhava bhuti's drama of the *Vira-charita* exemplifies the *rasa* of heroism, the *Mahābhārata* that of quietism or tranquillity, etc. These various sentiments are discussed and evidenced by instances from dramatic poetry, in the *Sāhitya-darpana*.

Sviyā is classed under three heads:—(1). ***Mugdhā***, (artless), one who from her childish age and inexperience goes[6] out-of-doors, and in whom youth begins to grow head-strong, and who may be to some extent conscious of her beauty or otherwise, and shrinks from the embraces of her husband. When she retires to sleep, she regards him furtively and pretends to slumber lest he should enter into conversation but from fear of him sleeps not. The age of such a one ranges from eight to twelve and at times to thirteen. (2). *Madhyā* (middling or adolescent) is one in whom modesty and love for her husband are combined in an equal degree. She may speak in anger [132] but never thus to her husband. Her age does not exceed thirty-two. (3). *Pragalbhā* (bold or mature) makes her love and address pleasing to her husband and captivates him by her experienced arts. The age of this kind extends to fifty-two years.

The last two are further subdivided into three classes. (1). *Dhirā* (constant). If her husband pay attention to another woman, though fired by jealousy, she becomes more assiduous in her devotion and service and by this means makes him ashamed of his conduct. (2). *Adhirā* (capricious). Such a one takes no notice of his infidelity and holds her peace, but she will address him cheerfully so as to cover him with confusion and say:—"It is strange that while you are wakeful, my eyes glance love and while you are drunk with wine, my heart is in agitation." (3). *Dhirā Adhirā*, is one who unites both these dispositions and sighs to show that she understands. Some add a conversation after the manner above indicated.

Sviyā is also of two kinds. (1). *Jyeshthā* (pre-eminent, eldest), is one who is preferred by her husband above all

[6] This appears to be an error. The Sāhitya Darpana says that she 'never goes out of the inner apartments, no longer laughs unconstrainedly, but practises every moment some bashful restraint. Little she speaks," etc. Verses, taken from the marriage of *Prabhāvati* by the author.

women. (2). *Kanisthā* (inferior, youngest) is one for whom her husband's affection is less strong.

Parakiyā is of five kinds. (1). *Guptā* (guarded) covers her conduct, and skilfully conceals her past indiscretions and her future designs, feigning plausible excuses. If for instance she has been scratched by her lover's nail, she will say "I cannot sleep in this room:—a cat chases a mouse, and in the scramble gives me this scratch." (2). *Vidagdhā* (adroit or artful). By her persuasive speech she acquires influence and her winning manners secure it. (3). *Lakshitā* (notorious), shows her affection openly and without fear. (4). *Kulatā* (unchaste), has many lovers and retains the affections of each without pecuniary considerations. (5) *Anusayānā* (regretting), is one who from timidity does not keep her assignation and is fearful lest her lover come and not find her.

They also class women under eight heads:—(1). *Proshita-bhartrikā* is one *whose husband is abroad*, and she is distressed at his absence from her, or he is on the point of setting out and she is disquieted by her fears. Other opinions subdivide this, making nine classes. (2). *Khanditā* is one who is disconsolate at being *betrayed* by her husband or lover. [P. 133] (3). *Kalahāntaritā* is one *who has quarrelled* with her lover and is penitent and wishes to appease him. (4). *Vipra-labdhā* goes to an assignation but is *disappointed* at not finding her lover. (5). *Utkā*[1] is *disconsolate* at her lover's not coming, and seeks the cause thereof. (6). *Vāsakasajjā* is joyful at the coming of her lover, and is *dressed in her ornaments* to receive him. (7). *Svādhina-patikā*, (independent—having her own way), is a woman whose lover is obedient to her wishes. (8). *Abhisārikā*, is one who invites her lover, or herself *goes to him*.

Another classification of women is of three kinds:—(1). *Uttamā* (best), is one who is in love with her husband

[1] *Utkunthitā* is the more correct term in the heroic drama for a woman who longs after her absent lover or husband.

though he show her no affection. (2). *Adhama* (worst), opposite of the above. (3). *Madhyama* (intermediate), is sometimes united in harmony and affection with her husband and at times is unfriendly and estranged.

A further division is four-fold:—(1). *Padmini*, is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of statute. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned; her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste and obedient to her husband. (2). *Chitrini*, is somewhat inferior to the former; is neither stout nor thin, has a slender waist and a full bust. (3). *Sankhini*, is fat and short, constantly quarrelling with her husband and has a violent temper. (4). *Hastini*, is repulsive in appearance and manners.

All these are treated at length, with the particular classes of men that are suited to each. *Māna* signifies indignation in a woman at misconduct on the part of her husband. It is of four kinds:—(1). *Laghu*, (trifling), when she gives herself airs at the least caress or endearment of her husband or lover. (2). *Madhya* (middling), is when she is estranged by some slight provocation. (3). *Guru* (weighty), when after much exertion [entreaty] on his part, [P. 134] she lays aside her wayward humour. (4). *Rasābhasa* (simulated sentiment), is when she refuses reconciliation.

The lover or hero (in a drama) is called *Nāyaka*. These also are named suitably to the heroines, but are restricted to three:—(1). *Pati* (lord or husband), chooses in wedlock only a Hindu woman. (2). *Upapati* (paramour). (3). *Vaishayika*, a sensualist.

Each of these is subdivided into four kinds:—(1). *Anukula*, (faithful), is attached to one woman only. (2). *Dakshina* (impartial), pays his addresses to many, and adroitly secures the favours of all. (3). *Dhrishta*, (cool or impudent), is one whom the heroine in her indignation repels while he caresses and flatters her the more. (4). *Sathu*,

(perfidious), by cunning and simulating affection wins her heart (though attached to another).[8]

In the treatment of love-episodes, the greatest art is shown in the situations of the hero and heroine and the dramas abound with the most felicitous passages.

Sakhi is the term for the usual female confidante on whose faithful service the heroine relies. Her advice and devotion are of the greatest comfort. She jests and amuses her mistress and never fails her in the time of need. She arranges her ornaments and assists in tiring her. By her persuasive representations she removes the misunderstandings between husband and wife and effects a reconciliation. She is ever ready with her counsel and good offices, and is entrusted with messages. Such a female is called *duti;* if a man, *duta*. She is conversant with all the mysteries of union and separation and is an expert in matters connected with love and rivalry.

In this art the manners and bearing of the hero and the heroine are set forth with much variety of exposition, and illustrated by delightful examples. The works on this subject should be consulted by those who are interested in its study.

SANGITA

is the art of singing, accompanied by music and dancing. The subject is treated in seven chapters (*adhyāyas*).

THE FIRST is *Svarādhyāya,* on musical tone which is of two kinds. [135] (1). *Anāhata*, sound produced without cause (*i.e.*, otherwise than by percussion). This is considered to be one and eternal. If a man close both orifices of his

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[8] These four divisions are subdivided into sixteen. The cool or impudent lover is thus amusingly exemplified in the *Sāhitya Darpana* 'Perceiving her countenance crimson with passion, I went near intending to kiss her. She spurned me with her foot ; but having humbly caught hold of it, I burst out laughing. O my friend, the anger of the fair-browed one, shedding tears, from her then being unable to do anything, prolongs, whenever thought of, the amusement of my mind," p. 59.

ears with his fingers, he will be conscious of a resonance, and this is signified by the above term. They believe this to proceed from *Brahmā*, and when the consciousness of it becomes habitual and it is heard without mediate aid, final liberation (*mukti*) is then attained. (2). *Ahata*, sound produced by a cause, which, like speech, is accounted a quality of air and is produced by percussion and protrusion. They say that in each of the three locations of the abdomen, the throat, and the head, twenty-two fibres or chords have been divinely created. The primary movement of air is from the navel, and the volume of sound produced depends upon the strength or softness of the initial force exerted.[9]

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[9] The doctrine of the vital airs has already preceded in the account of the schools of Hindu philosophy. The abdomen is supposed to be the seat of the fire which keeps up the heat of the body, and this fire is surrounded and retained in place by the airs called *Samāna*. In the Pātanjala system, by the subdual of this air, the perfected Yogin appears illumined by the radiance of the flame which then escapes from the body. The same internal heat plays an important part in the production of the voice. According to Rājah Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, in his pamphlet, *The Twenty-two Musical Srutis of the Hindus*, when the animal soul wishes to speak, the mind acts on the abdominal fire which mixes with the vital air pervading the ligament known as *Brahma Granthi*, below the navel. This vital air thus expands, causing in the navel the *ati sukshma nāda*, or the very minute sound: in the chest, the *sukshma* or the minute, in the throat, the *pushta*, or the developed; in the head, the *apushta*, or suppressed: and in the mouth, the *kritrima*, or artificial. Connected with or based upon these chords, are the twenty-two *srutis*, or particles of sound sensible to the ear, which are essential to the formation of the Hindu *Saptaka*, or heptachord.

It is strange that though the *srutis* form the basis of Hindu Music, Abul Fazl does not mention the term nor allude to them except by implication as vocal chords in the human frame.

The *Srutis* are personified as Nymphs, and have each their name, though varying in different writers. The 21 *murchhanās*, which also play an important part in Hindu Music, are omitted by Abul Fazl.

Sangita Ratnakāra, (Ed. Vedantavāgisa and Sāradā Prasāda Ghosha, p. 61). These *Murchhanās* and not the *rāgas* may be said to correspond to the Greek—modes of the Æolian, Lydian, Ionic, Doric or Phrygian, so named according to the character of the sentiments they inspired. The effect of the different *murchhanās* when played on the *sitāra*, is very striking.

They consider that the fifth, sixth, eighteenth and nineteenth chords are mute and the remaining eighteen are classed under the seven primary notes in the following order:—

(1). *Shadja*,[10] is taken from the note of the peacock (and extends to the fourth chord). (2). *Rishabha*, is taken from the note of the *Papiha* (Coccystes Melanoleucos), and beginning after the fourth chord (omitting the fifth and sixth), extends from the seventh to the tenth. (3). *Gāndhāra*, is from the bleating of a he-goat and its compass extends from the ninth to the thirteenth. (4). *Madhyama*, resembles the cry of the Coolen Crane[11] (*Ardea Sibirica*), and its compass is from the thirteenth to the sixteenth. (5). *Panchama*, is taken from the note of the *Ka'il* (Cuculus Indicus), and is attuned on the seventeenth. (6). *Dhaivata*, is like the croak of the frog, and its compass extends from the twentieth[12] to the twenty-second. (7). *Nishāda* is taken from the sound of the elephant and its compass is from the twenty-second to the third of the next series (of twenty-two). Each heptachord occurs successively in each series, and in the third, *Nishāda*, cannot, of course, go beyond the twenty-second chord.

A system of intervals in which the whole seven notes of the gamut are employed, is termed *Sampurna*. If there be only six, the fundamental must be one of them, and it is styled *Shādava*; if five, *Audava*, the fundamental being of necessity one of them. None has fewer than these, but the *tāna* which is a separate intonation may consist of two.[13]

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[10] Pronounced *Sharja*. It means literally six-born, *i.e.*, the fundamental from which the other six notes arise.

[11] According to the *Sangita Darpana* the note is that of the *Krauncha*, or heron (*Arden Jaculator*).

[12] The text has eight, which must be an error for twenty. The seven notes of the scale are represented by the seven initial syllables of their names, after the manner of Guido's notation, thus: Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, corresponding to our,—

D. E. F. G. A. B. C.

and the *S'rutis* are allotted to the several notes, as follows: to *Sa*, *ma* and *pa*, four: to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two.

[13] By the term *naghma* which I have rendered system of intervals, a *murchhanā* must be meant. Each *murchhanā* is said to

THE SECOND is *Rāga-vivekādhyāya*, on divers musical compositions and their variations.[14]

Their origin is ascribed to *Mahādeva* and (his wife) *Pārvati*. The first-mentioned had five mouths, from each of which issued a melody in the following order:—

(1). *Sri-rāga*. (2). *Vasanta*. (3). *Bhairava*. (4). *Panchama*. (5). *Megah*. (6). *Nata-Narāyana* was produced by *Pārvati*.

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be *sampurna*, or complete, when all seven notes are employed, and *asampurna* when defective. When wanting one it is called Shādava and wanting two Audava. In the *murchhanās of Sharja, sa, ri, pa, ni*, and in those of *Madhyama, sa, ri, ga*, used to be omitted one at a time, to make *Shadavi Murchhanās* which were 49 in number, *viz.*, 28 of Sharja and 21 of Madhyama. The *Audavi murchhanās* of *Sharja* were formed by omitting *sa, pa*, or *ri, pa*, or *ga, ni*, and were therefore 21. The omission of *ri*, and *dna*, at one time, and at another of *ga* and *ni*, formed the twelve *Audavi murchhanās* of Madhyama. The total number of these latter is therefore 35 in the two *grāmas* which with the 49 *shādavis* make 84 *asampurna murchhanās* which were called *tānas* by some authors. The various combinations of the different notes in a *murchhanā*, are called *tānas*, each, from seven notes to one, having a separate name. The aggregate combinations of all these by a process of simple arithmetic show a total of 13,699.

[14] So I render "maqam" and "shubah" by which Abul Fazl signifies *rāgas* and *rāginis*. Willard and Carey dispute the usual translation of *rāga* by *mode*, and Sir S M. Tagore confirms their dissent by his own; he says there is no corresponding term in English for *rāga*. From an able article in the *Cal. Rev.*, CXXXVII. of 1879, by Sārada Prasāda Ghosha, the learned co-editor of the Sangita Ratnakāra to which I am already indebted for the substance of this information on the *murchhanās* and *tānas*, I borrow the following explanation of the *rāga*. It is defined as a musical composition consisting of not less than five notes of a *Murchhanā* (mark this term) in accordance with certain rules with a view to a particular æsthetic effect. The chief rules are that a note is assumed with which the Rāga begins. This is called *graha*; another with which it must invariably end, called *nyāsa*; a third, which is the tonic or predominant, repeated oftener than the others, and perhaps more noticeable also in the *time*, and called *ansa* or *bādi*: a fourth, which is 9 or 13 *strutis* above or below the *bādi*, used almost as frequently and termed *sambādi*. A *rāga* differs from another consisting of notes of a different *murchhanā*, when a *bādi*, *sambādi* or *grāha*, etc., in the one is not the same in the other. Other distinctions and subtleties of interchange and mutilations of the scale produce countless varieties of the *rāga*. It will be thus seen that the *rāga* depends chiefly on its *murchhanā* which can produce only *rāgas* in a certain setting, the change of the *murchhanā*, *bādi* and *sambādi* altering the class of the *rāga*.

Each of these six modes is called in Sanskrit *Rāga*, and they are reckoned the primary orders of sound. Each of them has numerous variations.

The *Sri-rāga* has the whole seven notes (*saṁpurna*) of the gamut. In this, *Rishabha* has a compass to the eighth chord, *Gāndhāra* to the tenth, *Madhyama* to the thirteenth, and *Dhaivaṭa* to the twenty-first: *Nishāda* is allotted but one. And in like manner other changes occur throughout all the modifications.

1. VARIATIONS OF SRI-RAGA:—(1). *Mālavi.* (2). *Tirovani.*[15] (3). *Gauri.* (4). *Kedāri.* (5). *Madhu-mādhavi.* (6). *Vihāri.*

2. VARIATIONS OF VASANTA:—(1). *Desi.* (2). *Devagiri.* (3). *Vairāti.* (4). *Todi.* (5). *Lālitā.* (6). *Hindoli.*

3. VARIATIONS OF BHAIRAVA:—(1). *Madhya-mādi.* (2). *Bhairavi.* [137] (3). *Bāngah.* (4). *Varātaka.* (5). *Sindavi.* (6). *Punarjneyā.*[16]

4. VARIATIONS OF PANCHAMA:—(1). *Vibhāsa.* (2). *Bhupāli.* (3). *Kānarā.* (4). *Badhansikā.* (5). *Maldsri.* (6). *Padhamanjari.*

5. VARIATIONS OF MEGHA:—(1). *Malār.* (2). *Sorathi.* (3). *Asāvari.* (4). *Kaisuki.* (5). *Gāndhāri.* (6). *Harsingāri.*

6. VARIATIONS OF NATA NARAYANA:—(1). *Kāmodi.* (2). *Kalyān.* (3). *Ahiri.* (4). *Suddhanāta.* (5). *Sālak.* (6). *Nat-Hamira.*

Some allow only five variations to each mode and numerous other differences occur. Others in place of *Vasanta,*

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[15] I take the following variants from the *Sangita Darpana*,—*Trivanā, Kedārā,* and *Pahāri*. Many of the terms given by Abul Fazl below, also differ from the names in the *Sāhitya Darpana*.

[16] This is a blunder through ignorance of Sanskrit from which Abul Fazl's pandits should have saved him. This list is taken from *Hanumān* who gives but five *Rāginis* in the exact order of the names in Abul Fazl and concludes the fifth in the S. D., with the *sloka* पुनर् ज्ञेया भैरवस्य वरांगना *i.e.,* "*and* (Sindavi, etc.) *are to be understood* as the beautiful wives of Bhairava". The words in italics have been mistaken by Abul Fazl for the name of a *Rāgini*.

Panchama and *Megha*, substitute *Mālakausika*, *Hindola* and *Dipaka*, and make five instead of six variations to each, with a few other discrepancies of less importance. [138] Others again, in place of the second, third, fourth and fifth modes, have *Suddha-bhairava*, *Hindola*, *Desakāra* and *Suddha-nāta*.

Songs are of two kinds. The first is called *Mārga* or the lofty style as chanted by the gods and great Rishis, which is in every country the same, and held in great veneration. The masters of this style are numerous in the Dekhan,[17] and the six modes abovementioned with numerous variations of which the following are examples, are held by them to appertain to it.

(1). *Surya-prakāsa*. (2). *Pancha-tālesvara*. (3). *Sarvatobhadra*. (4). *Chandra-prakāsa*. (5). *Rāga-kadamba*. (6). *Jhumara*. (7). *Svaravartani*.

The second kind is called *Desi* or applicable to the special locality, like the singing of the *Dhrupad* in Agra, Gwalior, Bāri and the adjacent country. When Mān Singh[18] (Tonwar) ruled as Rājā of Gwalior, with the assistance of *Nāyak Bakshu*, *Macchu*, and *Bhanu*, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined

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[17] According to Capt. Day (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, Chap VIII), from early times Tanjore has been the chief seat of Music in Southern India, and most of the chief Karnātik musicians have either lived there or were educated in the Tanjore School.

[18] See p. 611 n. Vol. I. The fame of the Gwalior School of Music dates from the reign of this prince. Bakshu continued at the court of Bikramājit, the son of Mān Singh, and after his death entered the service of Rājā Kirat of Kālinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujarāt. Bayley in his *History of Gujurāt*, speaks of a minstrel called *Bacchu* attached to Sultān Bahādur's court, who was taken before Humāyun on the capture of Mandu in 1535. The Emperor had given orders for a general massacre, but being told that this musician had not his equal in Hindustan, he was directed to sing and so charmed the royal ear, that he was given a dress of honour and attached to the court. He subsequently fled to Sultān Bahādur who was so rejoiced at his return that he declared his every wish fulfilled and sorrow banished from his heart.

taste. On his death, *Bakshu* and *Machhu* passed into the service of Sultān Mahmud of Gujarāt where his new style came into universal favour.

The *Dhurpad*[19] (Dhruva-pada) consists of four rhythmical lines without any definite prosodial length of words or syllables. It treats of the fascinations of love and its wondrous effects upon the heart. In the Dekhan these songs are expressed in their language by the term *Chind*, and consist of three or four lines, and are chiefly laudatory. In the Tilanga and Carnatic [P. 139] dialects they are called *Dhruva*, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called *Bangala*, and those of Jounpur, *Chutkala*, while the songs of Delhi are called *kaul* and *tarāna*. These last were introduced by *Amir Khusaru*, of Delhi, in concert with *Sāmit* and *Tatār*, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety. The songs of Mathura are called *Bishn-pad*, (Vishnu-pada) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Vishnu. Those of Sind are styled *Kāmi* and are amatory. Those in the dialect of *Tirhut* are called *Lahchāri*, and are the composition of *Biddyā-pat*, and in character highly erotic. In Lahor and the adjacent parts, they are called *Chhand;* those of Gujarāt, *Jakri.*[20]

[19] Willard calls the *Dhurpad* the heroic song of Hindustan, the subject being frequently the recital of the memorable actions of their heroes, and also treating of love and even of trifling and frivolous topics. Its origin he ascribes to Rājā Mān Singh whom he calls the father of *Dhurpad* singers. *Chind* in the text I suspect to be an error for *Chhand*, (Sansk. *Chhandas*) a sacred hymn and also a musical measures; *Dhruva* signifies the introductory stanza or recurring verse of a poem or song repeated as a refrain. *Chutkala* is a jest or pleasantry and these songs resemble probably the ancient Fescennine verses designed to catch the coarse and indelicate humour of the mob. The *Bishan-pad* according to Willard, was introduced by the blind (*sur*) poet and musician *Sur Das*. His name occurs in Blochmann's list, p. 617, I. Of Sāmit and Tatār I find no mention. Some of these singers came from Mashhad, Tabriz, Kashmir, and from beyond the Oxus.

[20] By Willard, *Zikri*, a much more probable name, as they are on the subject of morality. This class of religious song was introduced into Hindustan by *Qazi Mahmud*. V. Willard's treatise on *The Music of Hindustan*.

The war songs and heroic chants called *Karkha*, they term *Sādara*, and these consist also of four, six, and eight lines, and are sung in various dialects.

Besides these that have been named, there are numerous other modes, amongst which are the following:—

Sārang; Purbi; Dhanāsri; Rāmkali; Kurāi, (which His Majesty has styled *Sughrāi*);[21] *Suha; Desakāla* and *Desākha*.

THE THIRD is called *Prakirnādhyāya* or a chapter of miscellaneous rules and treats of *Alāpa*,[22] which is of two kinds. (1). *Rāgālapa*, the development of the *rāga*, commonly termed (in Persian) *adā* and *tasarruf*, and (2). *Rupālāpa*: which comprises the metrical setting of the words to the air and their vocal expression. [P. 140]

THE FOURTH, or *Prabandhādhyāya*, is on the art of composing a rhythmic measure (*gita*)[23] to vocal music. It consists of six members, *viz*. (1). *Svara*, (notes as *sa, ri*, &c., taken at their proper pitch). (2). *Viruda*, panegyric. (3). *Pada*, name of its object. (4). *Tenā*, a cadence of notes on a symbolic standard, as *tena, tenā*, and the modulation of the lines. (5). *Pāta*, the continuous imitation of sounds (proceeding from percussion instruments) as *tena, tenā, mānā*, &c., from three letters to twenty, in a specific order as a supplementary guiding measure. (6). *Tāla*, rhythm expressed by beat. If the

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[21] Probably to change the ominous name, *Kurāi*, signifying stocks for the feet, and *Sughrāi*, beauty or grace.

[22] Sir S. M. Tagore explains in his "*Six Principal Rāgas*," that it is a practice with singers, before commencing a song to develop the character of the *rāga* by means of *gamakas*, and *tānas*. This is called *alāpa* in which the notes peculiar to the *rāga* are sung as a prelude to shew its character.

[23] *Pada* technically is a sentence formed of words having a meaning. *Tena*, meaningless words used by singers to exhibit the air alone, unaccompanied by words. The six members of the *Gita* may be thus briefly exemplified:—

1st (*Svara*), *sa, ga, ri, sa*.
2nd (*Viruda*), Thou art my God
3rd (*Pada*), I look to thee.
4th (*Tena*), Tena, na, te, na.
5th (*Pāta*), Dha, Dhin, Kath, Thege.
6th (*Tāla*), beats by hand at equal intervals.

whole six members be present, the composition (*prabandha*) is called *medini*;[24] if one less, it is termed *ānandini*; if two less, *dipani*; if three less, *bhāvani*, and if four less, *tārāvali*; but with only two it does not (commonly) occur.

These four *adhyāyas* treat of the various refinements of melody.

THE FIFTH is *Tāladhyāya*, on the nature and quantity of the musical beats.

THE SIXTH is *Vādyādhyāya*, on the various musical instruments. These are of four kinds.

(1). *Tata*, stringed instruments. (2). *Vitata*, instruments over which skin is stretched. (3). *Ghana*, all that gives resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies. (4). *Sushira*, wind instruments.

THE FIRST KIND, OR STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.

The *Yantra*[25] is formed of a hollow neck of wood a yard in length, at each end of which are attached the halves of two gourds. Above the neck are sixteen frets over which are strung five steel wires fastened securely at both ends. The low and high notes and their variations are produced by the disposition of the frets.

The *Vinā* (Hindi *Bin*) resembles the *Yantra*, but has three strings.

The *Kinnar* resembles the *Vina*, but with a longer finger-board and has three gourds and two wires.[26]

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[24] Sir S. M. Tagore makes *tāla* synonymous with *chhandas*, or metre, and guiding its movement. The beat conforms to the variety of the metre, upon the rhythmic feet of which is based, as with the Greeks, their musical measure.

[25] *Yantra* (Hindi Jantra) signifies an instrument of any kind. I do not anywhere find mention of a particular musical instrument under this name.

[26] A coloured drawing of this instrument, as well as of the *Vina* and most of those mentioned in the text, will be found in Capt. Day's superb volume, *Music of Southern India*. The plates, besides their utility as illustrations, are artistically beautiful and a description of the instrument accompanies each.

The *Sar-vinā* is also like the *Vinā* but without frets.

[141] The *Amriti* has the finger-board shorter than the *Sar-vinā*, and a small gourd below the upper side, and one steel wire upon which all the scales may be played.

The *Rabāb*[27] has six strings of gut, but some have twelve and others eighteen.

The *sarmandal*[28] is like the *Kānun*. It has twenty-one strings, some of steel, some of brass, and some of gut.

The *Sārangi* is smaller than the *Rabāb* and is played like the *Ghichak*.[29]

The *Pināk*, called also *Sur-bitāna*, is of wood about the length of a bow and slightly bent. A string of gut is fastened to it and a hollow cup inverted, is attached at either end. It is played like the *Ghichak*, but in the left hand a small gourd is held which is used in playing.

The *Adhati* has one gourd and two wires.

The *Kingara* resembles the *Vinā*, but has two strings of gut and smaller gourds.

The Second Kind of Instruments.

The *Pakhāwaj*[30] is made of a thick shell of wood shaped like a myrobolan and hollow. It is over a yard in length and if clasped round the middle, the fingers of the two hands will meet. The ends are a little larger in circumference than the

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[27] This name, if not the instrument, is of Arabian origin. Specimens of the *Rabāb*, as well as of the *kānun*, the lute and other instruments are given in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, Chap. XVIII.

[28] Capt. Day writes the name *Svara-Māndala*, and calls it the *Kānun* or Indian Dulcimer, the strings of brass and steel, and occasionally gut, and played with two plectra worn on the finger-tips.

[29] This is a kind of Persian lute. A specimen of the *Sārangi*, or fiddle, will be found in Day.

[30] One of Capt. Day's plates represents this drum under the name of the *Mridang* by which it is best known in Southern India. The two heads are tuned to the tonic, and fourth or fifth. The centre of the smaller head is coated with a composition of resin, oil, and wax and an embroidered cloth is commonly stretched over the upper side of the shell as an ornament. It is beaten by the hands, finger-tips and wrists, and is well enough known throughout India.

mouth of a pitcher and are covered with skin. It is furnished with leather braces which are strained, as in the *nakāra* or kettle-drum, and four pieces of wood, under a span in length, are inserted (between the shell and the braces) on the left side and serve to tune the instrument.

The *Awaj* is made of a hollow piece of wood, and might be described as two kettle-drums joined at the reverse ends and their heads covered with skin and braced with thongs.

The *Duhul*[31] (drum) is well-known.

The *Dhadda* is like the *Duhul* but very small.

The *Ardhōwaj* is half the size of the *Awaj*.

The *Daf*, or tambourine, is well-known.[32]

The *Khanjuri* is a tambourine smaller than the *Daf*, but with cymbals, and its surface is about the size of a pitcher.[33]

The Third Kind of Instruments.

The *Tāla* is a pair of brass cymbals like cups with broad mouths.

The *Kath Tāla*, or castanets, are small and fish-shaped. The set consists of four pieces, of wood or stone.

The Fourth Kind of Instruments.

[142] The *Shahnā*,[34] called in Persian *Surnā*,

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[31] This is the Persian equivalent of the ordinary Dhol of Hindustan.

[32] Capt. Day describes it as an octagonal frame of wood, about 6 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter, covered on one side with skin and strained by means of a network of thin leather thongs. It is struck with the fingers of the right hand, and a thin switch held perpendicularly over it by the fingers of the left is made to strike the instrument at intervals, according to the time. It has no cymbals.

[33] It is a wooden hoop 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 3 or 4 inches deep, bored out of the solid. In the hoop are three or four slits containing pieces of metal strung together which clash as the tambourine is shaken.

[34] They are both Persian words, the *Shahnā*, or *Shahnāi*, being literally the king-pipe, a kind of clarion or oboe. The word *Surnā* is also written as *Surnāi*.

The *Mashk*, or bagpipe. is composed of two reeds perforated according to rule and attached (to the bag). It is called in Persian *Nai-ambān*.

The *Murli* is a kind of flute.

The *Upang* is a hollow reed a yard long, the upper part of which has a hole in the centre in which a reed is inserted.

THE SEVENTH is *Nrityādhyāya*, or the art of dancing.

On the Classes of Singers.

Having cursorily reviewed the subject of vocal and instrumental music, I turn to a brief mention of their musicians.

The chanters of the ancient hymns which were everywhere the same, were called *Vaikāras*, and their teachers were styled *Sahakāras*. The *Kalāants*, or more commonly *Kalavants* or bards, are well known, and sing the *Dhurpad*.

The *Dhādhis* are the Punjabi singers who play upon the *Dhadda* and the *Kingara*. They chiefly chant the praises of heroes on the field of battle and lend fresh spirit to the fight. The *Kawwālis*[36] are of this class, but sing mostly after the Delhi and Jounpur style, and Persian verses in the same manner.

The *Hurkiyah* men play upon the *Huruk*, which is also called *Awj*, and the women the *Tāla*, and they also sing. Formerly they chanted the *Karkha*, but nowadays only the *Dhurpad*, and the like. Many of the women add great beauty to their musical accomplishments.

The *Dafzan*, or tambourine player. The *Dhādhi* women chiefly play on the *Daf* and the *Duhul*, and sing the *Dhurpad*

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[35] The smaller of the two pipes is used to inflate the bag which is made of the skin of a kid. It is used merely as a drone: the holes in the pipe are wholly or partially stopped with wax to tune the instrument to pitch. The drone is of cane, mounted in a stock of the same material which contains the reed. The whole reed is in one piece. Black wax is used to make the instrument wind-tight. It is also called *sruti-upanga*. Day's *Music of Southern India*, Plate XVI.

[36] The professional chanters and story-tellers.

and the *Sohlā* on occasions of nuptial and birthday festivities in a very accomplished manner. Formerly they appeared only before assemblies of women but now before audiences of men.

The *Sezdah-tāli*. The men of this class have large drums, and the women, while they sing, play upon thirteen pairs of *tālas* at once, two being on each wrist, two on the joint of each elbow, two on the junction of the shoulder blades, and two on each shoulder, one on the breast and two on the fingers of each hand. They are mostly from Gujarāt and Mālwah. [P. 143]

The *Natwas* exhibit some graceful dancing, and introduce various styles to which they sing. They play upon the *Pakhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*.

The *Kirtaniya* are Brāhmans, whose instruments are such as were in use among the ancients. They dress up smooth-faced boys as women and make them perform, singing the praises of Krishna and reciting his acts.

The *Bhagatiya* have songs similar to the above, but they dress up in various disguises and exhibit extraordinary mimicry. They perform at night.

The *Bhanvayya* resemble the last-named, but they exhibit both by night and day. Sitting and standing in the compass of a copper dish called in Hindi, *thāli*, they sing in various modes and go through wonderful performances.

The *Bhānd* play the *Duhul* and *Tāla* and sing and mimic men and animals.

The *Kanjari*: The men of this class play the *Pakhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*, while the women sing and dance. His Majesty calls them *Kanchanis*.

The *Nats* are rope-dancers, and perform wonderful acrobatic feats. They play on the *Tāla* and *Duhul*.

The *Bahu-rupi* exhibit their mimicry by day: youths disguise themselves as old men so successfully that they impose upon the most acute observers.

The *Bāzigar* performs wonderful feats of legerdemain and by his dexterous conjuring deceives the eye. For instance, one will carry an enormous stone on his back, or they will appear to cut a man into pieces and then restore him to his natural state.

Their extraordinary performances are beyond description and each of them affects a special style of vocal accompaniment.

[144] *The Akhārā*

is an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose (female) domestic servants are taught to sing and play. Four pretty women lead off a dance, and some graceful movements are executed. Four others are employed to sing, while four more accompany them with cymbals: two others play the *pakhāwaj*, two the *upang*, while the Dekhan *rabāb*, the *vinā* and the *yantra*, are each taken by one player. Besides the usual lamps of the entertainment, two women holding lamps stand near the circle of performers. Some employ more. It is more common for a band of these *natwās* to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform. Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by the commerce.

His Majesty has a considerable knowledge of the principles explained in the *Sangita* and other works, and what serves as an occasion to induce a lethargic sleep in other mortals, becomes to him a source of exceeding vigilance.

Gaja Sāstra

is the knowledge of elephants and all that concerns their various peculiarities, their care and health and the causes and symptoms of sickness and its remedies.

Salihotra,

or veterinary surgery, is the knowledge of all that appertains to the horse and its treatment.

Vāstuka

is the science of architecture and its characteristics.

Supa

treats of the arts of cookery and the properties of food.

Rājaniti

is the science of state-craft. As it behoves a monarch in the governance [P. 145] of the interior spirit, to avoid the evil results of desire and anger (Sanskrit, *Kāma* and *Krodha*), similarly the administration of temporal affairs is guided by observance of the like conduct. The principal occasions of unruliness of desires which cause the downfall of princes, are said to be ten:—(1) The pursuit of game. (2) Dicing. (3) Sleep. (4) Censoriousness. (5) Intercourse with women. (6) Singing songs.[37] (7) Dancing. (8) The society of musicians. (9) Wine. (10) Solitude.

The chief sources of the calamities [*i.e.*, vices born] of anger are:—(1) Confiscation of property. (2) Ungraciousness in acknowledgment of benefits. (3) Betraying a secret. (4) Unmindfulness of the service of dependants. (5) Abusive language. (6) Unjust suspicion. (7) Taking life without due deliberation, and the like. (8) Publishing the faults of others.

It is incumbent on monarchs to live free from the baneful consequences of desire and anger and not to sully their dignity

[37] I am not sure of this interpretation of *naqsh guftan*. From the context, the meaning I have given is the most appropriate, and Vüller admits this signification of *naqsh* in his lexicon.

This section has been taken from Manu's *Institutes*, 7th canto verses 47 *et seq*, where we have as the 8th and 10th of the vices born of desire,—"playing on musical instruments" and "sauntering or aimless wandering" in the places of the two mentioned above by Jarrett. The sixth in the Sanskrit original is really "singing". [J. Sarkar.]

with these eighteen sources of crime. If they are unable to avoid them altogether, they should never transgress due measure in their regard. They say that a prince should be God-fearing, circumspect and just, compassionate and bountiful, recognising virtue and the distinctions of rank and merit. He should be courteous in speech, kindly in aspect and condescending in his manner. He should be ever ambitious of extending his dominions, and should protect his subjects from the exactions of revenue-officers, from thieves, robbers and other evil-doers. He should proportion the punishment to the offence and be firm of purpose and yet clement. His intelligencers should be appointed from among men of trust and sagacity. He should never despise his enemy nor be remiss in vigilance nor be proud of his wealth and power. He should not admit to his court venal and corrupt designers. A king resembles a gardener and should carry out, in regard to his subjects, the course pursued in the care of his garden by the other, who puts away thorns and weeds and keeps his flower-beds in good order, allowing no depredations from without. In the same way a prince should transfer to the frontier of his dominions the turbulence of the seditious, and free the courts of his palace from their machinations, and allow no other evil designers to enter them. The gardener, likewise, from time to time, prunes the redundancy of leaf and branch on his trees, so the king should isolate from each other the more powerful nobles whose friends and dependants are dangerously numerous. The gardener also invigorates his weak saplings with water, and the king should similarly sustain with beneficence his impoverished soldiery.

The king should choose a circumspect person of exemplary piety, courteous in disposition, vigilant, zealous, and masterful, reading the signs of the times and divining the intentions of his lord, and ready of speech, and in consultation with him, provide for the spiritual and temporal affairs of his kingdom. But if he finds himself physically unable to carry

on these duties, he should entrust their complicated direction to him. In important affairs he should not consult with many advisers, because the qualifications necessary in such cases are fidelity, breadth of view, fortitude of spirit, and perspicacity, and the union of these four priceless virtues in any one man is uncommonly rare. Although some statesmen of former times consulted with men of a different stamp with the intention of acting directly contrary to their advice, in the majority of cases this course did not answer and many disasters were the consequence, for this special reason, that it is difficult to efface from the mind the suspicions aroused by the insinuations of cowardly, unprincipled, short-sighted and base men. [146] Former princes adopted the practice of selecting from four to eight intelligent counsellors with the qualifications above-mentioned, under the presidency of one of their number. The opinion of each of these was separately taken on matters concerning the welfare of the State and the revenues, after which they were assembled in consultation and their several opinions carefully weighed without disclosing the author.

Further, a prince is in need of a faithful attendant, a profound astrologer, and a skilful physician. His wide experience will enable him to surround himself with friends, to maintain a well-appointed force, and to fill his treasury. He will portion out his dominions and entrust them to just and circumspect governors, and unite them in a befitting co-operation of government. He is jealous in the construction and provision of his fortresses and careful in their maintenance.

With his equals in power he is on terms of amity and concord and exacts tribute from the weak. He sows dissensions in the armies of one more powerful than himself by skilful intrigue, or failing this, he conciliates him with presents. As long as possible he avoids hostilities with all, but when war is inevitable, he enters upon it with fearlessness and vigour and upholds his honour. He should consider a prince whose territories are conterminous with his own, as his

enemy though he be profuse in demonstrations of friendship. With one whose country is situated next beyond, he should form an alliance. With a third more remote, he should avoid all intercourse whether hostile or friendly.

After the above manner have statesmen laid down rules of government, suggesting approved modes of conduct and enforcing them with numerous happy illustrations, all of which are referrible to the qualities of wisdom, recognition of merit, bravery, good temper, reserve in speech, zeal, and benevolence.

VYAVAHARA

or

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.[38]

The learned among the Hindus say that litigation in its various kinds falls under eighteen titles, for each of which there is a separate course of procedure, *viz.*—(1). Non-payment of debt. (2). Deposits. (3). Sale without ownership. (4). Disputes in partnership. (5). Reclaiming a gift. (6). Disputes between master and servant regarding wages, under which head are included labourers and such as work for hire. (7). Default of revenue by the cultivator. (8). Recision of purchase between buyer and seller. (9). Mulcts on herdsmen. (10). Boundary disputes. (11). Slander. (12). Assault. (13). Theft. (14). Violence with bloodshed. (15). Adultery. (16). Altercation between man and wife. (17). Inheritance. (18). Gambling disputes.

[38] For Hindu Law, Hastings *Ency*. vii. 850-853. iv. 283 (crimes). Abul Fazl's authority seems to be the *Ordinances of Manu* of which the 8th chapter deals with Civil and Criminal law. The eighteen titles are somewhat differently worded in Manu, and I give them for comparison. Non-payment of debt ; pledges ; sale without ownership ; partnership and non delivery of what has been given ; non-payment of wages ; breach of contract ; revocation of sale (and) purchase ; disputes between master and servant ; disputes about boundaries ; assault (and) slander ; theft ; violence ; adultery ; the law between man and woman ; partition ; dicing ; games with animals."

The king in his judicial character must erect his tribunal facing the east. He must conduct the duties of his office in person, and if he cannot always himself attend to them, he must delegate his authority to a wise, fearless and painstaking deputy. [P. 147]

The plaintiff is termed *Vādin* and the defendant *Prativādin*. A child under twelve years of age may not be summoned to court, nor one who is drunk; nor one crazy, nor one who is sick or engaged in the service of the State, nor a woman without relations, or of high family, or who has recently given birth to a child. A discreet person should be commissioned to interrogate in such cases, or they should be brought into the royal presence.

The plaintiff's statement is taken down in writing, with the date of the year, month, and day, and the names of the two parties and their ancestors for three descents, and many other particulars. The reply of the defendant is then recorded and both their statements are carefully investigated. The plaintiff is then asked for any documentary evidence and for his witnesses. These should not be fewer than four, though some allow only three, and even one is considered sufficient if he be a person of known veracity.

A child under five may not serve as a witness, nor a man broken down with age. The evidence of a Sudra is only available for a Sudra, and that of a handicraftsman for one of his own trade. The evidence of a blind man may not be taken, nor of one who is deaf, or diseased, or drunk, or crazy, nor a gambler, nor of a notorious evil-liver, nor of one oppressed by hunger and thirst, nor of an angry man, nor of a thief, nor of one who is being taken to execution. For women, women should serve as witnesses. A friend may not witness for a friend, nor an enemy against an enemy, nor partners for each other. In all oral litigation, dryness of the lips, and biting them, and licking the sides of the mouth,

alteration of voice and change of colour, should be taken into consideration as collateral proof.

In all suits these conditions of evidence are imperative except under titles eleven to fourteen.

If there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge must decide to the best of his ability, with caution and prudence; but if he cannot discover the facts of the case, he must cause the plaintiff or, as some say, either of the two parties, as he thinks best, to undergo the ordeal.[39] This is of eight kinds.

The first kind. The man is weighed and taken out of the scales, and after some prayers and incantations, he is again weighed. If his scale rises, his claim is allowed, but an even balance or his scale preponderating, are proofs of its falsehood. Some authorities say that the balance is never even. This ordeal is only for Brāhmans.

The second kind. Seven or nine circles are drawn with a distance of sixteen fingers' breadth between each periphery. The person is then bathed and religious ceremonies and incantations, as above described, are gone through. His two hands are then rubbed over with rice-bran, and seven green leaves of the pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are placed upon them and bound round seven times with raw silk. A piece of iron, weighing 3⅓ *sers* and heated red-hot, is then placed upon the leaves which, thus heated, he carries and advances taking one step between each circle, till, on arriving at the last, he throws the iron down. If there is no sign of a burn, his word is accepted. If the iron fall from his hands mid-way, he must begin again.

The third kind. The person is made to stand in water up to his naval and dips under with his face to the east. Then,

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[39] The word used in the text is *oath*, a translation of the Sanskrit *sapatha*, which means also ordeal. It is an asseveration by imprecating curses on the head of the taker of the oath. In this case, ordeal is evidently the true signification.

from a bow measuring 106 fingers breadth, a reed arrow without an iron point, is shot off so that it shall fly with the wind and a fast runner is sent to fetch it. If he can keep under water from the time the shaft is loosed till the runner returns with it, his cause is declared just. This ordeal is especially for the Vaisya caste. [P. 148]

The fourth kind. Seven barley corns of a deadly poison are administered in the spring season (*Vasanta*), or five in the heats (*Grishma*), or four in the rains (*Varshā*), six in the autumn (*Sarad*), and seven in the winter (*Haimanta*). These are to be mixed with thirty-three times the quantity of clarified butter and given to the man after certain incantations. The face of the patient must be towards the south, and the person who administers must face the east or north. If during a period in which the hands may be clapped 500 times, the poison does not take effect, his truth is proved. Antidotes are then given to him to prevent any fatal effects. This ordeal is peculiar to the Sudra caste.

The fifth kind. An idol is first washed, and after worship is paid to it, incantations are pronounced over the water it was washed with, and three mouthfuls of it are given to the person under ordeal. If no misfortune happens to him within a fortnight, the justness of his cause is acknowledged.

The sixth kind. Rice of the class called *Sāthi*[40] is placed in an earthen vessel and kept all night. Incantations are next morning pronounced over it, and the person is made to eat it while facing the east. He is then required to spit upon a leaf of the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), or the *bhojpatra* (*Betula bhojpatra*). If there should be any marks of blood, or the corners of the mouth swell, or symptoms of ague supervene, the untruth of his case is inferred.

The seventh kind. An earthen or stone vessel is taken, measuring sixteen fingers in length and breadth, and four

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[40] Produced in the rains, and so called because it ripens in 60 days from the time of sowing.

fingers deep. Into this forty *dāms* weight of clarified butter or sesame-oil is poured and brought to boiling point, and one *māsha* of gold, which is equal to four *surkhs*, is thrown into the boiling-oil. If the person can take out the gold with two fingers without being scalded, his cause is just.

The eighth kind. A symbol of *Dharma*, or Innocence, is fashioned of silver, and one of *Adharma*, or Guilt, of lead or iron; or the former word is written on a piece of a white cloth, or a leaf of the *bhoj* tree, and the latter on a piece of black cloth, and these are put into a jar which has never held water. The person under ordeal is then told to draw out one of these. If the symbol of innocence is drawn out, his cause is just. This ordeal is applicable in determining the righteousness of all four castes.

If a suit cannot be decided in one day, bail is taken; and a second suit may not be brought against the same person till the first is disposed of. When a claim is proved, the plaintiff is put in possession, and a fine of an amount equal to the value of the suit is exacted of the defendant. If the plaintiff loses his cause, he pays double the value of the suit.

Having cursorily explained the procedure regarding suits, evidence and ordeal, I now as briefly record the mode of adjudication under the eighteen titles of law-suits.

1. *Non-payment of debt.* If the debt be without deposit and the dispute be regarding the amount of interest, a Brāhman shall pay two per cent. (per mensem), a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya four, and a Sudra five per cent. If there be security, only one-fourth of the above amounts are recoverable though a higher rate may have been agreed to. For risks by land-travel, up to ten per cent. is allowed, and not exceeding twenty-five per cent. for risks at sea. If interest has been agreed upon, and ten times the length of the stipulated period has elapsed, a claim shall not be allowed for [149] more

than double the principal.[41] When the interest is paid on corn, the sum of the interest and principal should not be more than five times the principal. If the debtor is unable to pay, he must renew the obligation bringing the instrument[42] and witnesses for its verification.

2. *Deposits.* If the receiver of a deposit make use of it without the owner's permission and delay its restoration when claimed, he shall forego half the interest due (in compensation). If he deny the deposit and there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge may privately direct a third person to make a deposit with the same man and after some time to demand it back. If he acts as before, he shall be compelled to satisfy the first claim, or submit to trial by ordeal; but if the pledge be stolen by a thief, or if it be burnt, or washed away by water, or plundered by an enemy, restitution shall not be made. If he has dealt fraudulently with it, he shall make restitution and pay a similar amount as a fine.

3. *Sale without ownership.* If a man claim possession of property, it shall be restored to him free on proof of ownership, and the money taken back from the seller. And if it be sold privately or under its value, or by a person not entitled to do so, the judge shall fine the offender as he thinks proper. And if he brings forward the thief,[43] it shall not be imputed

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[41] That is, the sum of interest *plus* principal must not exceed twice the original debt. According to Manu, five times the principal is payable on corn, fruit, wool and draught animals.

[42] It is worth while noticing that the Sanskrit for this term *karanam* is translated by Hopkins 'proof', while stating in a note that the meaning 'document' given by commentators is not necessary and seems improbable. Yet this is exactly the translation of Abul Fazl, the word '*Sanad*' employed by him signifying document or instrument.

[43] Or "if he appear a thief." The elliptical language of the text can be understood only by comparison with the text of Manu: verses 197-198 run as follows:—(197.) "If a man not being himself the owner, sells the property of another without the owner's permission, one should not allow him to be a witness, (since he is) a thief (although) he may not think he is a thief.

as the crime of a thief, but a fine shall be exacted from him as a thief.

4. *Partnership*. If there be a dispute between partners and any formal deed of partnership exist and be proved, it shall be carried out in accordance with its terms; otherwise the profit and loss shall be divided according to the proportions of capital invested. If one of the partners dissipate the joint property or, without the consent of the other, remove it or otherwise fraudulently deal with it, he shall make it good to the other by a fine. Or if on the other hand, he make a profit, he shall not be required to give more than one-tenth to his partner. If one of them is guilty of fraud, he shall be ejected from partnership and the interest due to him shall be exacted by the judge. If one of the partners be left in charge of the joint property and any deficiency or injury occurs through his neglect, he shall make it good.

5. *Reclaiming a gift*. If a gift is made under the influence of anger, sickness, grief, fear, or as a bribe, or in jest, it may be recalled: also what has been given by a child, or a drunken or crazy man. In other cases it may not be reclaimed. And if the gift be made for a future benefit or in exchange, it may not, under any pretence, be resumed.

6. *Wages, Hire, Rent*. If wages, hire, or rent be received in advance, the agreement may not be violated. If it be broken, the offender shall be fined to the amount of double the sum; but if the money has not been actually paid, the fine shall extend only to the amount originally fixed. If a servant loses his master's property, he must make good the equivalent, but if it be taken from him by violence, he is not liable to restitution.

7. *Revenue*. If any one fail to pay the usual revenue,

(198.) He should be held to a fine of 600 *panas* if he is a near relation: if he is not a near relation and has no excuse, he would incur the fine of a thief."

the whole of his effects shall be confiscated, and he shall be expelled the country.

8. *Purchase and sale*. A purchaser may on the day of purchase return the goods bought; on the second day he may return them on a forfeit of a twentieth of their cost: on the third day, of a tenth, after which they cannot be sent back. But a maid-servant may be sent back within one month; a slave, within fifteen days; corn, within ten days; jewels, within seven days; cattle in general, within five days; a milch-cow, within three days; iron, within one day; unless there be any stipulation to the contrary. The same conditions hold good with the seller, but he must sustain the loss in the same proportion as the excess payments of the purchaser in the opposite case.

[150] 9. *Herdsmen*. If through the neglect of a herdsman a beast is lost or dies or is injured, he must make good the loss. If cattle eat a grain-crop near a village or city, the herdsman is not amenable to fine. Sown-fields should be distant from a small village four hundred cubits; from one of moderate size, eight hundred, and from a large settlement, sixteen hundred cubits.[44] If the trespass should occur through the neglect of the keeper, he must pay the value of the crop destroyed, otherwise the owner of the cattle is responsible. For a buffalo, a camel or donkey the fine is seven *māshas* of silver: for an ox, half the above: for a sheep or goat, half the fine for an ox. If the beast lies down to eat, the fine is doubled. An elephant, a horse, as well as cattle set at liberty as an act of piety, (it being the custom, eleven days after the death of a Brāhman, thirteen days after the death

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[44] "Round about every village there should be a strip of land one hundred bows or even three casts of a staff in width: around a city, it should be three times as wide." Manu. VIII, 237. This land is intended for a common and not to be tilled. The staff is picked up after the first cast, and again as it falls, and so on three times. The strength of the cast might fitly be that of Polypœtes. *Iliad*, XXIII, 845.

of a Kshatriya, sixteen after that of a Vaisya, and thirty after the death of a Sudra, to let loose eight or four bulls, or one bull with a number of cows after branding them in a special manner) or a cow that has lately calved, or animals that have strayed, or not amenable to fine if they damage the crops. The same rule applies to royal preserves as to crops.

10. *Boundaries.* Disputes regarding boundaries may be adjudicated at any season save during the rains.[45] The owners of land define their boundaries by burying charcoal, stones, potsherds, hair, bones, and the like that do not perish even after a long time; and sometimes a tree is made the boundary. The judge determines the dispute on the production of such evidence, and the witness of four, eight, or ten husbandmen, keepers,[46] or hunters.

The witnesses shall wear red garments, place earth upon their heads and wear a string of red flowers round their necks, and shall swear that their good deeds may lose all merit if they lie. If there be no witnesses nor boundary mark, the judgment of the king shall determine the line.

11. *Slander.* This is of three kinds, *viz.*—(1). Reviling another to his face. (2). By insinuation and suggestion. (3). Reviling his mother, sister, or such other improper language. For the first two, if the abuse be from one of inferior towards one of a superior caste the fine is twelve-and-a-half *dāms*; to an equal, half that sum; towards an inferior, one-fourth. For the third kind, the fine is twenty-five *dāms*, if between equals, or if a Brāhman reviles a Kshatriya; but fifty,

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[45] If a dispute has arisen between two villages in regard to a boundary, the king should determine the boundary in the month of *Jyaistha* (middle of May to middle of June) as the boundary marks are then very plain." Manu, viii. 245.

[46] The men named by Manu are hunters, bird-catchers, cowherds, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other men who wander about the woods. The text has *sipāhān* (which Jarrett trans. as keepers), a misprint for *pāsbānān* or watchmen. [J. S.]

if the abuse is from a Kshatriya to a Brāhman. If a Vaisya reviles a Brāhman he is fined seventy-five *dāms*, but in the opposite case the fine is twelve-and-a-half. If a Sudra thus offends against a Brāhman, he is fined one hundred *dāms*, a Brāhman reviling a Sudra pays six-and-a-quarter. A Vaisya reviling a Kshatriya pays fifty, and the fine in the opposite case is twelve-and-a-half; and the same proportion between a Vaisya and a Sudra. If one of the gods be reviled, or the king, or a Brāhman who has read the four Vedas, the fine is 540 *dāms*. If the abuse be directed against the people of a quarter, half of the above; and one-fourth if against the inhabitants of the city.

12. *Assault*. This is of four kinds: (1) Throwing earth, clay or filth upon any one. (2) Putting him in bodily fear by threatening him with the fist, a stick, or other weapon. (3) Striking with the hands or feet and the like. (4) Wounding with any weapon.

The first kind. In the first case, the fine is five *dāms*, but if filth is thrown, ten, provided the parties are equals; but twice as much if it be an inferior against a superior, and only half in the opposite cases.

The second kind. Threatening with the hand, etc., five *dāms*, and (with stick or other weapon) between equals, eleven; between superiors and inferiors, as above.

[151] *The third kind*. If the blow cause a swelling or pain in the limb, 270 *dāms*. If by an inferior against a superior, the hand or foot, or other offending member be cut off, or a suitable fine inflicted. In the instance of a Kshatriya against a Brāhman, the fine is 540 *dāms*; a Vaisya against a Brāhman, 1,080; a Sudra against a Brāhman, 2,160, a Vaisya against a Kshatriya or a Sudra against a Vaisya 540; a Sudra against a Kshatriya, 1,080; a Brāhman against a Kshatriya, 135; or against a Vaisya, 67½; or against a Sudra, 33¾; a Kshatriya against a Vaisya, 135; against a Sudra 67½.

The fourth kind. Between those of like caste if the skin be abraded, fifty *dāms*, and if the flesh is cut, twenty *tolahs* of gold, and if a bone be broken, the offender is banished. If an inferior against a higher caste, the fine is doubled, and in the opposite case, it shall be a-half. If treatment is necessary, the offender shall pay the expenses of medicine and daily 'keep' till the injured man be restored to health.

In the case of a sheep, antelope[47] and the like, if there be hurt, the fine is eight *dāms*; if it be rendered useless, the value must be paid to the owner, with a fine of 125 *dāms*; and twice as much, if it be killed. For a horse, camel, or ox, the fine is also double. When damage is done to valuable plants, the value must be paid to the owner and a fine of ten *dāms*, but eight *dāms* if they be of small value.

13. *Theft.* If any one steal above one hundred *tolahs* of gold or silver or any valuables up to this amount, or more than 66⅔ *mans* of corn, or the child or the wife of any person of distinction, he shall be liable to the punishment of death. If the amount be less than one hundred and more than fifty *tolahs*, he shall suffer the loss of his hand. If fifty or less, he shall pay eleven times the amount as a fine. The same applies to corn. In all cases the equivalent of the amount stolen shall be made good to the owner, and if the thief is unable to pay, he shall work out the amount in menial service. In other cases of theft, corporal punishment, imprisonment or fine, is at the discretion of the judge.

14. *Violence with bloodshed.* If a man of inferior caste kill a man of a higher caste, the penalty is death. If a Brāhman slay a Brāhman, his entire estate shall be confiscated, his head shaved, his forehead branded and he shall be banished from the kingdom. If a Brāhman slay a Kshatriya, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 cows and a bull; if he slay a Vaisya, 100 cows

[47] Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingoes and parrots, are "propitious" forest animals, and a fine imposed for killing them: also the small animals, such as crows, cats, etc.

and a bull, or if a Sudra, 10 cows and a bull. The same rule applies to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. If a Sudra slay a Sudra, he shall be fined 500 cows and a bull. If the murderer be not found, the people of the city, village, or quarter in which the murder was committed shall produce some of his family or pay in default any fine that the king may inflict.

15. *Adultery*. Commerce between a woman and a man other than her husband, is of three kinds: (1) When they converse and jest together in private. (2) When a present is sent to the house of the other. (3) When they meet and criminal intercourse ensues. In the second case, a fine may be inflicted at the discretion of the king. The third is of two kinds, *viz.*, with a maiden and one who is not a maiden. The former may be dishonoured . . . . The latter may be women who are guarded, or such as gad abroad.[48] In each of these four cases it may occur with the woman's consent or otherwise, and of these eight, the criminality may take place between two of a like caste. In the latter instance if it be a girl and she consent in all these offences, and no force is offered on one side or resistance on the other, the man shall be compelled to marry her whether he will or no. In the case of pollution and the like, he must pay a fine of 200 *dāms*. If he violate her without her consent, he shall be put to death, but the woman is not liable to punishment. If he forcibly pollute her, he must suffer the loss of his fingers, and pay a fine of 600 *dāms*. If the offender be a Brāhman, he shall be banished, but no other penalty is exacted. If the man be of higher caste, he shall be made to take her in marriage, even if he be unwilling, in which case an additional fine is imposed. If she be not a maiden, and both be of like caste, and she be guarded,[49] and give her consent, the man is fined 270 dāms, but if without

[48] Hopkins translates 'wandering women' (*Manu*. VIII. 363), and supposes them to be possibly Buddhistic nuns. Sir W. Jones interprets 'female anchorets of an heretical religion'. Abul Fazl's rendering is *kucha gard*, gadding, about the streets'.

[49] Under the protection of her husband or other male relative.

her consent, the fine shall be 540 *dāms*. If she be one used to gad abroad and consents, the fine is 250 *dāms*; if forced, 500. If the man be of higher caste, the fine in all cases shall be 250 *dāms*; if of inferior caste, death is the penalty in every instance, and the ears and nose of the woman shall be cut off.

16. *Altercation between man and wife*. If after marriage a man discovers any natural defect in his wife, he may put her away without remedy on her part, but the woman's father shall be fined. If a man offer one daughter in marriage and substitute another in her place, he shall be compelled to give both. When a man has journeyed on a pilgrimage to holy shrines and is absent beyond the term agreed upon, the wife shall wait at home for eight years whatever her position in life may be.[50] If he has gone abroad for the sake of knowledge or fame or wealth, she shall wait six years: if he journeys to seek another wife, three years. At the expiration of these periods, she is at liberty to leave her husband's house to obtain a livelihood. The husband on his return from abroad, if he wishes to put her away on account of her departure, is not permitted to do so. If the wife does not observe the condition of these periods, the husband is at liberty to put her away. If the husband fall sick and the wife does not minister to him, he may not, on his recovery, for this cause divorce her, but he may refuse intercourse with her for three months and deprive her of all that she possesses, after which period he shall be reconciled to her. With Brāhmans, divorce does not take place but a husband may avoid the sight and presence of his wife: her maintenance must nevertheless be continued. The wife may not take another husband. If he be guilty of great crimes or have any contagious disease, the wife is at liberty to separate from him. If a Brāhman have a wife of

[50] One commentator's opinion is that, after the eight years she must follow him. Another states that she may marry another husband. The former opinion, says Hopkins, rests on a later view of second marriages.

each of the four castes, he shall assign them their respective social functions. In religious ceremonies, and personal attendance such as anointing with oil and adorning[51] him and similar duties, he must employ only his own caste.

17. *Inheritance.* While a son lives, no other relation or kinsman shares the estate except the wife who is equal to the son. If there be neither son nor wife, the unmarried daughter inherits. If there be also no daughter, the mother is the heir. [P. 153]

If there be no mother, the father takes possession.

If there be no father alive, his brother shall be heir.

In default of a brother, the brother's son inherits.

In default of a brother's son, the estate is divided amongst the surviving kindred.

If he leave no relations, the teacher inherits, or in default of the teacher, his fellow pupils.

In the absence of all these the estate lapses to the Crown.

18. *Gambling.* Whosoever plays with false dice shall be banished. If he refuse to pay his stake, it shall be taken from him, and of his winnings, the king shall receive one-tenth, and one-twentieth shall be taken for dues.[52]

To each of these eighteen titles there are many illustrations, and conflicting opinions are recorded. I content myself with this short exposition.

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[51] The duties of a Brāhman's wife are to give food to beggar guests, and attend to her part of the sacrificial preparations. She bathes and adorns her husband, cleans his teeth and anoints him ; and since she holds the highest rank she gives him his food, drink, wreaths, clothes and ornaments.

[52] I presume the reading is questionable. It probably refers to a licence for the tables, or permission to play. For Hindu gambling rules, Hastings, Ency. iv. 284.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOUR PERIODS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Having reviewed the various branches of learning in their scientific aspects, I proceed to some account of their practical modes of life.

Among the Brāhmans, the period of individual life, after the intelligence is to some degree matured, is divided into four portions, to each of which is assigned its special important duties. These periods severally receive the name of *Asrama.*[1]

THE FIRST PERIOD is the *Brahma-charya*, or religious studentship. Investiture with the sacred thread is regarded by the Brāhmans as the first principle of their creed, and the three superior castes do not acknowledge the right of due membership without it. With a Brāhman it must be made in the eighth year, or if this auspicious time is suffered to elapse, it may be performed up to sixteen years of age. A Kshatriya may be invested between eleven and twenty-two years of age, and a Vaisya from twelve to twenty-four, but a Sudra is not considered a fitting recipient. It is imperative that the investiture should take place for each caste within the prescribed periods from which date the initiation is reckoned, otherwise there is exclusion from caste. The Brāhman receives the sacred string from his father or teacher, and the two other castes from a Brāhman. None but a Brāhman may twist the string, and that which he wears for the first time must be twisted by his father or teacher or by himself. The teacher's son has also the same privilege. Three strands, in length ninety-six times the circumference of the fist, are united and twisted, making a twist of nine strands. This is again folded into three without twisting and secured

[1] For Asramas, Hastings *Encyclo*. ii. 128-131 (by Deussen) and details about the duties in each stage of life, Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, Ch. ix—xii and *Manu Samhita*.

by a knot at each end. This is the sacred thread. It is placed on the left shoulder and carried across the body to the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right hand. It is worn diagonally like a belt. A Brāhman wears five together, the other two castes, but three. Some authorities say that a cotton thread is for the special use of the Brāhman, woollen for the Kshatriya and hempen thread for the Vaisya. Similarly, a thong of deer-skin, three fingers in breadth, is worn with it but not of the same length. A Brāhman [154] uses the skin of the black antelope; a Kshatriya the skin of any other kind of deer, and a Vaisya of a goat. At this period they also wear round the waist a girdle of a particular kind of grass called in Sanskrit *Munja* (*Saccharum Munja*).

He next learns the *gāyatri*,[2] which are certain words in praise of the sun, resembling the *ḳalimah* or profession of faith in Islām. He also receives a staff of *palāsa* wood (*Butea frondosa*), but for the other two castes it is made of some other wood.

He leaves his father's house and chooses a lodging near his teacher, learns his letters and begins reading the Vedas. He first reads that Veda which it is his special duty to learn, and then the remaining three. They relate that when the sage *Vyāsa* divided the Vedas into four parts, he instructed one of his pupils in each, from which time the descendants and the pupils of these respectively read their own Veda first. The Vedas are never read during the first degree of the moon's

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[2] The *Gāyatri* verse is taken from the *Rig Veda* III. 62, and is repeated by every Brāhman at his morning and evening devotions. From being addressed to the sun (*Savita*) as generator, it is also called Sāvitri. The verse runs:—

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥१०॥

"Of the god-like sun this surpassing radiance we contemplate which excites to action our intelligence."

course (*pariwā*), nor during the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, or thirtieth, nor on the night of the fourth, eighth, or fourteenth, nor during an eclipse of the sun, but any of the other acts may be performed at those times.

When a Brāhman goes to relieve the necessities of nature, he hangs the sacred thread upon his right ear, and on such an occasion by day, turns his face to the north and by night to the south. He washes himself five times, each time first mixing the water with earth, and then washes the left hand ten times in the same manner, and next both hands seven times, and lastly both his feet in the same way. After he urines, he washes the part as above described and the left hand three times and each hand and foot once. From the day of his investiture till sixteen years of age, this number of purifications must be observed and doubled after he exceeds that age. Next, in a chosen spot, he should sit down on his haunches facing the east or north, keeping his knees erect and with his hand between them should drink three fills of his palm. A Brāhman should swallow as much water as will reach his chest: a Kshatriya as much as will suffice to reach his throat; a Vaisya, as far as the root of his tongue. A Sudra may drink but once. He then uses a tooth stick (*miswāk*) twelve fingers breadth in length, taking a fresh one every day.

He may not wear more than four coverings for his person. These are: (1) *Langoti*, or waist-cloth, which is worn to cover only two parts of his body. (2) A small *lung*[3] worn above the other. (3) A sheet without suture, over his shoulders. (4) A small cap for his head. He should bathe before sunrise, wearing only the sacred thread, the girdle of *munja*, and the *langoti*. He first takes up a little water in his right hand, saying: "I pray that any fault I have committed may be put

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[3] This is a cloth worn round the loins and passed between the legs and tucked in behind. It differs from the *langoti* in reaching to the knees.

away from me." After which he throws the water away. With this intention his ablutions are entered upon. Then he rubs himself all over with earth, and if he be in a river, he dips three times, otherwise, he pours water over himself thrice and rubs his body all over with his hands. He then pronounces the name of God, and taking water three times in [P. 155] the hollow of his hand sips a little and begins to repeat certain prayers, at the conclusion of which he continues sprinkling water upon his head. He next closes his nostrils with two fingers and dashing water over his face, repeats other prayers and dips or throws water over himself thrice. Then wetting both his hands, he sprinkles his forehead, chest and both shoulders seven times, and taking up water with joined hands, casts it towards the sun eight times, repeating special prayers, and sips some water thrice. He next performs the *prānāyāma* as described in the section on the Pātanjala system. The ablutions are meritorious in degree according to their performance in the following order—in a river, a tank, a well, or a house. He then clothes himself. If he be a follower of *Rāma*, he marks his forehead horizontally with ashes; if of Krishna, he draws the sectarial mark in twelve places, *viz.*, on his forehead, his breast, his navel, the right and left sides thereof, his right and left shoulders, the two lobes of his ears, his loins, the crown of his head and the throat. The clay of the Ganges is considered the most efficacious for this purpose but saffron and the like are also used. A Sudra marks his forehead with only a circle. After this he takes his staff and slings across his shoulders the deer-skin and occupies himself with the *Sandhyā*, which consists of certain religious exercises, sprinkling and sipping water, and the like.[4] Next comes the lighting of the fire and certain burnt offerings are made which is called the *Homa* sacrifice.

[4] These rites are performed at morning, mid-day, and evening.

When these ceremonies are concluded, he goes to his teacher and gains merit by waiting upon him and reading the Vedas. At midday, the ablution and the ceremonies aforesaid are repeated with some variation and some increase in their number. When these are over he sets out begging alms and solicits from three, five, or seven houses, but avoids a Sudra. After cooking a sufficient meal he carries it to his teacher and with his permission, eats it. He precedes his meal with prayers and a few ceremonies and eats in silence and then repeats other prayers. When it is near dusk, he again performs the *Sandhyā* and *Homa* rites and occupies himself with reading. After a watch of the night has elapsed, he sleeps upon the ground, making his couch of straw or a tiger's skin or deer-skin or the like. He should avoid honey, betel-leaf, and perfumes. He should shave his head, keeping a tuft only, but the hair of the other parts of the body should be suffered to grow. He should not use collyrium nor anoint himself with oil, and should abstain from singing, dancing and gaming. He should not kill any animal nor have any commerce with women nor eat of anything not tasted first by his teacher. He should abstain from falsehood, anger, avarice and envy, and not defile his tongue by speaking ill of any one though he deserve it, and make his days meritorious by practices of piety. In prayer he should turn to the east or north and he should not look towards the sun in its rising or setting. Some pass forty-eight years in the *Brahmacharya* stage, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda. Some take only five years, and others till the Vedas are learnt. Others again spend their lives in this manner and undergo austerities in the hope of final liberation.

[156] *The Second Period* is the *Gārhasthya*, or a state in which the duties of a householder are observed and the person so engaged is called *Grihastha*. When the *Brahmachārin* has completed his studies, if he feels called to the religious life and his heart is estranged from the world, nothing

can more conduce to his welfare than the endeavour to attain eternal bliss, but if he has no such vocation, he should seek the consent of his teacher and, having obtained permission, return to his father's house. He then puts away all but his sacred thread, but continues the oblations and some other ceremonies, the number of the oblations being the same as during his period of pupilage as *Brahmachārin*. If he be a Brāhman, he wears a turban, and a sheet eight cubits in length and two in breadth is put on in the fashion of a loin-cloth, one end being passed between his legs and fastened behind to the waist-piece, and the other end brought forward and tied similarly in front. Another sheet, five cubits long and two broad, is worn over the shoulders, and this may have a suture. A householder of other castes wears different garments. He now marries in the manner that shall be presently described.

The householder repeats certain prayers and thus performs the *Homa* sacrifice. He takes in his hand a stick of *pipal* or *palās* wood, a span in length and burns it in the *Homa* fire. Another stick of the same kind is taken and passed into the fire and reserved. and when the next *Homa* takes place, this stick is burnt and another like the first is scorched and reserved, and this is continued till the time of the *Agni-hotra*.[5] This is a special kind of *Homa* or oblation. A *pipal* stick is set alight by means of two other sticks and a cord forcibly worked by the hand, and the fire is placed in three round earthen vessels. The figure of a tortoise is then made of a *ser* and-a-quarter of rice-flour, and the three portions are cooked in one lump and dressed with oil, and part of this is thrown into the three fires as an oblation to the deities, and the remainder is given to Brāhmans. One of the three portions of the sacrificial fire is reserved, and throughout his whole life,

[5] This is a Vedic oblation to *Agni*, chiefly of milk, oil and sour gruel ; there are two kinds, *nitya*, or of constant obligation, and *kāmyā*, or optional.

the daily *Homa* oblation is made with that fire; the oblations cast into the fire in the name of the deities consist of any barley, rice, clarified butter, milk, wheat, that may be available, and once every fifteen days in the first degree of the moon's course he carries out the ceremony as before. The ceremony of the *Agni-hotra* may not take place till the period has elapsed between the fourth day after his marriage and that on which the bride leaves her father's house (to join her husband).[6] With the exception of the Sudra and the *Mlechchha*, the rest of the people come generally under this second denomination. Four *gharis* before day-break, the householder awakes and passes some little time on his bed in prayer. He divides his day into eight portions, thus profitably employing his time.

First, when the rays of the sun appear, he refreshes his sight with its lustre, and next by looking upon fire, water, gold, a just prince, a Brāhman, a cow, and clarified butter. If none of these eight be present, he must look upon the palms of his hands, and proceed to wash his mouth and perform the *Sandhyā* ceremonies. The *second* portion of his time he must employ in study and occupy himself in the interpretation of the Vedas [P. 157] and other branches of knowledge. The *third* he spends in attendance on his prince, and engages in state affairs. The *fourth* is occupied with his own household. The *fifth*, which is about the entry of noon, he spends in ablutions and the *Sandhyā* ceremonies, and taking up water in both hands, offers it to the deities, the great *Rishis* and (the manes of) his ancestors, and repeats certain prayers. This libation is called *tarpana*. During the *sixth*, he prays to Vishnu, Mahādeva, the Sun, Durga, and Ganesa. This is called *Deva-pujā*, or worship of the gods, as will be more fully described hereafter. In the *seventh*,

[6] This is the true interpretation of the sentence, as I learn from a Brāhman pandit. Abul Fazl's language is terse to obscurity without a knowledge of the subjects he treats of. The Agni-hotra ceremony cannot be performed till after marriage, and the presence of the wife is a necessary part of it.

he casts into the fire some of his food as an offering to the gods, and makes the *Homa* sacrifice. Next follows the *Atithi-pujā* (or the religious reception of a guest). He waits expectantly for any hungry person, and when he meets him, treats him with respect and satisfies his need, after which he himself eats, and this act is called the *Vaisvadeva-pujā* (or offering to *all deities*). A Brāhman obtains his food in the following way. When the husbandman has reaped his field and the poor have gleaned their fill, the Brāhman then follows in quest, and takes what he can find, and if he does not feel content with this, he may receive from his own people; and if this is insufficient, he may accept whatever is given to him without solicitation by another Brāhman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. If this is not his choice, he may beg; and if he will not submit to this, he may cultivate land. Trade is considered more objectionable. A Brāhman should not keep more than twelve days' supply of food, but to others an abundance is permitted, as has been explained. In the *eighth*, he listens to the recital of the lives of former holy men and performs the ceremonies of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā*. If he is hungry, he takes his meal. He then occupies himself till the first watch of the night, in studying works of philosophy and reading the lives of ancient sages, after which he goes to rest. Such are the means by which he profitably employs his day and night. Other ceremonies performed during times of eclipse and festivals, are numerous. Those practised by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who follow their special occupations, are fewer as shall be presently described.

The third period is that of the *Vānaprastha* or anchorite, a name given also to the person so engaged. This is forbidden to a Sudra.

When one (of the other castes) arrives at old age, or has a grandson, he may wisely give up the management of his household to his son or to a relation, abandon worldly concerns, and leaving the city, retire into the desert. He

may there build himself a hermitage, and putting away the outward pleasures of sense, practise mortification of his body in preparation for his last journey. If his wife, through affection, desire to accompany him, he may suffer it and not deny her, but he must resist all carnal inclinations. Here he preserves the sacred fire of his daily sacrifice and clothes himself with the leaves of trees or with skins, and he may wear [158] a coarse loin-cloth. He should never cut his hair or his nails and morning, noon, and evening he should perform the prescribed ablutions and the *Sandhyā*. Like the *Grihastha,* he should perform the *Homa* sacrifice morning and evening, but his ablutions are three times more numerous, in as much as he performs them ten times to the other's three. He must always keep his head bowed down and follow the instructions given in the Pātanjala system and carefully control the emotions of the spirit. He should employ his time in reading the Vedas, sleep only at night, and lie on the bare ground. During the four months of the hot season he sits between five fires, lighting four about him, and having the sun burning over head. During the four months of the rains he should live upon a stage sustained by four poles, so that he may not be in danger from a flood nor injure minute animals by his movements, nor must he protect himself from the weather. During the four months of the cold season, he should pass the night sitting in cold water. He should always observe the *Chāndrāyana* fast and eat only at night. He is permitted to keep a store of food sufficient for a year and should accept nothing from others, living on grain and gathering wild fruits that have fallen. He eats nothing that is cooked, but he may moisten his food. If he can obtain naught else, he may beg of other anchorites, and failing them, he may go into the town to seek the necessaries of life but he must not remain there.

If he is unable to live in this manner, he abandons all sustenance and journeys onwards to the east or north till his

bodily powers are exhausted, or he throws himself into fire or water in self-destruction, or casts himself down from a precipice and thus ends his life. They consider that heaven is the reward of this course and final liberation is dependent on the profession of asceticism. What is understood by some as *mukti*, or final liberation, is, that in a former birth, this stage of abandonment of the world had been attained.

The fourth period is *Sannyāsa*, which is an extraordinary state of austerity that nothing can surpass, and which when duly carried out is rewarded by final liberation. Such a person His Majesty calls *Sannyāsi*.[7]

After the completion of the third stage, and the habit of self-denial in all sensual pleasures is acquired, the disciple first obtains the permission of his teacher and then quits his wife, shaves his head, beard, and the hair of his face and abandons all worldly concerns. His teacher presents him with a loin-cloth and some covering and accepts a trifle in return. He does not occupy himself with reading, but applies himself entirely to spiritual contemplation. He passes his life alone in the wilds, performs his ablutions morning, noon, and evening, and is scrupulous in self-purification and practises the duties described in the Pātanjala system, carrying them out after his own method. He performs the *Sandhyā* and then repeats from one to twelve thousand times the word *Om*, which is the beginning of the Vedas. At the fourth *ghari* before the close of day, he goes into the city, and repeats the name of God, begging at three, five, or seven houses of Brāhmans, but does not take more than a handful of food [159] from each. If they put it into his hand he straightway eats it, or if they throw it on the ground, he takes it up with his mouth or gathers it in a cloth and eats it after cleansing it in a stream. He then retires to a place where there is no sign of the cooking of food or lighting of a fire.

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[7] The term *Sannyāsin* was applied many centuries before his Majesty was born.

He avoids a Sudra or a Mlechchha and if he is not quickly supplied with food, he does not wait. After eating he directs his eyes to the tip of his nose or to his brow and passes a brief space in meditation. He walks with his head and feet bare and does not remain in any one place. If he is compelled to pass through a city or village, he does not remain in the former more than three days nor in the latter more than one. In the rains he abides in one spot and thus is his life passed. Some adopt the course of religious abandonment both during the first and second periods.

Some say that the first period extends to twenty-five years, and the same is allowed for the three other periods. The second is lawful to all the four castes; the first and third to all but Sudras, but the fourth is exclusively for Brāhmans.

WORSHIP OF THE DEITY

The Hindu sages declare that whoever seeks to do the will of God, must devote certain works exclusively to purposes of worship and the first six of the nine schools already alluded to, comprise this under four heads.

The *First* is—

ISVARA-PUJA,

or

Divine Worship.

Since according to their belief, the Supreme Deity can assume an elemental form without defiling the skirt of the robe of omnipotence, they first make various idols of gold and other substances to represent this ideal and gradually withdrawing the mind from this material worship, they become meditatively absorbed in the ocean of His mysterious Being. Sixteen ceremonies conduce to this end. After the performance of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā* obligations, the devotee sits

down facing the east or north, and taking up a little rice and water sprinkles (the idol) with the intention of beginning the worship of God. Then follows the *Kalasa-pujā* or pitcher-worship. The water of the pitcher which is required for the ceremony is venerated after a special manner.[a] He next performs the *Sankha--pujā*, wherein the white shell is venerated which is filled with water to be poured over the idol. Next follows the *Ghantā-pujā*, in which the gong is plastered with sandalwood unguent and worshipped. When these are concluded, he sprinkles a little rice with the intention of soliciting the manifestation of the deity. Such is the first of the sixteen ceremonies. (2) The intention is made that the prayer of the supplicant may be accepted. A throne of metal or other [P. 160] substance is placed as a seat for the deity. (3) He pours water into a vessel that he may wash his feet when he comes, it being the custom of the country to wash the feet of superiors when they enter a house. (4) He throws down water thrice on the ground to represent the rinsing of the mouth by that mystical being, as it is also a custom of this country among the more refined classes to offer this service to a superior before meal-time. (5) Sandal, flowers, betel, and rice are thrown into water and thus offered. (6) The idol is lifted up with its seat and carried to another place. With the right hand a white conch-shell is held while with the left a gong is struck and the water is poured over the idol which is then washed. (7) The idol is then dried with a cloth and placed upon its throne and it is dressed in such costly robes as circumstances can furnish. (8) It is then invested with the sacred string. (9) The sectarial mark is next made in twelve places with sandal. (10) Flowers or leaves are then strewn over it. (11) It is fumigated with perfumes. (12) A lamp is lit with clarified butter. (13) Food according to ability is then

[a] A twig of each of the following sacred trees: *Ficus religiosa, Ficus indica, Ficus glomerata, Mimosa albida* and the *Mangifera Indica* are placed in the pitcher of water as an oblation.

placed on a table before the idol, which is then distributed to people as the idol's leavings. (14) Is the *Namas-kāra* which is a posture of supplication. He repeats the praises of God with heart and tongue and falls prostrate with his whole body like a staff. This prostration is called *danda-vat* (staff-like); he so prostrates himself that eight of his limbs touch the earth,—the two knees, the two hands, the forehead, the nose, and the right and left cheeks. This is called *Sāshtāngā*, (eight members). Many perform one of these two obeisances in supplication before the great. (15) Circumambulating the idol several times. (16) Standing like a slave before it, and taking leave.

In each of these ceremonies, prayers are repeated and particular acts are performed. Some consider only five of these ceremonies from the 7th to the 13th, as imperative, others practice more; except a Sudra and a *Sannyāsin*, all others perform this worship thrice daily.

Worship is of six kinds: (1) In the heart. (2) Making the sun a means of divine adoration. (3) Causing fire to serve the purpose of spiritual recollection. (4) Worshipping in presence of water. (5) Cleaning a spot of ground as a place for worship. (6) Making an idol a representative object of prayer. They also make images of those who have attained to God and account their veneration as a means of salvation.

The *Second kind* is—

YAJNA,[9]

or

Sacrifice.

By this the favour of the deities is obtained and it becomes the means [P. 161] of securing the blessing of God. The

[9] For the Hindu *yajna*, Hastings Encyclop. ii 800-801, xii. 611-618, iv. 770-771, v. 13-16, and ii. 160. *Jāg* is the popular Hindi form of the Sanskrit *yajna*.

term *Jāg* is also used. *Pāka-yajna* (simple or domestic sacrifice) is making the *Homa* in the name of the deities and bestowing charity before taking food. This is variously performed. *Japa-yajna* is the *muttering* of incantations and the names of God. These two, like the first, are of daily practice. *Vidhi-yajna* or *ceremonial* act of worship is of numerous kinds, in each of which important conditions are prescribed, large sums of money expended and many animals sacrificed. One of these is the *Asvamedha*, or *horse-sacrifice*, which is performed by sovereign princes. When its necessary preparations are completed, a white horse having the right ear black, is brought out and consecrated by certain incantations, and (being turned loose) it is followed in its march by an army for conquest which in a short time subdues the world and the king of every territory (which it enters) tenders submission and joins the victorious forces. They pretend that whoever performs this sacrifice a hundred times, becomes lord of heaven. Many are said to have attained this rank and marvellous legends are told of them. If he cannot perform that number he obtains an eminent place in that region.[10] Another is the *Rāja-suya-yajna*, one of the conditions attached to which is the presence of all the princes of the world at the great festival, each of whom is appointed to a particular duty, and the service at the banquet can be performed only by them. Whoever has twice inaugurated this ceremony becomes lord of heaven, and many (are said) to have obtained this happiness. There are manifold kinds of these sacrifices, but the two herein mentioned must suffice.

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[10] After the return of the king, if successful, with the vanquished princes in his train, the horse was sometimes immolated, after the festival of rejoicing. Failure in conquest was followed by contempt and ridicule of overweening pretension. The antiquity of this sacrifice goes back to Vedic times. Albiruni briefly describes it in Chap. LXV. *Asvamedha* in Hastings, ii, 160.

The *Third kind* is—

DANA,
or
Alms giving.

There are numerous forms of this meritorious precept and various are the modes by which the provision for man's last journey is secured. The following sixteen are accounted the most important:—

(1) *Tulā-dāna* or the *weighing* of the person against gold, silver and other valuables. (2) *Hiranyagarbha-dāna*: an idol of Brahmā is fashioned of gold, having four faces in each of which are two eyes, two ears, a mouth and nose. It must have four hands, and the rest of the members are after the form of men. It must be 72 fingers high and 48 in breadth. Its weight may vary between a minimum of 33 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,410 *tolahs*. It is decked with jewels, and incantations are pronounced over it. (3) *Brahmānda-dāna*, or alms of the *egg of Brahmā*. An egg is made of gold in two parts which when joined together have an oval shape. Its weight varies between a minimum of 66 *tolahs* and 7 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,633 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas*. [162] Its length and breadth may not be less than twelve fingers nor greater than one hundred. (4) *Kalpa-taru-dāna*. This is the name of a tree[11] (*taru*) which is one of the fourteen treasures brought out of the sea, as will be related. A similar tree is made of gold, and birds are represented sitting on its branches. It should weigh not less than 12 *tolahs*, and the maximum weight as above. (5) *Go-sahasra-dāna*, is the alms of a *thousand cows* with one bull, having the tips of their horns, according to ability, plated with gold or silver and their humps covered with copper, with bells and tassels of yāk's hair round their necks, and pearls in the tails.

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[11] Of Indra's paradise, granting all desires. *Dāna*, Hastings, iii. 387-389 (under *Charity*).

(6) *Hiranya-kāmadhenu-dān.*[12] A *golden cow and calf* are made; they may be of three kinds; the first weighs 3,410 *tolas*; the second, the half of this weight, and the third weighs one-fourth. (7) *Hiranyāsva-dāna.* A *golden horse* is fashioned weighing from ten *tolahs* to 3,633 *tolahs* and four *māshas.* (8) *Hiranyāsva-ratha.* A *chariot of gold* of the first of the above-mentioned weights is made with four wheels and from four to eight *horses* weighing from ten to 6,606 *tolahs* and eight *māshas.* (9) *Hemahasti-ratha-dāna* is an alms of a *chariot of gold* drawn by four *elephants.* Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs* and eight *māshas* to the maximum aforesaid. (10) *Pancha-lāngala-dāna* is a gift of *five ploughs* of gold of the above weight. (11) *Dhara-dāna,* is a figure of the surface of the *earth* made of gold, upon which are represented mountains, woods and seas, weighing not less than sixteen *tolahs,* eight *māshas,* and not more than 3,633 *tolahs.* (12) *Visva-chakra-dāna.* A *complete radiate* of eight petals is made of gold representing the entire dome of the heavens, and is of four weights, *viz.* 3,333 *tolahs,* four *māshas*: half of the above: one-fourth: 66 *tolahs,* 8 *māshas.* (13) *Kalpa-latadāna* is in the shape of a *creeper.* [P. 163] Ten tendrils are made of gold, weighing from sixteen to 3,330 *tolahs,* four *māshas.* (14) *Sapta-sāgara-dāna.* The *seven seas* are represented in gold weighing not less than twenty-three *tolahs,* four *māshas,* and not more than the weight above given. The length and breadth of each of these are twenty-one fingers, or the half thereof. The first sea is filled with salt; the second, with milk: the third, with clarified butter: the fourth, with molasses; the fifth, with butter-milk; the sixth, with sugar; the seventh with Ganges-water. (15) *Ratna-dhenu-dāna,* the

[12] *Dhenu* is a milch-cow, or a cow that has calved. *Kāma-dhenu* is the cow of plenty, belonging to the sage Vasishtha, yielding all that is desired. For *Hiranya-garbha.* See p. 163.

[13] *Mahā-bhuta* signifies a 'huge creature' and '*ghata*' is the frontal sinus of an elephant. Ganesa was the son of Siva and Pārvati and is invoked at the beginning of undertakings as removing

representation of a *cow* with *a calf* made up of jewels. (16) *Mahābhuta-ghata-dāna*, is a representation in gold of the figure of a man surmounted by the head of an elephant, which is called *Ganesa*. Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs*, eight *māshas* to 3,330 *tolas*, four *māshas*.

In some works the first or *Tulā-dāna*, the weight whereof should be not less than 106 *tolahs*, eight *māshas*, nor more than 833 *tolahs*, four *māshas*, is alone given, and the remaining forms are omitted. There is also some difference of opinion regarding the distribution. Some give only to the *Achārya* or teacher who shares the alms with others, while some bestow it also upon other Brāhmans.

For each of these forms of charity, there are various injunctions. Although no distinct season is fixed, they are regarded as of more efficacy in times of eclipse and when the sun enters Capricorn and on some other occasions. Strange legends are told of them and of their results, as for instance regarding the first kind, if the giver weighs himself against gold, he will remain in paradise for a thousand million *kalpas* and advance from degree to degree of beatitude, and when he re-assumes human form will become a mighty monarch.

The *Fourth kind* is—

SRADDHA,

or

Ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors.

The charity is given in the name of deceased ancestors and is of various kinds, but four are specially observed: (1) On the day of decease and its anniversary. (2) On the first day of the first quarter of the new moon. (3) On the sixteenth lunar day of the month of *Kuār*. (Sept.-Oct.).

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obstacles. He is represented as a short pot-bellied man frequently mounted on a rat or attended by one, and to denote his sagacity, has the head of an elephant, with, however, but one tusk.—Monier Williams.

(4) Bestowing charity in a place of worship in the name of the deceased.

[164] The manner of performing it is to bestow money and gifts in kind, dressed and undressed, on Brāhmans in the name of father, grandfather and great grandfather including their wives, and in the same way on the three directly ascending male ancestors of the mother and their wives. All four castes may perform this ceremony.

When these four duties of worship, sacrifice, alms-giving and commemoration of the deceased, as now described, are performed, the worship of God is accounted to be perfectly carried out, and without them it is not effected.

AVATARAS,
or
Incarnations of the Deity.[14]

They believe that the Supreme Being in the wisdom of His counsel, assumes an elementary form of a special character for the good of the creation, and many of the wisest of the Hindus accept this doctrine. Such a *complete* incarnation is called *Purnāvatāra,* and that principle which in some created forms is scintillant with the rays of the divinity and bestows extraordinary powers is called *Ansāvatāra* or *partial* incarnation. These latter will not be here considered.

Of the first kind they say that in the whole four *Yugas,* ten manifestations will take place, and that nine have up to the present time appeared.

MATSYAVATARA,
or
Fish-Incarnation.

The Deity was herein manifested under the form of a fish. They say that in the Drāvidā country at the extremity

[14] For the Avatārs, see Hastings, *Encyclop.* vii. 193-197 (by Jacobi).

of the Dekhan in the city of Bhadrāvati, during the *Satya Yuga* on the eleventh lunar day of the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March), Rājā Manu, having withdrawn himself from all worldly concerns, and being then ten hundred thousand years of age, lived in the practice of great austerities. He was performing his ablutions on the banks of the river Kritamāla when a fish came into his hand and said "preserve me." It remained in his hand a day and night and as it increased in size, he put it into a cup, and when it grew larger, he placed it in a pitcher. When the latter could not contain it, he put it into a well and thence transferred it to a lake and afterwards to the Ganges. As the Ganges could not hold it, he gave it place in the ocean, and when it filled the ocean, the Rājā recognised the origin of the miracle and worshipped it and prayed for a revelation. He heard the following answer: "I am the Supreme Being. I have assumed the form of this creature for thy salvation and that of a few of the elect. After seven days the world will be destroyed and a flood shall cover the earth. Get thou into a certain ark with a few of the righteous together with the divine books and choice medicinal herbs and fasten the ark to this horn which cometh out of me." The deluge continued one million, seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years after which it subsided.[15]

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[15] The story is told in the Mahābhārata with reference to the Matsya Purāna as its authority which would imply that the poem is later than the Purāna, but according to Wilson, the great epic is much older than any extant Purāna, and the simplicity of the story in the Mahābhārata is of much more antique complexion than the extravagance of the actual Matsya Purāna. In the former, Manu collects the seeds of existing things in the ark, explained in the latter, as effected by the power of Yoga. In the latter, the great serpents come to serve as cords to fasten the ark to the horn of the fish ; in the former, a cable of ropes is used. As the ark is borne on the waters, Manu enters into converse with the fish, and its replies which concern the creation, regal dynasties and the duties of the different orders, form the subject of the Purāna. —Wilson, *V. P.*

KURMAVATARA,
or
Tortoise-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga* in the light half of the month of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.), on the twelfth lunar day, the Creator manifested himself in the shape of a tortoise. They relate that the deities wished to obtain the water of immortality after the manner of butter by churning the ocean [165] of milk. Instead of a churning-stick, they used the largest of the mountains, *Mandāra*. From its excessive weight the mountain sank into the ocean, and great were their difficulties. The Deity assumed this shape and bore up the mountain on his back and the gods obtained their desire.

By this miraculous act, fourteen priceless objects were brought up from the sea:—(1). *Lakshmi*, the goddess of fortune, appeared as a bride and thus a source of happiness to all creatures was obtained. (2). *Kaustabha-mani*, or the wonderful jewel *Kaustabha*, of extraordinary lustre and in value beyond price. (3). *Parijātaka-vriksha*, the miraculous tree *Parijātaka*[16] whose flowers never fade and whose fragrance fills the universe. Some say that it grants all desires. It is called also *Kalpavriksha*. (4). *Sura*, (the goddess of) wine. (5). *Dhanvantari*, the physician (of the gods) who could heal the sick and raise the dead to life. In his right hand, he held a leech and in his left (a branch of) the myrobalan tree. His Majesty considers that these two should be regarded separately and the number of treasures be accounted sixteen. (6). *Chandra-mani*, the (moon-gem or) world-illumining moon. (7). *Kāma-dhenu*, the miraculous cow which gave forth from her udders the gratification of every wish. (8). *Airāvata*, the white elephant (of Indra) with four tusks. (9). *Sankha*, the white conch-shell of wondrous sound that bestowed victory

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[16] The coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*, one of the five trees of Paradise.

on whomsoever possessed it. (10). *Visha*, deadly poison. (11). *Amrita*, the water of life. (12). *Rambhā*,[17] the nymph, beautiful and sweet-dispositioned. (13). *Asva*, the horse with eight heads. (14). *Sārangadhanus*, or the bow *Sāranga* of which the unerring arrow carried to any distance.

After producing these inestimable treasures, the tortoise descended into the earth and is believed still to exist.

VARAHAVATARA,
or
Boar-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga*, on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kārttika* (Oct.-Nov.) in the city of *Brahmāvarta* near *Nimishāra*[18] and Ayodhya, this manifestation took place. [P. 166] One of the *Daityas* named *Hiranyāksha* had passed a long period in the practice of austerities and the worship of God. One day the Deity appeared to him in visible form and asked him what he desired. Rejoiced at these gracious words, he enumerated many noxious animals and prayed for exemption from their injury and that he might be monarch of the whole universe. Shortly after he obtained his wishes, and dispossessing Indra of the sovereignty of heaven, committed its charge to one of his own kindred. The deities and Brahmā

[17] A nymph of Indra's paradise, sometimes regarded as a form of Lakshmi, and popularly accepted as a type of female beauty. The order and number of these ocean treasures varies in different accounts. See the *Vishnu Purana* on the churning of the ocean. I. IX.

[18] Or *Naimisha* from S. *nimisha*, a twinkling; the name of a forest and shrine, celebrated as the residence of certain Rishis to whom Sauti related the Mahābhārata. The district was so-called because the sage Gaura-mukha destroyed an army of Asuras in a *twinkling*. Monier Williams, who refers to the *Mahābh.* Adi., p. 7275, Vana, p. 6079. It is called Nimkhār in the *I. G.*, a town in the Sitapur Dist., Oudh, on the left bank of the Gumti, 20 miles from Sitapur town. Lat. 27° 20′ 55″ N. and long. 80° 31′ 40″. It is described as a place of great sanctity with numerous tanks and temples. In one of the tanks, Rāma is said to have washed away his sin of slaying a Brāhman in the person of Rāvana, the ravisher of Sitā.

hastened to Vishnu and besought his aid. As in the request for exemption the name of the boar had been omitted, they received this answer, "I will manifest myself under that form and deprive him of life."

Soon afterwards, Vishnu took this shape and entering his capital, destroyed him. This is pointed out as having taken place at Soron.[19] The earth was again peopled with the virtuous and Indra recovered his sovereignty of the world above.

The period of this manifestation was a thousand years.

NARA-SINHA,
or
Man-Lion-Incarnation.

This was a form from the head to the waist like a lion and the lower parts resembling a man, and was manifested in the *Satya Yuga* on the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May), in the city of *Hiranyapura* now commonly called Hindaun[20] near the metropolis of Agra. They say that *Hiranyakasipu* of the Daitya race spent many long years in a life of austerity until the Deity appeared to him and asked his desire. His first prayer was that his death might not take place by night nor by day, and next, he begged protection against all noxious animals which he severally named, and lastly, that he might obtain sovereignty over the realms above and below. His request was granted. The deities yielded submission to him and the world was filled with the unrighteous. The chief spirits implored aid of Vishnu through Brahmā and their prayer was heard. It is

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[19] In the Etah district, N. W. P. It is a town of great antiquity according to the *I. G.* and was originally known as Ukala-Kshetra, but after the destruction of Hiranyāksha, the name was changed to Sukara-Kshetra (beneficent-region). Devout Hindus after visiting Mathurā, go on to Soron to bathe in the Barhgangā which is here lined with handsome temples and *ghāts*.

[20] In the Jaipur State, situated in 26° 44′ N., and long. 77° 5′ E., on the old route from Agra to Mhow, 71 miles S. W. of the former.

said that *Hiranyakasipu* had a son called *Prahlāda* who, like the deities, worshipped the Supreme God and followed the path of truth in spite of his father, who though he subjected his son to much persecution, was unable to turn him from that course. One evening his father asked him where the Supreme Being dwelt. He replied that he was omnipresent and to explain his meaning, pointed to a pillar in which also he declared the Deity to be. The king in folly smote it with his sword, and by a miracle from heaven, the above form came forth from it and tore him to pieces at the interval of time between night and day, and his death was caused by an animal of a specially-created type. It is said that this divine form asked *Prahlāda* to choose some boon. The great-souled youth prayed only for final liberation (*jivan-mukti*), [167] which is eternal life freed from the defilement of corporal existence and from the bonds of joy and sorrow. This manifestation continued one hundred years.[21]

VAMANA, *or* *Dwarf-Incarnation.*

In the *Tretā Yuga*, on the twelfth day of the light half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (H. *Bhādon*, Aug-Sept.) in the city of *Sonbhadrā* on the banks of the Narbadā, this new manifestation was born of Aditi in the house of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of the legendary Brahmā. This incarnation continued a thousand years. *Bali* of the Daitya race underwent an austere penance to obtain the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Bountiful Giver of all desires revealed himself and granted his wish and Bali thus obtained a mighty dominion. Having subdued the throned princes of the gods, he left them in possession of their principalities.

[21] Four chapters of the *Vishnu Purāna*, from the 17th to the 21st, are taken up with the history of the legend. The story is told in detail only in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.

He performed many sacrifices, but neglected to present to the deities their customary offerings. The latter, through the intercession of Brahmā, implored Vishnu to dethrone him who comforted them by revealing the issue of events. In the same year this moon-orb displayed its radiance, and when the child grew in wisdom, in conformity with rule and custom he was placed under the tuition of the sage *Bharadwāja*. With his preceptor he attended the sacrifice which the king had inaugurated at Kurukshetra, and after the royal custom, Bali asked him what boon he desired. He replied, "I ask of thee as much ground as I can cover with three steps." The king in amazement rejoined, "Is so slight a gift craved of a monarch so illustrious and powerful?" When at last, after some debate he consented, the first step was so great that it covered the earth and the lower regions. The second measured the extent of the celestial world. The Rājā delivered himself up in bonds in commutation of the third step. On account of the natural goodness of the Rājā's disposition, after depriving him of his universal sovereignty, he conceded to him the rule of the nether world.

PARASURAMAVATARA,
or
Incarnation of Rāma with the axe.

In the house of Jamadagni a Brāhman, and of his wife Renukā, during the *Tretā Yuga*, on the third day of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, in the village of Rankatta near Agra, this human form was born.

Kārttavirya of the Daitya[22] race, who had neither hands nor feet, was at that time on the throne. In great affliction

[22] This is an error, probably of a copyist. He was sovereign of the Haihaya tribe, descendants of Yadu from the twelfth prince of the lunar line. Of this tribe there were five great divisions, the Tālojanghas, Vitihotras, Avantyas, Tundikeras and Jātas. They dwelt in Central India. The capital of the first named was Māhishmati or Chuli Maheswar, still called, according to Col. Todd

on account of his misfortune, he abandoned the world and retired to the Kailāsa mountain to undergo penance. Mahādeva vouchsafing his favour, gave him a thousand arms and at his prayer bestowed on him the sovereignty of the three worlds. But he oppressed the deities for which reason they implored his destruction, and their supplication was heard. They say that Jamadagni was descended from Mahādeva and Renukā from Aditi mother of the deities (*Adityas*). She had five sons, the fifth being Parasurāma. He was [168] instructed by Mahādeva in the Kailāsa mountain, and Jamadagni his father worshipped in the desert. Kārttavirya was one day engaged in the pastime of hunting and he happened to pass by the hermitage of Jamadagni and sought there to satisfy his hunger and thirst. The hermit brought forth food and drink, besides jewels and valuable presents befitting a monarch. The king was amazed and refused to touch them till he was informed concerning their possession. He replied that Indra, the ruler of the celestial regions, had bestowed upon him the cow *Kāmadhenu* which supplied him with all that he required. The king, seized with avarice, demanded the cow. He answered that he could not comply with his request without the sanction of Indra, and that no earthly power could take possession of it. The king enraged determined to use force, but notwithstanding all the troops he could collect and his hostile attempts, he could not prevail. At length one

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Sahasra-bāhu ki basti, 'village of the thousand armed,' *i.e.*, of Kārttavirya. (*Rajāsthān*, I. 39, n.). These tribes must have preceded the Rājput tribes by whom their country, Mālwa, Ujjain and the valley of the Narbadā, is now occupied. A remnant of the Haihaya still exists at the top of the valley of Sohāgpur in Bagel-khand, aware of their ancient lineage and celebrated for their valour. Their predatory connection with the Sakas, suggests their Scythian origin, which the word Haya, meaning in Sansk. a horse, is supposed to confirm, perhaps from their nomadic habits implied in the Homeric name, Hippemolgi. Wilson hints their connection with the Huns. See his notes to Book, IV, Chapters III and XI, *V. P.* The Kailāsa mountain, the fabled Paradise of Siva is placed by the Hindus, north of the Mānasa lake and regarded as one of the loftiest peaks of the Himalayas. *Vide* Vol. II, 313, n 2.

night he came secretly and slew Jamadagni, but found no trace of the cow. Renukā sent for her son Parasurāma, and performing the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, burnt herself according to the custom of her people and laid upon her son the injunction to avenge her. Parasurāma, endued with miraculous power, set out to engage the king, and twenty pitched battles took place. In the last, the king was slain and the deities recovered their sovereignty. He then collected the wealth of the universe and bestowed it in alms at a sacrificial ceremony, and then abandoning the world, retired to the obscurity of a solitude.[23]

He is still believed to be living and his habitation is pointed out in the mountain Mahendra of the Konkan.

RAMAVATARA,

or

Rāma-Incarnation.

They relate that Rāvana one of the *Rākshasas* two generations in descent from Brahmā,[24] had ten heads and twenty hands. He underwent austerities for a period of ten thousand years in the Kailāsa mountain and devoted his heads, one after another in this penance in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Deity appeared to him and granted his prayer. The gods were afflicted by his rule and as in the former instances, solicited his dethronement which was vouchsafed, and Rāma was appointed to accomplish this end. He was accordingly born during the *Tretā Yuga* on the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra*

[23] This fable is taken from the *Mahābhārata* and inserted in the 7th Chapter, Book IV, of the *Vishnu Purāna*. In this, Rāma uses his axe to cut off his mother's head at the command of his father, who restored her again to life at his son's request. The sons of Kārttavirya are there said to revenge the death of their father by slaying Jamadagni in Rāma's absence.

[24] He was the son of Visravas, son of Pulastya, son of Brahmā.

(March-April) in the city of Ayodhya, of Kausalya wife of Rājā Dasaratha. At the first dawn of intelligence, he acquired much learning and withdrawing from all worldly pursuits, set out journeying through wilds and gave a fresh beauty to his life by visiting holy shrines. He became lord of the earth and slew Rāvana. He ruled for eleven thousand years and introduced just laws of administration.[25]

KRISHNAVATARA,

or

Incarnation as Krishna.

More than four thousand years ago, Ugrasena of the Yadu race bore sway in his capital of Mathurā. His son Kansa rebelled and dethroning his father ruled with a persecuting hand, while at the same time Jarāsandha, Sisupāla and other princes of the Daityas exercised unbounded tyranny. [P. 169] The afflicted earth assuming the form of a cow, hastened with Brahmā to Vishnu and implored their destruction. The prayer was granted and the divine commission was entrusted to Krishna. They say that the astrologers foretold to Kansa that a child would shortly be born and that his reign would be at an end. He thereupon ordered the slaughter of all infants and thus each year the blood of many innocent children was shed until his sister Devaki married Vasudeva of the Yadu race. Now Kansa heard a report that Devaki's eighth son would be the cause of his death. He therefore confined them both in prison and put to death every son that was born to them. In the beginning of the *Kali Yuga,* on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (Aug.-Sept.), in the city of Mathurā near the metropolis

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[25] The literature of the *Rāmāyana* in various languages is sufficiently well-known to dispense with a reference to the details of this *Avatāra*. For the *Rāmāyana*, see Hastings, *Encyclo*. x. 574-578 and Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*.

of Agra, the child was born while the guards were negligent. The fetters fell off and the doors were opened and the child spoke thus. "On the other side of the Jamuna, a girl has even now been born in the house of the cowherd Nanda, and the family are asleep. Take and leave me there and bring the girl hither." As Vasudeva set out to fulfill this injunction, the river became fordable and the command was obeyed. Krishna in his ninth year killed Kansa, released Ugrasena from prison and seated him on the throne. He also engaged the other tyrants and overthrew them.

He lived one hundred and twenty-five years and had 16,108 wives, each of whom gave birth to ten sons and one daughter, and each wife thought that she alone shared her husband's bed.

BUDDHAVATARA,
or
Buddha-Incarnation.

He was born of Māya in the house of Rājā Sudhodhana of the race of Rāmachandra during the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* in the city of Magadh.

They say that as many sacrifices were performed at this period and the number of animals sacrificed was very large, Vishnu willed to appear in human form to condemn the Vedic institutions and their sacrificial rites. For this reason he became incarnate in that year and lived to the age of a hundred. Some account of him has already preceded.

KALKYAVATARA,
or
Kalki-Incarnation.

At the close of the *Kali Yuga*, in the tenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, this birth will take place in

the family of the Brāhman Vishnuyasas from the womb of his wife Yasovati in the town of Sambhala.[26]

They say that a time will come when a just prince will not be left upon the earth, iniquity will abound, grain become excessively dear, and [P. 170] the age of men will become shortened so that they will not live beyond thirty years, and deaths will be rife. For the remedy of these disorders, the Deity will become incarnate and renew the world in righteousness.

Some add fourteen other *Avatāras*, making them twenty-four, and have written works on the histories of each, relating many extraordinary legends.

Many men fashion images of these *Avatāras* in silver and gold and worship them, but the Jainas and Buddhas do not believe in the complete incarnations (*Purnavatāras*).

UNCLEAN THINGS.

These are,—wine, blood, semen, excrement, urine, excretions from the mouth, nose, ears and eyes, sweat, hair, detached nails, bones of animals whose flesh is forbidden, a woman in her courses, and one newly delivered during the period hereinafter stated, any dead animal, forbidden food, a sweeper, an ass, a dog, (tame) swine, the dust that rises from off an ass, goat, sheep or broom, and the mud shaken out of a garment, a sinner guilty of the five great sins, or whoever touches such, a crow, a (tame domestic) cock. a mouse, a eunuch, the smoke from a burnt corpse, a washerman, a hunter, a fisherman, a gamester, a spirit-seller, an executioner, a tanner, a dyer, a currier, and an oilman.

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[26] See Vol. II. He is to appear on a white horse with a flashing sword for the final destruction of Mlechchhas and those that love iniquity, and to re-establish righteousness. The similarity of the idea and expression to the Apocalyptic vision of the white horse and its rider will readily occur to mind and the analogy between some of these manifestations and certain scenes in the New Testament has often been observed, and is not the result of accident.

PURIFIERS.

Knowledge, austerity, suspension of breath (*prāṇāyāma*), religious exercises of the *Sandhyā*, sun-light, moon-light, fire, water, air, earth, ashes, mustard-seed, wild produce of the earth, shade of a tree, the back and legs of a cow, a plough, a broom, sour things, salt-water, mouth of a horse or goat, eating certain food, the lapse of time, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter,. and the dung and urine of a cow.

STATE OF PURIFICATION.[27]

Knowledge and austerity purify the soul. When the inward person is unclean by improper food, it is purified by suppression of breath and the wild produce of the earth: a drunkard by molten glass. When the body is defiled by ordure, wine, blood and the like, it becomes pure by cleansing below the navel with earth and water, and above it with earth and water, rinsing the teeth, washing the eyes, bathing, abstaining for a day and a night from food and drink, and afterwards eating five things from a cow.[28] A pathway or water that has been polluted by the shadow of a *Chandāl* (pariah) is again purified by sunlight, moonlight, and air. If the ordure of any animal falls into a well, sixty pitchers full of water must be taken out; if into a tank, a hundred pitchers;

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[27] On Hindu ideas of purification, Hastings, *Encyclo.* x. 490-491, and food, vi. 63-65. Prohibitions and permissions in regard to food and ceremonial purification are treated in the V. Lecture of Manu's *Ordinances*. Albiruni says that he was informed by Hindus that before the time of Bhārata, the meat of cows was permitted, and cows were killed at certain sacrifices and that the reason of the prohibition was their unwholesomeness as food. In a hot climate the inner parts of the body are cold, the natural warmth is feeble and the digestion is so weak, that it has to be strengthened by chewing the betel-nut. The betel inflames the bodily heat, the chalk in the betel leaves dries up everything wet, and the betel-nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, gums and stomach. Hence cow's meat was forbidden as it is essentially thick and cold. II. Chapter 58.

[28] Milk, buttermilk, ghee, dung of a cow and its urine. [Sanskr. *pancha gavya*.]

any part of a river, is purified by its own flow. From oil that is defiled, the contaminating matter is taken out and the oil is boiled. Milk cannot be purified except only when the shadow of a *Chandāl* may have fallen upon it, in which case it becomes pure by boiling. Cotton, leaves, molasses, grain become pure by the sprinking of a little water after removing the defilement. Gold, silver, stone, vegetable produce, rope and whatever grows beneath [P. 171] the earth and utensils of cane are purified by water, and if they have been defiled by unclean oil and the like, by hot water. Clothes are purified by water. Wooden vessels if defiled by the touch of a *Chandāl* cannot be made pure, but if touched by a *Sudra* or any unclean thing, may be purified by scraping; and wood and bone and horn must be treated in the same manner. Anything made of stone after being washed must be buried for seven days. A sieve, a winnowing basket, a deer-skin, and the like, and a pestle-and-mortar, are purified by being sprinkled with water. A cart may be scraped in the part defiled and the rest dashed with water. An earthen vessel is purified by being heated in the fire; and the ground by one of the following: sweeping, lighting a fire thereon, ploughing, lapse of a considerable time, being touched by the feet or back of a cow, sprinkling with water, digging or plastering with cow-dung. Food smelt by a cow or into which hair, flies or lice have fallen, is purified with ashes and water. If any thing is defiled by excretions from the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, or sweat, or touched by hair or nails detached from one's own body, it should be first washed, and then scoured with clean earth, and again washed until the smear and smell have gone. Excretions from the mouth, nose, ears, or eyes of another, if they come from above the navel, must if possible, be purified as above described, after which he must bathe: all below the navel, and the two hands are purified by cleansing in the same way. If he be defiled with spirituous liquor, semen, blood, catamenia, (the touch of) a lying-in woman,

ordure and urine, he must wash with water and scour with earth, and again wash with water if the defilement be above the navel; if it extend below, after the second washing, he must rub himself with butter from a cow and then with its milk, and afterwards with its butter-milk, and next smear himself with cowdung and wash in its urine, and finally drink three handfuls of water from the river. If he touch a washerman, or a dyer, or a currier, or an executioner, or a hunter, or a fisherman, or an oilman, or tame swine, he is purified by water only. But if he touch a woman in her courses or a lying-in woman, or a sweeper, or a great sinner, or a corpse, or a dog, or an ass, cat, crow, domestic cock, mouse or a eunuch, or the smoke of a burning corpse, or the dust from an ass, dog, goat or sheep reach him, he must enter the water in his clothes and bathe and look at the sun and pronounce incantations to it. After touching a greasy human bone, he must bathe with his clothes on or else wash himself and drink three handfuls of water and look at the sun and put his hand upon a cow. Where the sun is not visible, he must look upon fire. If silk or wool come in contact with any thing the touch of which (in a man) would require his bathing, it is purified by air and sunshine if it be not actually defiled, otherwise it must also be washed. A woman in her courses becomes pure after the fourth day.

If it is not known whether a thing be clean or unclean, they accept the decision of some virtuous person regarding it or sprinkle it with water. The details on this subject are numerous.

Improper Dress.

[172] A blue garment, unless it be of silk or wool, is improper for any caste except a Sudra, but a Brāhman's wife at night, and a Kshatriya woman as a bride or at a feast, may wear it, and a Vaisya woman must avoid it when perform-

ing the *Srāddha* or funeral rites. The women of all three castes may not wear it when cooking or eating.

PROHIBITED FOOD.

Human flesh, beef, horse-flesh, domestic cocks and hens, the parrot, the *Sārika*, the *Mynah*, the pigeon, the owl, the vulture, the chameleon, the bustard, the *Sāras* (Ardea antigone), the *Papiha* and waterfowl, frogs, snakes, weasels and animals whose toes are joined (web-footed birds): animals that abide in towns, except the goat; the ruddy goose (Anas casarca), the pond-heron (Ardea torra), dried fish or flesh, five kinds of fish, *viz.* :—(1). The *Rohu*, (Cyprinus Rohita). (2). The *Patthar Chatā* (Stone licker). (3). The *Sankara* (probably a skate the *Raia Sankar*). (4). The *Rājiva*. (5) The *Bārahi*[29]: carnivorous animals, the camel, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the monkey, the various reptiles; all that produces intoxication, camel's milk, mare's milk, and the milk of all animals that divide not the hoof; goat's and ewe's milk, the milk of forest animals, woman's milk, milk from a cow in the first ten days after calving, milk of a cow whose calf has died, till she calves again; garlic, leeks, carrots, the Sebesten plum (Cordia Sebestena) the produce from unclean land, or food which a man's foot has touched or the hand of a woman in her courses; anything from the house of a courtesan, or a thief, or a carpenter, or a usurer, or a blacksmith, or a polisher, or a goldsmith, or a washerman, or a weaver, or a tanner, or a currier, or a singer or dancer, or an armourer, or

[29] The last named, of which there are several variants, and the second and third, are not in Manu who mentions the *pathina* and *simhatunda* which together with the *rājiva* and *rohu* or *rohita* are declared to be *lawful*, but the commentator Medha-tithi limits the two latter to use at sacrificial ceremonies. I do not find the Patthar-chata mentioned in Day's *Fishes of India*. Stone-licking is common to a good many if not to all. The Sankāra is perhaps, a skate, the Raia *Sankur*; Rājiva signifies streaked or striped, and is mentioned by Monier Williams as a fish whose spawn is said to be poisonous. I cannot identify it nor the following name Bārahi. The rhinoceros is a disputed animal. *M. V.* 18. n. 6.

a dog keeper, or a seller of spirits, or a physician, or a surgeon, or a hunter, or a eunuch; food set apart or the food of one who has committed the five great sins;[30] food dressed for offerings to the deities, leavings of food of one in mourning during the period of mourning, food of an unchaste woman, cheese and the like that is made of milk,[31] all food dressed with oil or water and left all night; whatever becomes sour from being left long; food in which hair or insects may have fallen; food eaten without the five ceremonies which are obligatory before meals, as will be now described.

These details are already numerous and what has been said must suffice.

CEREMONIES IN COOKING AND EATING.

Each time before cooking, if it be in the house, the floor and part of the wall should be plastered with cowdung and earth, and if it be in the woods, as much ground as will hold the materials and the cooking utensils. No one but the person who cooks may occupy the spot, and he must first bathe and put on a loin-cloth and cover his head and thus complete his meal. If a piece of paper or dirty rag or other such thing fall on the plastered space, the food is spoilt. He must bathe again and newly plaster the ground and provide fresh materials. The cook must be either the mistress of the family or a Brāhman whose special duty this may be, or a relation, or the master of the house himself. [173.]

Before eating, the place where they sit must be plastered in the same way, and they occupy it without spreading any covering on the ground, but a stool or a wooden board, bare as aforesaid, may be used.

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[30] Slaying a Brāhman, drinking spirituous liquor, theft, adultery with the wife of a Guru are the four great crimes; associating with those who commit them is the fifth. Manu IX, 235, and X, 55.

[31] Curdled milk and all produced from it are expressly allowed. V. 10.

Next, the following five ceremonies are regarded as indispensable:—(1). Reading some portion of the *Vedas*. (2). Sprinkling water as a libation to departed ancestors. (3). Placing some food in front of the idol. (4). Throwing a little food on the ground in the name of the deities. (5). Giving some to the poor. First the children eat, then the relations satisfy themselves, after which the man himself partakes, but not out of the same dish with another even though it be a child. None but the cook may bring any provisions to the gathering. If by accident his hand touches any one, or he is touched by others, whatever food he holds in his hand at the time he must throw away, and bathing anew, bring fresh materials; unless the cook be a woman, for whom it will suffice to wash her hands and feet. The cook eats last of all. In drinking also, each person must have a separate vessel.

Formerly it was the custom for a Brāhman to eat at the house of a Brāhman or of a Kshātriya or of a Vaisya, and a Kshātriya might eat at any house but that of a Sudra; and a Vaisya in the same way; but in this cycle of *Kali Yuga*, each must take his meal in the house of his own caste. The utensils from which they eat are generally the leaves of trees, and fashioned of gold, silver, brass, and also of bell-metal, and they avoid the use of copper, earthenware, and stone vessels. They also consider it improper to eat from a broken dish or from the leaves of the *bar* or banyan tree (*ficus Indica*), the *pipal*, (*ficus religiosa* and the swallow-wort (*Asclepeas gigantea*).[32] To eat twice either in the night or day is not approved.

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[32] These being sacred; the flowers of the *Asclepeas* are placed upon the idol Mahādeva. It secretes an acrid milky juice which flows from wounds in the shrub, and is applied to various medicinal purposes, and preparations of the plant are employed to cure all kinds of fits, epilepsy, hysterics, convulsions, poisonous bites. The flowers are large and beautiful, a mixture of rose and purple: there is also a white-flowered variety Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*.

RULES OF FASTING.

These are of numerous kinds, but a few will be mentioned.

The first kind is when they neither eat nor drink during the day and night, and twenty-nine of these days are obligatory during the year, *viz.*, on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight of every month; the *Sivarātri*;[33] the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May) in which the birth of the *Nara-Sinha*, or Man-lion took place; the third of the light half of the same month being the anniversary of the birth of *Parasurāma;* the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the nativity of *Rāma;* and the eighth of the dark half of the month of *Bhādra-pada* (*Bhādon*, Aug.-Sept.), the nativity of Krishna. On these occasions, some abstain from grain only, and other authorities lay down particular details.

The second kind. They eat only at night.

The third kind. They take only water, fruit and milk.

The fourth kind. They eat but once during the day and night, but may drink water at any time.

The fifth kind. They do not of their own desire eat during twenty-four hours, but if pressed to do so, they may partake of food not more than once.

The sixth kind is the Chandrāyana, which is in five ways:—(1). On the first day of the month, one mouthful is taken and an increase of one mouthful made daily till the fifteenth, from which date it diminishes daily by the like quantity. [P. 174] (2). Or on the first of the month, fifteen mouthfuls are taken and the consumption daily diminishes till the fifteenth, when it is reduced to one mouthful; after which it again increases by one mouthful daily. (3). Some

[33] Siva's night, a popular festival in honour of Siva kept on the 14th of the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.). When Siva is worshipped under the type of the *Linga*, a rigorous fast is observed. Monier Williams. Hindu fasting, Hastings, *Encyclop.*, v. 761, vii. 362.

say that instead of this, three mouthfuls, should be taken each half-day, and nothing else should be touched. (4). Or, again, eight mouthfuls each half-day, four in the morning and four in the evening. (5). Or two hundred and forty mouthfuls may be eaten (during the month) in any manner at will: The size of the mouthful should be that of a pea-hen's egg, and the faster should bathe regularly morning, noon, and evening.

The seventh kind. They neither eat nor drink for twelve days.

The eighth kind. Out of twelve days, they eat a little once daily for three days consecutively, and once at night only for three days; during three other days and nights they do not eat unless some one brings them food, and for the remaining three, they fast altogether.

The ninth kind. For three days and nights they eat no more than one handful, and for three other days the same allowance only at night. for three more days and nights if any food is brought to them, they may take one handful, and for three days and nights they eat nothing.

The tenth kind. For three days and nights, they swallow only warm water: for three other such periods only hot milk, and again for three days and nights hot clarified butter, and for three days and nights they light a fire and put the mouth against an opening by which the hot air enters, which they inhale.

The eleventh kind. Out of fifteen days, for three days and nights they eat only leaves, and for three days and nights only the Indian fig; for three days and nights they are content with the seeds of the lotus; for three days and nights, leaves of the *pipal*; for three days and nights, the kind of grass called *dābha*.[34]

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[34] Or *darbha*, the name specially of the *kusa-grass* (*Poa Cynosuroides*) used at sacrificial ceremonies, but also applied to the *Saccharum spontaneum* and *S. cylin dricum*.

The twelfth kind. For six days out of the week they must content themselves with one of the following six consecutively, the produce of the cow:—(1). Urine. (2). Dung. (3). Milk. (4). Buttermilk. (5). Butter. (6). Water. On the seventh he must abstain from food altogether.

During every kind of fast they must abstain from meat, the pulse *Adas,* (*Cicer lens*), the bean *Lobiyā,* (*Dolichos Sinensis*), honey and molasses; they must sleep on the ground; they may not play at such games as *chaupar* and *solah*;[35] nor approach their wives at night, nor anoint themselves with oil, nor shave, and the like, and they must give alms daily and perform other good works.

Enumeration of Sins.

Although these exceed expression, and a volume could not contain them, they may be classed in seven degrees.

The first degree comprises five kinds which cannot be expiated.

(1). Killing a Brāhman. (2) Incest with the mother. (3). Drinking spirituous liquors by a Brāhman, Kshātriya or Vaisya; accounted no sin, however, in a Sudra. Some authorities name three kinds of spirits, *viz.*, distilled from rice or other grain: from *mahwā* (*Bassia Latifolia*), and the like: from molasses and similar things. All three are forbidden to the Brāhman; the first-named only to the Kshātriya and the Vaisya. (4). Stealing ten *māshas* of gold. (5). Associating for one year with anyone guilty of these four.

The second degree. Untruth in regard to genealogy, carrying a slander to the king, and false accusation of a Guru, are equivalent to slaying a Brāhman.

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[35] Both are games of hazard: the latter is also called *solah-bagghu*. The names are derivatives from the numerals four and sixteen respectively, *chaupar* having two transverse bars in the form of a cross drawn on the playing cloth, and the other played with a number of lines drawn on the ground.

Carnal connection with sisters by the same mother,[36] with immature girls, with women of the lowest class, and the wives of curriers, painters, rope-dancers, fishermen and fowlers, and the wife of one's friend or son, is equivalent to the second great sin (of the first degree). [P. 175]

Forgetting the Vedas, or showing them contempt, false testimony (without a bad motive), killing a relation (without malice), and eating prohibited things, are equivalent to the third sin of the first degree.

Betrayal of trust in regard to a deposit, and stealing a human creature, a horse, jewels, silver and land, are equivalent to stealing gold.

Third degree. Killing a cow, adultery with other than the above named women, theft of other things besides (gold), killing a woman,[37] a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra (without malice), bewitching, oppression of others, exacting illegal imposts, procuring for immoral purposes, prostitution and making a livelihood thereby, deserting a teacher or father or mother, usury as has been noticed, trading in a Brāhman or Kshatriya unless through necessity, in which case they may not deal in oil, salt, sweetmeats, cooked food, sesame-seed, stone, living animals, red cloths, hempen, linen or woollen cloths, fruits, medicines, arms, poison, flesh, perfumes, milk, honey, buttermilk, spirituous liquors, indigo, lac, grass, water and leather goods: non-payment of the three debts,[38] that is to the gods, which is sacrifice; to spiritual teachers, which is reading the *Vedas;* and to ancestors for the procreation of their kind: omitting investiture of the sacred thread at the

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[36] Taken in this sense by Sir W. Jones, and confirmed by the commentator Medhātithi, but Hopkins translates "with women born of one's own mother" Manu, XI, 59. For sins, see Hastings, xi, 560-562.

[37] The variant in the notes is correct and I have adopted it instead of the reading of the text which makes the woman the wife of the castes that follow. See Manu, XI, 67.

[38] To the gods, manes and men, are the three debts with which man is born. XI, 66, n. 7. Hopkins.

proper time, deserting one's kindred, selling a son, a wife, a garden, a well, or a holy pool, digging up green produce from the ground having no need of it, performing the *pāka* sacrifice with a selfish view merely, application to the books of a false religion, doing service for hire as a Brāhman,[39] marrying before an elder brother: all these are considered equivalent to killing a cow.

Fourth degree. Dissimulation, sodomy, molesting a Brāhman, smelling any spirituous liquor, and anything extremely fœtid or unfit to be smelt.

Fifth degree. Killing an elephant, a horse, a camel, a deer, a goat, a sheep, a buffalo, a *nilgao,* a fish, an ass, a dog, a cat, a pig and the like; receiving property from forbidden persons as a Chandāla or pariah, and the like; trading in the things aforesaid without necessity, falsehood, and serving a Sudra.

Sixth degree. Killing small insects like ants; eating from the hand or vessel of a wine-seller.

Seventh degree. Stealing fruit, flowers, and firewood; want of mental firmness on important occasions.

For each of these degrees of sin certain penances have been appointed, the performance of which releases from further penalty: for instance, they say that whoever kills a Brāhman will transmigrate into the form of a deer, a dog, a camel, or boar. When he takes human form he will be subject to diseases and end his life in great afflictions. The expiation is to cut off pieces of his own flesh and skin and throw them into the fire, or for twelve years forsake his family and taking a human skull in his hand, go abegging and from street to street and door to door proclaim his wickedness; this is, provided it was accidental, otherwise this penance lasts twenty-four years.

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[39] That is, teaching the Vedas for hire working in mines and dykes and bridges and other mechanical works, serving a Sudra all of which are forbidden.

INTERIOR SINS.

[176] Although they hold these to be very numerous twelve are accounted heinous :—(1). *Krodha*, being under the influence of anger. (2). *Lobha*, inordinate desire of rank and wealth. (3). *Dvesha*, hatred towards men. (4). *Rāga*, love of worldly pleasures. (5). *Māna*, esteeming one's self above others. (6). *Moha*, ignorance. (7). *Mada*, intoxication from spirituous liquors or wealth or youth or station or knowledge. (8). *Soka*, absorption in grief through loss of goods, reputation or honour, or separation from friends. (9). *Mamatva*, considering the things of the world as one's own. (10). *Ahankāra*, egoism. (11). *Bhaya*, fearing other than God. (12). *Harsha*, joy in one's own virtue and the evil of others.

The endeavour of such as desire to know God should be first to restrain themselves from these twelve sins until they acquire virtuous dispositions and become worthy to attain to the divine union. Some say that all evil actions are reducible to ten heads,[40] of which three corrupt the heart, *viz.*, coveting the goods of another; resolving on any forbidden deed; scepticism in regard to the chosen servants of God. The same number defile the members of the body, *viz.*, taking the goods of another by force; injury to the innocent; adultery.

The sins of the tongue are four, *viz.*, scurrilous language, falsehood, slander, and useless tattle.

May the omnipotent Lord keep us from these ten sins and bring us to the goal of our desire.

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[40] This is taken from Manu, XII. 5, 6, 7. Resolving on forbidden things is defined by a commentator as desiring to kill a Brāhman and the like, and the third in conceiving notions of materialism and atheism.

CHAPTER IX.

SACRED PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

Although profound and enlightened moralists are convinced that true happiness consists in the acquisition of virtue and recognise no other temple of God but a pure heart, nevertheless the physicians of the spiritual order, from their knowledge of the pulsation of human feeling, have bestowed on certain places a reputation for sanctity and thus rousing the slumberers in forgetfulness and instilling in them the enthusiastic desire of seeking God, have made these shrines instruments for their reverencing of the just, and the toils of the pilgrimage a means of facilitating the attainment of their aim.

These holy places are of four degrees.

The first is termed *deva* or divine and dedicated to Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva. The greatest among these are twenty-eight rivers in the following order:—[P. 177]

(1). Ganges. (2) Sarasvati. (3). Jamuna. (4). Narbadā. (5). Vipāsā, known as Biāh (Hyphasis). (6). Vitastā (Hydaspes or Bidaspes) known as the Bihat. (7). Kausiki, a river near Rhotās in the Panjāb, but some place it in the neighbourhood of Garhi in the eastern districts. (8). Nandāvati. (9). Chandrabhāgā, known as the Chenāb. (10). Sarayu (Sarju) known as the Sarāu. (11). Satyavati. (12). Tāpi known as Tapti upon the (north) bank of which is Burhānpur. (13). Pārāvati. (14). Pāsāvati. (15). Gomati (Gumti) near Dvārakā. (16). Gandaki, upon the banks of which is Sultānpur of the Subah of Oudh. (17). Bāhudā. (18). Devikā (Deva or Gogra). (19). Godāvari, called also Bānganga. Pattan of the Dekhan is situated on its bank. (20). Tāmraparni at the extremity of the Dekhan. Here pearls are found. (21). Charmanvati. (22). Varana, near Benares. (23). Irāvati,

known as the Rāvi (Hydraotes). Lahor is on its bank. (24). Satadru (the hundred-channelled), known as the Sutlej. Ludhiana is upon its bank. (25). Bhimarathi, [178] called also the Bhimā, in the Dekhan. (26). Parnasonā. (27). Vanjara, in the Dekhan. (28). Achamiyyā. Some include the Indus, but it is not of the same sanctity.[1]

Each of these rivers as dedicated to one of these deities, has peculiar characteristics ascribed to it : Some of the places situated on their banks are esteemed holy, as, for example. the village of Soron on the Ganges, to which multitudes flock on the twelfth of the month of *Aghan* (Nov.-Dec.). Some regard certain cities as dedicated to the divinities. Among these are *Kāsi*, commonly called Benares. The adjacent

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[1] Sacred rivers—An earlier list of names is given in Alberuni's *India* (Sachau's trans.), i. 257-262. Abul Fazl's transliteration of Sanskrit geographical names is even more puzzling than Alberuni's and any attempt to identify the doubtful names must be largely conjectural.

Kausiki, evidently the Kosi in North Bihar, and therefore Abul F.'s location of it "near Rhotas in the Panjab" is incorrect ; he probably confounded it with Rohtas in south Bihar, near which there is no sacred river. "Garhi is a parganā of Purnia (N. Bihar) through which the Kosi flows." A F.'s *Nandāvati*—Alberuni's *Nandanā*, A. F.'s *Pārāvati*=Alberuni's *Parā* and *Pāvani*, probably the Pārvati river (a tributary of the Bias) in the Kāngra district, or a lesser river of the same name in Mālwa. *Satyavati* of A. F.= *Sailodā* of Alberuni. But Jarrett suggests that it is "the same as the Kausiki, because Satyavati the mother of Jamadagni (the father of Parasurāma) became the Kausiki river." On this view Abul F.'s Kausiki cannot be the Kosi of North Bihar, but the Kausikā, "one of the seven mouths of the Godāvari, branching off from the Gautami, near Mandapalle." A. F.'s *Bāhadā*=Alberuni's *Bāhudāsa* (probably a mistake for the Mahānandā near Mālda or for the *Bhadrā*, which joins the Tungā in the Deccan). A. F.'s *Parna Sonā* stands for the *Son* river (the name of which means gold, *sonā*), Parnā being the old name of *Panna* (popularly called Jharnā-Parnā) through which State the Son flows. For *Pāsāvati* (Alberuni's *Pisāvika*) I suggest the *Pampā-nadi* in Travancore, or more probably the Pampā lake near old Vijaynagar. A. F.'s *Vanjara* is evidently a mistake for the *Manjara* river, a tributary of the Godāvari. For A. F.'s *Achamiyyā* I hazard the guess *Ujjainia* or the river of Ujjain, known as the *Siprā*, a very sacred water, which Alberuni gives under its proper name. The *Tāmraparni* flows in the Tinnevelli district of Madras. (J. Sarkar).

country for five *kos* around the city is held sacred. Although pilgrimages take place throughout the year, on the *Siva-ratri* multitudes resort thither from distant parts and it is considered one of the most chosen places in which to die. Final liberation is said to be fourfold:—(1). *Sālokya*,[2] passing from the degrees of paradise to Kailāsa. They say that when a man goes to heaven through good works, he must return to earth, but when after various transmigrations, he attains that region, he returns no more. (2). *Sārupya* (assimilation to the deity); when a man partakes of the divine elementary form, he does not revisit the earth. (3). *Sāmipya* (nearness to the deity) is when a man after breaking the elemental bonds, by the power of good works is admitted into the presence of God's elect, and does not return to earth. (4). *Sāyujya* (absorption into the deity); after passing through all intermediate stages, he obtains the bliss of true liberation. They have likewise divided the territory of Benares into four kinds. The characteristic of two parts is that when a being dies therein, he attains the fourth degree of *Mukti;* if he dies in one of the others, he reaches the third degree, and if in the remaining one, the second degree.

Ayodhyā, commonly called Awadh. The distance of forty *kos* to the east, and twenty to the north is regarded as sacred ground. On the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* a great religious festival is held.[3]

Avantikā, Ujjain. All around it for thirty-two *kos* is accounted holy and a large concourse takes place on the *Siva-rātri.*

Kānchi (Conjevaram) in the Dekhan. For twenty *kos* around it is considered sacred. On the eighth of every Hindu

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[2] I read *bihisht* for *hasht*. *Sālokya* signifies being in the same heaven with any particular deity. *Kailāsa* is the paradise of Siva, placed according to their belief in the Himālaya range.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Rāma, *Rāma-navami.*

month that falls on a Tuesday, there is a great concourse of pilgrims.

Mathurā is sacred for forty-eight *ḳos* around, and even before it became the birthplace of Krishna, was held in veneration. Religious festivals are held on the 23rd of the month of *Bhādra* (Aug.-Sept.) and the 15th of *Kārttiḳa* (Oct.-Nov.).[4]

Dvārakā The country for forty *ḳos* in length and twenty in breadth is esteemed holy. On the *Diwālī*[5] festival, crowds resort hither.

Māya, known as Haridvāra (Hardwar) on the Ganges. It is held sacred for eighteen *ḳos* in length. Large numbers of pilgrims assemble on the 10th of *Chaitra*.

These seven are called the seven (sacred) cities.

Prayāga now called Illahābās. The distance for twenty *ḳos* around is venerated. They say that the desires of a man that dies here are gratified in his next birth. They also hold that whoever commits suicide is guilty of a great crime except in this spot where it meets with exceeding reward. Throughout the year it is considered holy, but especially so during the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.).

Nagarḳot.[6] For eight *ḳos* round it is venerated. On the eighth of the months of *Chaitra* and *Kārttiḳa*, many pilgrims assemble.

Kāshmir is also accounted of this class and is dedicated to Mahādeva. Many places in it are held in great veneration.

The second are the shrines of the Asuras, which are

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[4] The former is the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, *i.e.*, adding 15 days of the light half to 8 of the dark half, making it the 23rd day. The second festival is connected with the legend of the Serpent Kāliyā. See Vish. Pur. V. 7.

[5] *Dipāli* in Sansk., a row of lamps. The day of the new moon in the month of *Kārttiḳa*, on which there are nocturnal illuminations in honour of Kārttikeya, the god of war. The night is often spent in gambling.

[6] Kāngra. See Vol. II.

temples dedicated to the Daitya race. In many things they share the privileges of the *devatās;* but the latter are more pure, while the others are filled with the principle of *tamas* (darkness).[7] Their temples are said to be in the lower regions (Pātāla).

The third are called *Arsha*, or shrines of the great *Rishis*, men who by virtue of austerities and good works are in near proximity to the deity. [180] Their shrines are counted by thousands. Amongst them are Nimkhār (Nimishāra), Pukhra (Pushkara), Khushāb, and Baddiri.[8]

The fourth are called *Mānusha*, or appertaining to men who by their power of good works are superior to mankind in general, though they do not obtain the rank of the third degree. Their shrines also are numerous. Among them is *Kurukshetra*. which for forty *kos* around is considered holy, and numerous pilgrims resort thither during eclipses of the sun and moon.

Ceremonies are laid down for each pilgrimage and their various meritorious results are declared.

O THOU! that seekest after divine knowledge, learn wisdom of these Hindu legends! Each particle among created atoms is a sublime temple of worship. May the Almighty deliver mankind from the wanderings of a vain imagination troubled over many things.

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[7] "Brahmā, then, being desirous of creating the four orders of being termed gods, demons, progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself; whilst thus concentrated the quality of darkness pervaded his body and thence the demons (the Asuras) were first born, issuing from his thigh. This form abandoned by him which embodied darkness became night: the quality of goodness then becoming embodied, from his mouth issued the gods; this form abandoned became day. Thus the gods are powerful by day, the demons at night. *Vish. Pur.* I. 5.

[8] *Nimkhār* (Sansk. *Naimisha*) a town in the Sitapur district of Oudh. *Pushkar* in the Ajmer dist.; *Badrināth* in the Garhwāl dist. Can *Khushāb* be a mistake for *Joshi* (math) in the Central Himalayas. which pilgrims to Badri-nāth also visit? [J. S.]

Customs of Marriage.

This is of eight kinds:—

1. *Brāhmya.* The girl's father with other elders of the family visit the bridegroom and bring him to his house where the relations assemble. Then the grandfather, or brother, or any other male relation, or the mother, says before the company:—"I have bestowed such and such a maiden upon such and such a man." The bridegroom in the presence of the same company gives his consent. Certain incantations are then pronounced and the *Homa* sacrifice is performed. It is then declared that the girl's mother has borne male children and was of smaller stature than her husband,[10] and that the bridegroom is not impotent, and both parties declare that they have not been subject to leprosy, phthisis, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, piles, chronic issue of blood, deformity of limb, or epilepsy. At the nuptials an attendant of the bride washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom and draws the sectarial marks upon them. Three vessels filled severally with rice and curds, after certain incantations have been pronounced, are then given to them to eat. When this is concluded they are dressed out and taken to a retired chamber and a curtain is hung between the bride and bridegroom. The father takes each of the young people and turns them facing the east and

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[9] For Hindu marriages, see Hastings, viii. 449-454.

[10] I do not find this condition. It might possibly mean inferior in caste but in that sense Abul Fazl uses *sāfl*. Manu requires a bridegroom to avoid the ten following families whatever their wealth in gold or kine, *viz.*, the family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion; that which has produced no male children; that in which the Veda has not been read; that which has thick hair on the body; and those subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy and albinoism, also a girl with reddish hair, a deformed limb, troubled with habitual sickness: and one with no hair or too much. and immoderately talkative and with inflamed eyes. She must not bear the name of a constellation, of a tree, of a river, of a barbarous nation, of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or a slave. She must have no defect, walk like a goose or an elephant, have hair and teeth of moderate quantity and length, and have exquisite softness of person. M. III. 7, 8, 9, 10,

a Brāhman repeats certain prayers and places in the hand of each some rice and five betel-nuts. The curtain is then removed and they present to each other what they hold in their hands. The Brāhman next places the two hands of the bride in those of the bridegroom and repeats certain prayers and then reverses the ceremony; after which he binds them both with loose-spun cotton thread, and the girl's father taking [P. 181] her hand gives her to the bridegroom and says, 'May there be ever participation between you and this nursling of happiness in three things—in good works, in worldly goods, and tranquillity of life.' Finally, a fire is lit and the pair are led round it seven times,[11] and the marriage is completed. Until this is done, the engagement may be lawfully cancelled.

2. *Daiva* (of the Devas). At the time of a sacrifice, all is given away in alms and a maiden is bestowed on the Brāhman performing the sacrifice. The betrothal is then made and the other ceremonies are conducted as aforesaid.

3. *Arsha* (of the Rishis). This rite takes place when a pair of kine have been received from the bridegroom.

4. *Prājāpatya*[12] (of the Prajāpatis). The man and woman are brought together and united by this bond.

5. *Asura* (of the Asuras). The maiden is received in marriage after as much wealth has been presented to her kinsmen (as the suitor can afford).[13]

6. *Gāndharva* (of the Gāndharvas). The pair enter-

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[11] Properly in seven steps. The marriage is not completed till the seventh step is taken. Manu, VIII. 227, and note. Hopkins.

[12] "The gift of the maiden is called the Prājāpatya rite (when made) after reverencing and addressing (the pair) with the words, 'together do ye both your duty.'" *Ibid.* 30. The Arsha rite is the commonest form now. Burnell.

[13] A recognised sale is here meant. This form is practised at the present day by people claiming to be Brāhmans, *e.g.*, the Saiva Brāhmans called Gurukkal in Southern India, who seldom can get wives for less than a thousand rupees. It often happens that low caste girls are palmed off upon them. Manu. III. 31, n. 2.

tain a mutual affection and are voluntarily united in wedlock without the knowledge of others.

7. *Rākshasa* (of the Rākshasas), is the forcible seizure and abduction of a girl from her people by the ravisher to his own house and there marrying her.

8. *Paisācha* (of the Pisāchas). This rite receives this name when the lover secretly approaches a girl when asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind.

Everywhere there is some difference in the preliminary betrothals, but the concluding ceremonies are after the manner above described. The four rites are lawful for a Brāhman; and besides the second, all are within his privilege. The fifth is lawful to Vaisya or a Sudra; the sixth and seventh for a Kshatriya. The eighth is held disgraceful by all.

A dower is not mentioned in the case of Brāhmans, and divorce is not customary: In the former ages of the world, it was the rule for Bāhmans to take wives from among all the castes, while the other three castes considered it unlawful to wed a Brāhman woman. The same practice obtained between all superior and inferior castes reciprocally. In the present *Kali Yuga* no one chooses a wife out of his own caste, nay, each of these four being subdivided into various branches, each subdivision asks in marriage only the daughters of their own equals.

Although there are numberous classes of Brāhmans, the noblest by descent are from the (seven) Rishis, Kāsyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Visvà-mitra, Gotāma, Angiras, and Pulastya.[12] Each of these has numerous ramifications [P. 182] When any member of one of these families attains to any worldly and spiritual eminence and becomes the founder of any class of institutes, his posterity are called by his name. The family

[12] The *Satapatha Brāhmana*, and the *Mahabharata* differ a little from the text and from each other ; in Manu they are reckoned as ten. The seven Rishis form in Astronomy, the Great Bear. Monier Williams, S. D.

caste of each is called *Kula* (Hindi *ḳul*) or *gotra,*[15] (Hindi *gotar*), and the rule is that if a youth and maid be of the same *gotra,* however distant be the relationship, their marriage is unlawful; but if one be of a separate *ḳula,* they may lawfully marry. Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are dependent for their marriage ceremony on a family priest (*purohita*), and each class has a special Brāhman from one of the seven lines of descent. If the maid and the youth have their several family priests belonging to the same *ḳula,* their marriage is held unlawful. When united in marriage, the wife leaves her own *gotra* and enters that of her husband.

When the betrothal is first proposed the lines of paternal and maternal ancestry of both the woman and the man are scrutinised. In computing either of the two genealogies, if within each fifth degree of ascent the lines unite, the marriage is not lawful. Also if in the two paternal genealogies, they unite in any generation, the marriage cannot take place. Scrutiny of the maternal descent on both sides is not necessary. If in the paternal genealogies of both parties, consanguinity through a female occurs in the eighth generation, it is held lawful, but if in the paternal lines of both, consanguinity through a female occurs in the sixth generation it constitutes a fresh (impediment of) kinship. The same result occurs if the consanguinity occurs in the sixth generation by the mother's side.

Until the elder brother is married, the younger may not lawfully be so.

It is held expedient that the bride should not be under eight,[16] and any age over ten is thought improper. The man

[15] Among the Brāhmans, twenty-four *gotras* are reckoned, supposed to be sprung from and named after celebrated teachers, as Sāndilya, Kāsyapa, Gautama, Bharad-vāja, &c. *Ibid.*

[16] "A man aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart, or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight; but if he should finish his studentship earlier and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately." M. IX, 94. Sir W. Jones.

should be twenty-five, and marriage after fifty years of age, they regard as unbecoming. Excepting in the king, it is not considered right for a man to have more than one wife, unless his first wife is sickly or proves barren, or her children die. In these cases, he may marry ten wives, but if the tenth proves defective, he may not marry again. If his first wife is suitable, and he desires to take another, he must give the first a third part of his estate.

It was the custom in ancient times for the daughters of kings when they sought a husband, to hold a great festival. Her suitors were assembled together and the damsel attended the banquet in person. Of whomsoever she made choice, she placed upon his neck a string of pearls and flowers. [183] This custom was called *Svayamvara*, or self-choice.[17]

Quando mulier mensium suorum expers sit quod post quatriduum contingit,. si maritus ejus intra duodecim dies proximos in quibus satis probabile est conceptus, ineat eam, necesse est illi perlutum esse. In reliquis temporibus dissimilis est ratio et manus pedesque lavare satis esse censeant. Per totum tempus mensium coitum in crimine ponunt. In diebus his, vivit mulier in secessu, neque cibum mariti nec vestimenta tangit neque ad culinam accedit ne contaminet eam.

SRINGARA,

or

Ornaments of Dress.

A man is adorned by twelve things:—(1). Trimming his beard. (2). Ablution of his body. (3). Drawing the

[17] An instance occurs, among many, in the well-known epic of Nala and Damayanti. The practice is conceded in Manu (IX. 92). but as Hopkins observes, only out of respect for the old custom and was not practised at that date Yājnavalkya and others permit it when there are no relatives to give away the girl in marriage. Some early writers conceded it without distinction of caste: in the epic it is confined to royal maidens: among later commentators it is restricted to the lower castes.

sectarial marks of caste. (4). Anointing with perfumes and oil. (5). Wearing gold earrings. (6). Wearing the *jāma*[18] fastened on the left side. (7). Bearing the *mukuta* which is a golden tiara worn on the turban. (8). Wearing a sword. (9). Carrying a dagger and the like, at the waist. (10). Wearing a ring on the finger. (11). Eating betel. (12). Wearing sandals or shoes.

A woman is adorned by sixteen things :—(1). Bathing. (2). Anointing with oil. (3). Braiding the hair. (4). Decking the crown of her head with jewels. (5). Anointing with sandal-wood unguent. (6). The wearing of dresses and these are of various kinds. The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows. A jacket without a skirt called *angiyā* (Sansk. *angikā*) was chiefly worn, and instead of drawers, a *lahangā* which is a waist-cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening. It is also made in other forms. Others wear the *dandiyā* which is a large sheet worn over the *lahangā*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. These three garments are of necessity. The wealthy wear other garments over this. Some wear the veil[19] and *pāe-jāmas*. (7). Sectarial marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments. (8) Tinting with lamp-black like collyrium. (9). Wearing ear-rings. (10). Adorning with nose-rings of pearls and gold. (11). Wearing ornaments round the neck. (12). Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls. (13). Staining the hands. (14). Wearing a belt hung with small bells. (15). Decorat-

[18] The *jāma* is described in the dictionaries as being a long gown from eleven to thirty breadths in the skirt, folded into many plaits in the upper part and double-breasted on the body and tied in two places on each side.

[19] In the text, *m'ajar* which I conceive corresponds to the Hindi, *orhani*—the sheet or mantle covering the head and upper part of the body.

ing the feet with gold ornaments. (16). Eating *pān*. Finally blandishments and artfulness. [P. 184]

JEWELS.

These are of many kinds[20]:—(1). The *Sis-phul*, an ornament for the head resembling the marigold. (2). *Māng*, worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty. (3). *Kot-bilādar*, worn on the forehead consisting of five bands and a long centre-drop. (4). *Sekrā*, seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face. It is chiefly worn at marriages and births. (5). *Binduli*, smaller than a (gold) *muhār* and worn on the forehead. (6). *Khuntilā*, a earring tapering in shape. (7). *Karnphul* (ear-flower), shaped like the flower of the *Magrela*,[21] a decoration for the ear. (8). *Durbachh*, a earring. (9). *Pipal-patti*, (*Pipal*-leaf) crescent-shaped, eight or nine being worn in each ear. (10). *Bāli*, a circlet with a pearl worn in the ear. (11). *Champakali*, smaller than the red rose, and worn on the shell of the ear. (12). *Mor-Bhanwar*, shaped like a peacock, a ear-pendant. (13). *Besar* is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire. (14). *Phuli* is like a bud, the stalk of which is attached to

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[20] I refer the reader for an explanation of these ornaments to the Persian text of the 1st Vol. of the Ain-i-Akbari which contains in the pages succeeding the preface, plates of the jewels here mentioned and a descriptive catalogue of the whole series.

[21] Dr. King, Superintendent, Royal Botanical Gardens, whose invaluable aid is never withheld and never at fault, on my reference to him informs me that, this is the *Nigella sativa* sometimes called the *N. Indica*, and is not a native of Hindustan, but domesticated. The seeds are largely used in cookery, and in Bengal are named *Kala jira* or black Cumin-seed. The flower has a calyx of delicate fibres dishevelled in appearance and is commonly known as "Love-in-mist." From the specimen Dr. King has been good enough to send me, the ornament imitates the appearance admirably.

the nose. (15). *Laung*, an ornament for the nose in the shape of a clove. (16). *Nath* is a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls, or other jewels. It is worn in the nostril. (17). *Guluband* consists of five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck. (18). *Hār* is a necklace of strings of pearls inter-connected by golden roses. (19). *Hāns* is a necklace. (20). *Kangan* is a bracelet. [185] (21). *Gajrah*, a bracelet made of gold and pearls. (22). *Jawe*, consisting of five golden barley-corns (*jau*) strung on silk and fastened on each wrist. (23). *Chur*, (a bracelet) worn above the wrist. (24). *Bāhu* is like the *chur* but a little smaller. (25). *Churin*, a little thinner than the (ordinary) bracelet. Some seven are worn together. (26). *Bāzuband*, (armlet); of these there are various kinds. (27). *Tād*, a hollow circle worn on the arm. (28). *Anguthi*, finger ring. Various forms are made. (29). *Chhudr-Khantikā*, golden bells strung on gold wire and twisted round the waist. (30). *Kati-mekhlā*, a golden belt, highly decorative. (31). *Jehar*, three gold rings, as ankle-ornaments. The first is called *Churā*, consisting of two hollow half-circlets which when joined together form a complete ring. The second is called *dundhani*, and resembles the former only engraved somewhat. The third is called *masuchi* and is like the second but differently engraved. (32). *Pāil*, the anklet, called *Khalkhāl* (in Arabic). (34). *Ghunghru*, small golden bells, six on each ankle strung upon silk and worn between the *Jehar* and *Khalkhāl*. (35). *Bhānk*, an ornament for the instep, triangular and square. (36). *Bichhwah*, an ornament for the instep shaped like half a bell. (37). *Anwat*, an ornament for the great toe.

All these ornaments are made either plain or studded with jewels, and are of many styles. What words can express the exquisite workmanship of the trade? Their delicacy and skill is such that the cost of the work is ten *tolahs* for each *tolah* of gold. Her Majesty has suggested

new patterns in each kind. A few of these have been represented in plates for illustration. [P. 186]

WORKMEN IN DECORATIVE ART.

In other countries the jewels are secured in the sockets made for them, with lac, but in Hindustan, it is effected with *kundan* which is gold made so pure and ductile that the fable of the gold of Parviz which he could mould with his hand becomes credible.[22]

The mode of preparation is as follows:—Of a *māsha* of gold they draw out a wire eight fingers long and one finger in breadth. Then the wire is coated with a mixture of two parts of the ashes of dried field-cowdung[23] and one part of Sāmbhar salt, after which it is wrapped in a coarse cloth and covered with clay. This is generally of not more than ten *tolahs* weight, and it is placed in a fire of four *sers* of cowdung which is then suffered to cool down. If there is but little alloy in it, it will become of standard fineness after three fires, otherwise it must be coated with the same mixture and passed through three more fires. It is generally found that three coatings and three fires are sufficient for the purpose. It must then be washed and placed in an earthen vessel filled with limejuice or some other (acid) which is heated to boiling. It is then cleaned and wound round a cane and taken off (when required), and re-heated from time

[22] This was one of the seven unequalled treasures possessed by Khusrau Parviz. It was said to be a piece of gold that might be held in the hand and as ductile as wax. The others were his throne *Tāghdis*; his treasure called the *Bādāvard*, or wind-borne, because being conveyed by sea to the Roman emperor, the vessel was cast upon his shores; his horse *shabdiz*; his minstrel *Bārbud*: his minister *Shāhpur*, and above all his incomparable wife *Shirin*.

[23] *Sargin gāo suhrāi* is translated by Blochmann (I. 21) incorrectly the dry dung of the *wild cow*. It merely means the cowdung picked up in the fields and jungles; in Hindi *pāchak* and *kanda*.

Sāmbhar, the well-known great salt-lake in the States of Jaipur and Jodhpur.

to time, and used for setting by means of an iron style and so adheres that it will not become detached for a long period of time. At first the ornament is fashioned quite plain and here and there they leave sockets for the setting of the jewels. These sockets are filled with lac and a little of the gold is inserted above it, and on this the jewel is pressed down. The overflow of the lac is scraped off and it is then weighed. They next cover the lac with the *ḳundan* by means of a needle, and finally scrape and polish it with a steel-pointed tool.

The fee of a skilled artificer for this work is sixty-four *dāms* on each *tolah*.

The *Zarnishān* or gold inlayer, is a workman who cuts silver agate, crystal and other gems in various ways and sets them on gold. He inlays silver and steel with lines of gold and embellishes agates and other stones by engraving and cutting them. On steel and gems, if he uses one *tolah* of gold, he receives one and a half as his charge; if he inlays on ivory, fish-bone, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros-horn or silver, his charge for every *tolah* of gold is one *tolah* of the same.

The *Koftgar* or gold-beater, inlays on steel and other metals, markings more delicate than the teeth of a file, and damascenes with gold and silver wire. He receives one hundred *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold and sixty for a *tolah* of silver. His work is principally on weapons.

The *Mināḳār* or enameller, works on cups, flagons, rings and other articles with gold and silver. He polishes his delicate enamels separately on various colours, sets them in their suitable places and puts them to the fire. This is done several times. His charge is sixteen *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold, and seven for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sādah-ḳār*, a plain goldsmith, fashions gold-work and other articles [187] of gold and silver. His charge is five and a half *dāms* on every *tolah* of gold and two for every *tolah* of silver.

The *Shabakah-kār*[24] executes pierced-work in ornaments and vessels. His charge is double that of the *Sādah-kār*.

The *Munabbat-kār* works plain figures or impressions on a gold ground, so that they appear in relief. His charge is ten *dāms* for a *tolah* of gold and four for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Charm-kār*[25] incrusts granulations of gold and silver like poppy-seeds on ornaments and vessels. For every *tolah* weight of golden grains his charge is one rupee, and half of this for silver.

The *Sim-bāf* or plaiter of silver, draws out gold and silver wire and plaits them into belts for swords, daggers and the like. He receives twenty-four *dāms* on a *tolah* of gold and sixteen for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sawād-kār* grinds a black composition (*sawād*) and lays it smoothly over traceries of gold and then polishes the ground evenly with a file. The *sawād* consists of gold, silver, copper, lead and sulphur mixed together in certain proportions. The work is of several kinds. The finest is on gold and the charge is two rupees per *tolah* of *sawād*. For the midddling kind, the charge is one rupee, and for the lowest, eight annas.

The *Zar-kob* or gold beater, makes gold and silver leaf.

Lapidaries, metal casters, and other artificers produce designs which excite astonishment, but this exposition is already sufficiently protracted. Artists of all kinds are constantly employed at the Imperial Court where their work is subjected to the test of criticism. [P. 188]

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[24] From the Arabic *Shabakat*, a fishing net, a lattice ; *i.e.*, any reticulated work. *Munabbat* comes from the Arabic root *'nabt'* and is pass. part. of II. conj., 'to cause to grow out' : hence repousse-work.

[25] *Charm* signifies leather and the granulated kind of it called *kimukht* or shagreen (from the Pers. *Sāghari*) would represent the style of work which the text refers to. The granulation of the shagreen is produced by embedding in the leather when it is soft, the seeds of a kind of chenopodium and afterwards shaving down the surface. The green colour is produced by the action of salammoniac on copper filings.

CEREMONIES AT CHILDBIRTH.

As soon as a child is born, the father bathes himself in cold water, worships the deities and performs the *Srāddha* ceremonies, and stirring some honey and ghee together with a gold ring, puts it into the infant's mouth. The midwife then cuts the umbilical cord, and immediately upon its severance the whole family become unclean. In this state they refrain from the *Homa* sacrifice and the worship of the deities and from repeating the *gāyatri* and many other ceremonies, contenting themselves with interior remembrance of the Deity. If this takes place in a Brāhman's family, his children and relations to the fourth degree of consanguinity are ceremonially unclean for ten days; the relations of the fifth degree, for six days; those of the sixth degree. for four days; of the seventh, for three; of the eighth for one day and night, and those of the ninth continue so for four *pahrs*.

At the close of these periods they are freed after ablution of the body. But the usual rule is that a Brāhman together with his kindred to the seventh degree, are unclean for ten days; a Kshatriya, for twelve days; a Vaisya and the superior[26] class of Sudra for fifteen days, and the inferior Sudras for thirty days. During this time strangers avoid associating or eating with them. This state is called *Sutaka* (impurity from childbirth). A prince and his attendants, his physician, cook, overseer, and other servants of the crown are not subjected to this condition, but on the sixth day certain prayers are offered to the Deity and rejoicings are made, and the mother and child are bathed.

The day after the expiration of the *Sutaka*, they name the child and look in the astronomical table for the sign and station of the rising of the moon. The initial of his name is

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[26] By these are meant the *Ahir* and *Kurmi* castes or shepherds and agriculturists. from whose hands Brāhmans and Kshatriyas will drink, the inferior Sudras being *Chamārs* and the like who are held unclean.

taken from the letter which is therewith connected[27] and a name of more than four letters is considered blameworthy. In the fourth month they bring it into the sun before which time it is never carried out of the house. In the fifth month they bore the lobe of the right ear. In the sixth month, if the child be a boy, they place various kinds of food around him, and feed him with that for which he shows a preference. If it be a girl, this is not done till the sixth or seventh month. When it is a year old, or in the third year, they shave his head, but by some this is delayed till the fifth year, by others till the seventh, and by others again till the eighth year, when a festival is held. In the fifth year they send him to school and meet together in rejoicing.

They observe the birthday and annually celebrate it with a feast, and at the close of each year make a knot on a thread of silk. He is invested with the sacred string at the appointed time. At each of these occasions they perform certain works and go through some extraordinary ceremonies.

THE NUMBER OF FESTIVALS.

Certain auspicious days are religiously observed and celebrated as festivals. These are called *te'ohār* and a few of them are here indicated.

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[27] This requires explanation. The day is divided into 60 *dandas*=24 hours, the four divisions of which allow 15 *dandas* to every six hours. Now each of the 28 asterisms (v. p. 21) is symbolised by a fanciful name of four letters: *e.g.*, the first asterism *Asvini* is called *chu, che, cho, lā*, the second *Bharani lo, lu, le, lā*. To each of the periods of six hours a letter is allotted, as *chu* from 6 A.M. to noon, *che* from noon to 6 P.M., *cho* from 6 P.M. to midnight, and *lā* from midnight to 6 A.M. A child born in the first period has a name beginning with *chu*, as Churāmani: in the second with *che*, as *Chet-Rām*, and so on. This is termed the *rāsi* name from Sanskrit *rāsi*, the passage of any planet through a sign of the Zodiac. A second name is subsequently given when the child is two or three, at the fancy of the parents without any ceremonial observance. Thus a man's *rāsi* name will be Panna Lāl, and the name by which he is generally called, Dāmodar. This practice is mostly confined to the more cultivated classes.

During the month of *Chaitra* (March-April, Hind. *Chait*) eight occur:—[P. 189] (1). *Srishtyādi*,[28] the first lunar day of the light half of the month. (2). *Nava-rātra* (Hind. *Nau-rātr*); the nine first nights of the year are chiefly employed in ceremonial worship and prayer and pilgrims from afar assemble at Nagarkot (Kāngra) and other places dedicated to the worship of Durga. (3). *Sri-panchami*, the fifth lunar day (of the light half of the month). (4). *Asokāshtami*,[29] the eighth of the light half of the month. (5). *Rāma-navami*, ninth day of the light half of the month, the birthday of Rāma. (6). *Chaturdasa* (Hind. *Chaudas*) the fourteenth. (7). *Purna-māsa* (Hind. *Purnamāsi*), the fifteenth. (8). *Parivā* (Sansk. *Pratipada*) the sixteenth calculating from the *Sukla-paksha* or light fortnight, or counting from *Krishna-paksha* (dark fortnight), the 1st, and according to the computation by which the beginning of the month is taken from *Krishna-paksha*, this day will fall in the beginning of the second month which is *Vaisākha*. Therefore with those who hold this view, the festival will occur on the 1st of *Krishna-paksha* which preceded the aforesaid *Sukla-paksha*,[30] and so with all the festivals that fall in *Krishna-paksha*, the difference of a month one way or the other arises between the two methods of calculation.

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[28] The transliteration is incorrect. The luni-solar year of Vikramāditya begins from this festival.

[29] *Asoka* is the tree Jonesia Asoka which is held sacred. In a grove of these trees Sita, the wife of Rāma, was imprisoned in Lanka by Rāvana. *Rāmāyana*; Sundar Kānda.

[30] *Cf.* p. 17, Vol. II. The two modes of reckoning, *viz.*, by the *mukhya chāndra* or principal lunar month which ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna-chāndra* or secondary lunar month which ends with the opposition, are both authorized by the Purānas. The latter mode begins the month with the *Krishna-paksha* or dark half of the month, in which differences of reckoning occur: the *Sukla-paksha* or light half from which the *mukhya-chāndr* reckoning begins, is the same, of course, for both modes, and therefore no difference can arise. *Cf.* Sir W. Jones. "Lunar months of the Hindus." *Works* I. 374.

During *Vaisākha* (April-May) there are four:—(1). *Tij* (Sansk. *Tritiya*), during the third lunar day of the light fortnight, the birthday of Parasurāma. (2). *Saptami*, the seventh. (3). *Chaturdasi*, the fourteenth, the birthday of Nara-Sinha. (4). *Amāvasa*, the thirtieth.

During the month of *Jyeshtha* (Hind. *Jeth*, May-June), there are three:—(1). *Chaturthi*, the fourth lunar day. (2). *Navami*, the ninth. (3). *Dasami*, the tenth which is called *Dasa-harā*.[31]

[190] In the month of *Ashādha* (Hind. *Asārh*, June-July), the seventh, eighth and eleventh, and according to some the fifteenth.[32]

In the month of *Srāvana* (Hind. *Sāwan*, July-Aug.) three:—(1). *Purnamāsa*, the fifteenth of the light half of the month. This is the greatest festival with the Brāhmans throughout the year upon which they fasten the amulet called *raksha-bandhana* on the right wrists of the principal people. It is a cord of silk and the like, decorated by some with jewels and pearls. (2). (*Nāga-panchami*)[33] the fifth of the light fortnight.

In the month of *Bhādra-pada* (Hind. *Bhādon*, Aug.-Sept.) there are five; the fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, and

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[31] Vulg. *Dusserah*. There are two festivals, *viz*., that in the text, which is the birthday of Ganga, in which whoever bathes in the Ganges is said to be purified from ten sorts of sins, and the second on the 10th of Asvin *Sukla-paksha* (Hind. *Kuār*, Sept.-Oct.) in honour of Durga. This worship continues for nine nights, and images of Devi are thrown into the river. Rāma is said to have marched against Rāvana on this day and hence it is called *Vijay-dasami* or the Victorious Tenth. It is held as a most auspicious day for all undertakings and especially for operations of war.

[32] This is called the Vyāsa-puja, in honour of *Vyāsa* the *divider* of the Vedas. He is supposed to be represented on this festival by the teachers or *gurus*.

[33] Abul Fazl has omitted the name. A snake is worshipped on this day to preserve children from their bites. The text also omits altogether the third festival, the *Srāvani*, held by Brāhmans only, spent in reading the Vedas and bathing, and changing the sacred thread

twenty-third. The latter is the birthday of Krishna. Some hold this to be on the eighth of (the dark half of) Srāvana.[34]

In the month of *Asvin* there are two. As aforesaid (in the month of *Chaitra*) nine nights are accounted holy and the tenth (of the light fortnight) is called *Dasa-harā*. According to their writings the festival previously mentioned is called *Dasa-harā* and this is known as the *Vijay-dasami*. On this day they pay particular attention to their horses and decorate them and place green sprouts of barley on their heads, and all workmen venerate their tools, and it is held as a great festival and particularly for the Kshatriyas. (Another) they call *Srāddha-Kanya-gata*[35] on the fifteenth of *Krishna-pakṣha* of the month of Asvin by common consent, but those who compute the beginning of the month from its *Krishna-pakṣha* place it in the month preceding. During these fifteen days (of the dark fortnight) they give alms in the name of their deceased ancestors, either in money or kind, as has been related.

In the month of *Kārttiḳa* (Oct.-Nov.) there are six. The 1st or *parivā*. This is called *Balirājya* or the principality of Bali.[36] On this day they deck themselves and their cattle and buffaloes.

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[34] That is, with those who take the beginning of the month from *Krishna-pakṣha* of Srāvana or Bhādra-pada, it will fall on the 8th ; with those who begin with the following *Sukḷa-pakṣha* of Bhādra-pada, it will fall on the 23rd of Bhādra-Asvin, making the difference of the month as before stated. The festival of the fourth is called *Ganesha-chaturthi*, the birthday of Ganesha The fifth is *Rishi-panchami*, a fast in honour of the Rishis. The sixth is called *Lalitā Shashthi*, and in Hindi *Lalhi chhat* and also *Gayhat* as Albiruni observes (XVI). In Kanauj it is known by the latter name.

[35] *Kanyā-gata* is the dark lunar fortnight of this month and the name and period mark the position of a planet, escpecially Jupiter in the sign Virgo (*Kanyā*).

[36] This is the name of the Daitya prince whom Vishnu subdued in the dwarf incarnation. A great deal of gambling goes on for three nights. They give alms and bathe and make presents of areca nuts to each other. It is said that Lakshmi, wife of Vasudeva, once a year on this day liberates Bali from the nether world and allows him to go about the earth. *Cf.* Albiruni.

The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The thirtieth is the *Dipāli* or row of lamps (Hind. *Diwāli*). A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Sukla-paksha* computation, it is as above stated, but by the *Krishna-paksha* this is called the 15th of *Mārgasirsha* (Hind. *Aghan*, Nov.-Dec.) and they therefore hold this festival on the 15th of the *Krishna-paksha* of *Kārttika*. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammedan) festival of *Shab-i-barāt*. It begins on the 29th, and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals for the Vaisya caste.

In the month of *Mārgasirsha*, there are three *viz.*, the seventh of *Sukla-paksha* and the eighth and ninth of *Krishna-paksha*. In both these last a difference of computation as above occurs.

In the month of *Pausha* (Hind. *Pus*, Dec.-Jan.) the eighth of *Sukla-paksha* is held sacred.

In the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb.) there are four, *viz.*, the third, [191] fourth, fifth and seventh. On the fifth a great festival is held called *Vasanta* in which they throw different coloured powders upon each other, and sing songs. This is the beginning of the spring among the Hindus. Although this is much regarded among the people, yet in old works the seventh was considered the greater festival

In the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March) there are two. The fifteenth of *Sukla-paksha* is called the *Holi*[37] and extends from the 13th to the 17th. They light fires and throw various articles into them and fling coloured powder upon each other

[37] 'Holikā' is said to be the name of a female *Rākshasi*, killed and burnt by Siva on this day, but her penitence for the fault of a too turbulent disposition secured for her the promise of this annual celebration in her remembrance, and that all who perform this worship, in this month, would be prosperous for the year. See *Māhātmya* of *Phālguna*, which quotes the *Bhavishya Purāna*. Songs are sung in honour of Krishna of the broadest and coarsest kind.

and indulge in much merriment. It is a great festival among the Sudras. The night and day of the 29th are held sacred: the night is called *Siva-rātri*. Some make this occur on the 14th of *Krishna-paksha* and by this computation the *Siva-rātri* falls on the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna*,[38] a month earlier. They keep the night in vigil, narrating wonderful legends. The Brāhmans also consider five days in each month sacred, the 8th, 14th, 15th and 30th, and *Sankrānti* which is the day on which the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another.

Regarding the celebration of the various festivals marvellous legends are told, and they are the subject of entertaining narratives.

Ceremonies at Death.

When a person is near unto death, they take him off his bed and lay him on the ground and shave his head, except in the case of a married woman, and wash the body. The Brāhmans read some prayers over him and alms are given. They then plaster the ground with cowdung and strew it over with green grass and lay him down at full length face upwards, with his head to the north and his feet to the south. If a river or tank be hard by, they place him up to his middle in water. When his dissolution is at hand they put into his mouth Ganges water, gold, ruby, diamond and pearl, and give away a cow in charity, and place upon his breast a leaf of the *Tulasi* (Ocymum sanctum) which they hold sacred, and draw the sectarial mark on his forehead with a particular kind of earth.[39]

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[38] V. p. 298, n. 2. It is mentioned in some Dictionaries as occurring on the 14th of the dark half of *Māgha*, but this is also counted as *Phālguna* by those who begin the month with the *Krishna-paksha*, the same fortnight being either one or the other, according to the order of the primary or secondary lunar months.

[39] This is either earth taken from the banks of the Ganges if possible, or ashes from the *Homa* fire.

When he expires, his youngest son,[40] his brother, and his pupil and particular friends shave their heads and beards. Some defer this till the tenth day. The body dressed in its loin-cloth is wrapped in a sheet. The corpse of a married woman is dressed in the clothes she wore in life. The body is borne to the river side and a funeral pile of *Palāsa*-wood (Butea frondosa) is formed, upon which the body is laid. Prayers are read over ghee, which is put into the mouth and a few grains of gold are put into the eyes, nostrils, ears and other apertures. It is advisable that the son should set fire to the pile, otherwise the youngest brother of the deceased or, failing him, the eldest. All his wives deck themselves out and with cheerful countenances are burnt together with him in their embrace. A pile of lignum aloes and sandal-wood is fired for those who are wealthy. The wives are first advised not to give their bodies to the flames. [P. 192]

This mode of expressing grief among Hindu women applies to five classes:—(1). Those who expire on learning the death of their husbands and are burnt by their relations. (2). Those who out of affection for their husbands voluntarily consign themselves to the flames. (3). Who from fear of reproach surrender themselves to be burnt. (4). Who undergo this death regarding it as sanctioned by custom. (5). Who against their will are forced into the fire by their relatives.

If an ascetic (*Sannyāsin*) dies or a child that has not yet teethed, the body is consigned to earth or launched into the river, and they do not burn those who disbelieve the *Vedas* or who are not bound by the rules of any of the four castes, nor a thief, nor a woman who has murdered her husband, nor an evil liver, nor a drunkard.

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[40] The ceremonies of cremation are under the authority of the youngest son, and in his absence, of the eldest. The intervening sons have generally no ceremonial powers. For *Sati* see Hastings, *Encyclo.* iv. 428-429, xi. 207 and its later history in Edward Thompson's *Sati*.

If the corpse cannot be found, an effigy of it is made with flour and leaves of the *Butea frondosa* and reeds covered with deer-skin, a cocoanut serving for the head. Over this prayers are said and it is then burnt.

A pregnant woman is not suffered to be burnt till after her delivery. If the man dies on a journey, his wives burn themselves with his garments or whatever else may belong to him. Some women whom their relations have dissuaded from burning themselves, or whom their good sense has convinced that burning is a fictitious grief, live afterwards in such unhappiness that death becomes preferable.

On the day on which the corpse is burnt, the relations and friends repair to the riverside and undo their hair, put on the sacred string across the other shoulder, and bathe themselves and place two handfuls of sesame-seed on the bank. They then collect in any open space and the friends of the deceased after a consolatory address to the mourners, accompany them home, the younger members of the family walking in front and the elders following. When they reach the door of the house, they chew a bit of Nimba leaf (Hind. *Nim, Melia Azadirachta*) and then enter.

On the fourth day after the death of a Brāhman, the fifth after the death of a Kshatriya, the ninth and tenth after that of a Vaisya and Sudra respectively, the person who had set fire to the funeral pile, proceeds to the place, performs some ceremonies, and collecting the ashes and remnants of bones together, throws them into the Ganges. If the river be at any distance, he places them in a vessel and buries them in the jungle, and, at a convenient time, exhumes them, puts them into a bag of deer-skin and conveys them to the stream, and concludes with certain ceremonies.

If the deceased is a Brāhman, all his relations for ten days sleep on the ground on a bed of grass and eat only what is sent to them, or what may be procured from the market (cooking nothing for themselves).

During ten days, the person who had fired the pile cooks some rice and milk and makes an offering of it as nourishment to the new body of the deceased. When the natural body dies, the soul takes a subtle frame which they call *Preta*.[41] Their belief is that while it is invested with this body, it cannot enter Paradise, and during the space of ten days this body continues in being. Subsequently, on the conclusion of certain ceremonies, it abandons this form and assumes another fitted for Paradise, and by the performance of manifold works, it finally receives its heavenly body. For other castes the time of detention (in the *Preta*) continues throughout their respective *Sutaka* periods.

Some further ceremonies for Brāhmans and others take place on the eleventh and twelfth days also. [P. 193]

If a Brāhman dies out of his own house and information of his death is received within ten days of it, his family during the remaining period of those days, continue unclean. If the news arrives after the ten days, they are unclean for three days, but his son, at whatever time he hears of it, is unclean for ten days. If the death take place before investiture with the sacred string, or (if a child) before it has teethed, or is of seven months, the impurity lasts one day, and is removed by bathing. If the deceased child be above this age up to two years old, the impurity lasts one day and night; from the time of cutting the hair to that of investiture with the sacred thread, three days and nights. For the death of a daughter up to ten years of age, ablution suffices to purify. After that age till the time of proposal when she is betrothed before marriage, there is one day's impurity. After betrothal, the father's family and that of the suitor are unclean for three days.

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[41] This is properly the spirit of the deceased before the obsequial rites are performed and is supposed still to haunt its abode. Hastings, *Ency*. ii. 810.

Meritorious Manner of Death.

The most efficacious kinds of death are five :—(1). Abstaining from food and drink till dissolution. (2). Covering the person with broken dried cowdung like a quilt or pall, and at the feet setting it on fire which creeps gradually from the toe-nails to the hair of the head, while the mind is fixed on divine contemplation till death. (3). Voluntarily plunging into snow. (4). At the extremity of Bengal where the Ganges divided into a thousand channels falls into the sea, the foe of his carnal desires wades into the sea, and confessing his sins and supplicating the Supreme Being, waits till the alligators come and devour him. (5). Cutting the throat at Illahabās at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Each of these modes is described with its appropriate details.

CHAPTER X.

COMERS INTO INDIA.

For asmuch as the fenced city of tradition is unfrequented and the wastes of legend are stony places, knowledge that seeks after truth kept me from connection therewith, but the decree of fate unexpectedly drew me from silence into speech, and intent on freshening the interest of my narrative, I have been led into entering upon a multiplicity of details. A review of the general history of Hindustan has induced me to mention the comers into this vast country, and thus by recalling the memory of the great give a promise of currency to this important exposition.

ADAM.

They say that Adam after his fall from Paradise was thrown on the island of Ceylon, his consort on Juddah,[1] Azrāil in Sistān, the Serpent in Ispāhān, and the Peacock in

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[1] This is the true orthography, but commonly written Jiddah, on the Red Sea. Azrāil is the angel of death who though connected with the creation of Adam, having been sent by God to bring various kinds of clay from the earth for the formation of his body, and having fulfilled the mission in which Gabriel and Michael had previously failed, is not mentioned as sharing his sin or punishment. Iblis or Satan must be here meant whom the chroniclers unanimously declare to have been cast out of Paradise, though they differ as to the place of his fall, Masaudi naming Baisān ; and Tabari, Simnān near Jurjān. He penetrated into Paradise notwithstanding the vigilance of its porter, by entering the mouth of the serpent that had on one occasion strayed outside. The latter was at that time a quadruped, but being cursed at the fall, was deprived of its feet and condemned to the form of a reptile. The peacock is said to have conducted Eve to the forbidden tree. At its expulsion it was deprived of its voice. The relation of these puerilities may be pursued in Tabari, Masaudi, D'Herbelot. For Adam, *Ency. Islam*, i. 127 and in Sale's Korān, and in most general histories of Muhammadan chroniclers who are never more at home or more precise than when referring to events of which they can know nothing.

Hindustan. Imaginative writers have embellished this fable with abundant details, but in Sanscrit works which treat of the events of myriads of past ages not a trace of this story is to be found.

HUSHANG

Was the son of Siyāmak and grandson of Kayumars, and succeeded his great ancestor, ruling with justice and liberality. He is accounted the first to whom the name of sovereign virtually applies.[2] He came to India where he displayed the lustre of virtue. [194] The work called 'Eternal Wisdom' (*Javidān Khirad*) is said to be the fruit of his mature experience.

Hāfiz,[3] in his *Istitālah* (*Per illustris*) says that when Māmun conquered Khurāsān, the various chiefs sent presents to his court. The governor of Kābul sent a sage named Dubān[4] on an embassy to Mamun and mentioned in his letter of homage that he was despatching to his court an offering of great price, than which nothing more valuable was known The Caliph on receiving this information appointed his minister Fadhl (Ibn-i-Sahl) to inquire what it referred to. The envoy replied that the allusion was to himself. They said to him, "How doth a distinction so great concern such as thee?" He answered, "In enlightened knowledge, judicious counsel, and right guidance," and he spoke such parables of wisdom that all were amazed. It happened that at this time the Caliph designed to enter upon hostilities against his brother Muhammad u'l Amin and all parties were endeavouring to dissuade

[2] Firdausi imputes to him the discovery of fire from the concussion of two stones. Hushang obtained by merit or adulation the epithet of *Peshdād* or the Lawgiver, when the *Peshdadian* kings took the name of their dynasty.

[3] See Vol. II, p. 36, n. 4. Of the Tārikh of Hāfiz Abru, no copy was known by Sir H. Elliot, to exist in India The Istitālah is not mentioned by Hāji Khalifah under that title.

[4] The reader will recall the story of the Grecian king and his physician dubān in the thirteenth of the "Arabian Nights."

him from it. He therefore consulted Dubān, whose clear-sighted reasoning confirmed his resolution of marching into Irāq and pressing on the war. The sage's advice was the means of resolving all political difficulties. Māmun treated him with great favour and commanded that a large sum of gold should be bestowed upon him. Dubān excused himself saying, "It is not the practice of my sovereign to allow his envoy to receive anything, but there is a work called 'Eternal Wisdom'[5] composed by the farsighted intellect of Hushang and is said to be in the Madāin.[6] On the conquest of that country, when the Caliph obtains the work let him graciously bestow it upon me." His proposal was assented to. When Madāin was taken, he pointed out that in a certain quarter of the city, by a certain tree there was a large stone. This they were to lift and to dig down till they came to a subterranean chamber in which were a number of chests and a large quantity of valuables, none of which were to be touched as the time for removing them had not arrived. In a certain corner of the chamber a box of certain shape would be found which they were to bring out, wherein would be discovered the work they sought. Sharp-eyed and experienced men were sent in search, and all happened exactly as he had described. Some portion of this work was translated into Arabic at the pressing insistance of Fadhl, but as it was treasured by Dubān, he did not suffer its translation to be completed.

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[5] The original of this collection of moral fables is the Sanskrit *Panca-tantra*, from which were made the Arabic version named *Kalila-wa-Dimna* and the Persian translation named *Anwār-i-Suhaili*. De Sacy supposes that in this last "we have the olden *Jāvidān Khirad*." [See *Ency. Isl.* ii. 694-698. J. S.] Known to Europe as the *Fables of Pilpay*.

[6] The ancient Ctesiphon. It passed into the possession of the Arabs in the Caliphate of Omar in A.D. 637. During the insurrection against al Mamun by the Alide party under the leading of Abu Sarāya, Madāin was taken by the latter, but recaptured during the same year, A.D. 815.

HAM

Was the son of Noah. After the subsidence of the deluge he came to Hindustan. Annalists of other countries than this believe the Hindus to be descended from him.

JAMSHID

Was the son of Tahmuras *Devband* or the binder of the demons.[7] When by the Almighty decrees he became a wanderer in the desert of misfortune, he happened to pass through Zābulistān. For sixteen years he dwelt in Kābul and secretly married the daughter of the prince Kaurnak. When the news was bruited abroad the prince bade him, one night, take his departure for Hindustan. The poet Asadi[8] says of this night: [P. 195]

Black as an Ethiop grew the night whose veil
O'er the moon's face its sable shadow flung,
Sad as the stifled sob whose scarce-heard wail
Dies on the ear from some despairing tongue.

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[7] He receives this surname in the Shāh Nāmah. His justice and vigour cleansed the country of crime, and produced the rebellion of the Devs or demons, probably the barbarous neighbouring peoples who resented his iron control. They were defeated by him and bound. He introduced the solar year among the Persians, the first day of which, when according to Tabari he administered justice in open darbar, was called Nauroz when the sun enters Aries. His prosperity turned his head and he proclaimed himself a deity, which disgusted his subjects and led to the invasion of the Syrian prince Zohāk, the descendant of Shedād, and according to some the nephew of Jamshid. Malcolm says that the wanderings of the exiled prince are wrought into a tale which is amongst the most popular in Persian romance. He was pursued through Seistān, India and China by the agents of Zohāk and carried before his enemy who, after every contumely he could inflict, placed him between two boards and had him sawn asunder. When the news of his death reached his widow in Seistān she put an end to her life by poison. The son of this marriage was Atrut, whose son was Garshāsp, whose son was Narimān, father of Sām, whose son Zāl was the father of Rustam. See Malcolm, Hist. Persia, I. 3, and Atkinson's Abridgment of the Shāh Nāmah.

[8] The quotation must be from the Garshāsp Nāmah of Hakim Asadi of Tus, one of the seven poets at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni.

For some time he employed himself in the profession of arms and when his secret was on the point of being discovered, he set out for China by way of Bengal, and on the road fell in with the emissaries of Zohāk.

ZOHAK

Was the son of Mardās, the Arabian. He passed into India several times as Asadi says:

> Zohāk the conqueror ere the year had gone,
> To Kābul swiftly passed from Babylon,
> Resolved to launch o'er India's plains once more
> The invading legions he had led before.

GARSHASP

Was the son of Utrut.[9] The *Garshāsp Nāmah* narrates *his* invasion of India and the astonishing actions in which he engaged.

ISFANDYAR OF THE BRAZEN BODY

Was the son of Gushtāsp,[10] the son of Luhrāsp. In obedience to the commands of his father he propagated the doctrines of Zoroaster, and his zeal caused the universal acceptation of that creed. He honoured the institutions which were the bequest of Faridun, applying them after his own direction. Firdausi thus alludes to him:

> This mighty warrior of a line of kings
> From clime to clime his rapid conquest wings;
> O'er Greece and India his proud standards fly
> To unknown seas where realms of darkness lie.

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[9] Malcolm gives Atrut, but the Dictionaries write the name as I have rendered it. Firdausi makes him the son of Zav. He was the last of the Peshdadian monarchs.

[10] The conjecture that Gushtāsp was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks accords with the chronology of Herodotus; and starting from this first secure footing amid the quicksands of fable, the identification of Isfandyar with Xerxes is historically probable. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are marshalled by Malcolm.

NARIMAN, SON OF GARSHASP, THE SON OF UTRUT.

SAM, SON OF NARIMAN.

ZAL, SON OF SAM.

FARAMARZ, SON OF RUSTAM.

BAHMAN,[11] SON OF ISFANDYAR.

When the astrologers announced to Garshāsp the future sovereignty of Bahman and the overthrow of his own family, the devastation of Zābulistān, the slaughter of the descendants of Rustam, the disentombment of himself and his sons, and the burning of their bodies, he enjoined his sons to erect his tomb and that of his children at Kanauj in Hindustan. When Garshāsp died, Narimān conveyed his remains thither, and on the death of Narimān his body was also taken to that country by Sām. On Sām's death, Zāl transported his body to the same city whither, likewise, Faramarz carried Rustam when he died. When Bahman defeated Zāl and Faramarz and the latter was killed in the engagement, Bahman overran Zābulistān and advanced to Kanauj desiring to view the royal mausoleum. A superstitious awe restrained him from entering it. Each of these four great men in anticipation of this event had left a great treasure within it. Among them was the world-displaying mirror of Kaikhusrau (Cyrus), which at his death [P. 196] he bequeathed to Rustam, and ninety maunds weight of diamonds belonging to Garshāsp. Each of them also inscribed on a tablet a brief record of memorable

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[11] Whatever doubt may exist regrading the identification of Xerxes with Isfandyār, there is little or none regarding that of Bahman with Artaxerxes Longimanus. Bahman was known to the Persian historians as Ardishir *Darāzdast*, the similarity of the epithet adding conclusive evidence to the similarity of the name. Firdausi says that 'when he stood upon his feet; his closed hand reached below his knee.'

deeds, praying that the conqueror would not desecrate the tomb. Bahman, struck by the sight of these splendid offerings and the prescient sagacity of the gift, fell into a profound melancholy and withdrew from his previous resolve.

Faramarz, indeed, had twice entered this country, for Rustam after his combat with Barzu by whose mace his arm had been disabled, said to Kaikhusrau, "if my son Faramarz returns this night from India, he will deal with Barzu," upon which followed his sudden arrival and the overthrow of the latter.

Alexander of Greece.

When Alexander had completed the conquest of Irān and Turān and laid the foundations of Marv, Herāt and Samarqand, he entered India by Ghaznin and in the neighbourhood of the Panjāb gave battle to the Hindu prince, Porus, who had advanced from Kanauj to engage him, and by stratagem put him to rout. From thence he turned to the country of the Brāhmans. The chiefs of that region represented to him that if the conqueror sought riches and worldly goods they were destitute of these.

Wisdom and knowledge dwell with us, nor cease
To fill our bosoms with untroubled peace:
The earth a couch, the skies their covering lend,
So turn our thoughts to our appointed end.[12]

"If thy design be the gathering of knowledge and the search for truth, let those who seek it come not in this guise." Alexander, therefore, leaving his army, set out at the head of a few followers. A court was held to secure a just hearing and their peculiar views were discussed in audience. The king approved their speech and conduct and announced to them that whatever they desired should be granted. They

12 These lines are taken from Firdausi and vary somewhat from the ordinary text, where they are not consecutive. The substance of a great deal of what follows in the reply of the Brahmans, is from the same sources.

replied that they had no other wish than that the king should live for ever. He answered that this wish was inconsistent with mortality. They rejoined: "If the instability of worldly things is so evident to your Majesty, why these fatigues in the tyrannous oppression of mankind?" Alexander for a space bowed his head in humiliation and imputed his actions to the decrees of fate.

According to some Christian[13] writers, when the standards of Alexander were raised on the shores of the Indian Ocean, accounts of the island of the Brāhmans reached him and he determined to take possession of it. They sent an envoy to him and made the following representation:—"Sovereign ruler of the world! The fame of thy conquests and thy successes has been constantly in our ears, but what can content a man to whom the possession of the world is insufficient? We enjoy no outward splendour, nor bodily vigour that thou shouldst deem us worthy to measure thy prowess in war. The worldly goods that we own are shared in common amongst us, and we are passing rich on what may satisfy our hunger. Our costliest robes are garments worn with age. Our women are not in bondage to adornment for the seduction of hearts, and account no beauty or charm of price, save [197] that inherited from their mothers. Of our lowly habitations we ask but two things, a shelter in life and in death a grave. We have a king for considerations of dignity, not for the administration of justice or law. What

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[13] The term *tarsā* which I have rendered in its usual acceptation may be also applied to the Zoroastrians. For *tarsā*, see Hastings, *Encyclopœdia of Religion*, iii. 576. For the general idea of the letters, Abul Fazl is indebted to Firdausi, who in turn in one passage regarding the unprofitable questions put by Alexander to confound the Brāhmans, is in agreement with Plutarch. The *jazira* or isle of the Brāhmans is perhaps Brāhmanābād, identified by Genl. Cunningham as the town where Ptolemy was wounded by a poisoned sword (Quintus Curtius IX. 8), the Harmatelia of Diodorus, described by him as the last town of the Brāhmans on the river. For the Islamic traditions about Alexander, see *Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 533 (Iskandar).

use would punishment serve in a land where none is wicked and there is no thought of crime?" The sagacious monarch was struck by this affecting address and leaving them their freedom, abandoned his project.

The following letter was addressed by Alexander to Didim, the head of the Brāhmans; for he had often heard that they did not live as other men. The novelty excited his wonder and made his life seem insupportable to him[14]:— "O Didim, after learning thy message, I desire again to be informed of thy precepts and doctrines. If what thou hast represented bears the light of truth and is the result of experience, answer speedily, so that, putting this system to the proof, I also for justice sake and in search of truth, may follow thy footsteps." Didim thus replied: "What I have stated results from profound knowledge. You have not chosen to believe in its truth and you reject what you do not incline to. Many blameable actions were favourably represented by you in our interview. Now, therefore, with full knowledge believe my words. Hirābud, the Brāhman, does not yield to the promptings of desire. Content with the measure of his needs, he opens not the door of greed.[15] Our food is

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[14] This crabbed and obscurely-worded sentence is capable of a different, but in my opinion, not so satisfactory an interpretation. The name *Didim* in the text is not in Firdausi. It occurs in Plutarch (Alex. LXXXVI) and in Arrian (Anab. VII. 2) as *Dandamis*; in Strabo (LXIV.) as *Mandanis*. The name is most probably *Dandin*, meaning an ascetic who always carries a rod in his hand after his initiation. Mandanis is evidently an error; there was a real Hindu scholar bearing the name *Mandan Mishra* who figures in the stories of Sankarāchārya's disputations, but that was in the 8th century *after* Christ. [J. Sarkar.]

[15] This probably *refers* to the embassy of Onesicritus to the Gymnosophists, who endeavoured to persuade some of them to return with him to Alexander's camp. Plutarch says that Calanus insolently told him to divest himself of his robe in order to hear his precepts in nakedness, symbolical doubtless of humility and ignorance. He was however induced by Taxila to visit Alexander who retained him in his suite with distinguished favour. His self-chosen death by burning at Pasargadœ in Persia, when suffering from a fit of cholic, is told by Arrian [Bk. vii. ch. 3 and 18], Diodorus, and Plutarch.

not such as the four elements cannot easily supply. The earth gives us of its produce. In our meals intemperance has no place, for this reason we have no need of medicine or physician, and thus we enjoy perpetual well-being. We are not indebted to each other for assistance. We Brāhmans have equality in all things; what room then is there for indigence? In a land where the seeds of arrogance and vainglory grow not, universal poverty is consummate fortune. We have no governor, for our actions are not subjects for penal inquiry. We disapprove of a variety of creeds for they are produced through exceeding unrighteousness and manifold iniquities. Our only religion is the worship of conscience. From what it restrains us we withhold our hearts. We do not submit to the tyranny of the pursuit of wealth for it fosters greed and brings disappointment in its train. We disdain idleness and hold it in reproach. We are not rendered averse from the delights of wedlock by incapacity, for all things are in our power as we can also forego them. From the sun we receive warmth, from the dews moisture. Our thirst is quenched from the stream and we have no couch but the earth. Desire does not rob us of sleep, nor leave us a prey to care. We lord it not over our equals through pride; we seek service from none save of our own bodies, for we consider the body subservient to the spirit. We bake not stone in the fire for the raising of palaces, for we dwell in the hollows of the earth according to the measure of our needs, nor do we go in fear of the violence of the wind nor of storms of dust, for there we are safer than in houses of reed. We wear no costly robes; we cover our nakedness with leaves, or to speak truly, with modesty; our women are at no pains for their adornment, for who can add beauty to the creations of God? and after they are arrayed [198] it profiteth them nothing. Our sexual commerce cometh not sinfully from carnal desire, but continuance of the race is kept in view. We are not prone to violence and we lay the

dust of discord by the agency of right conduct, and though dependent on the guidance of destiny we do not resign ourselves to inactivity. Over our head we erect no edifices in the guise of temples of worship. Give your commands to those who have flung wide for themselves the door of avarice and make their treasure of the things of this world. The ravages of pestilence do not reach us for we defile not the skirts of heaven with evil deeds. We are prepared to meet the vicissitudes of the seasons, and thus summer's heat and winter's cold distress us not, and therefore we live careless of the exigencies of those times. We do not deaden our minds with games and shows of elephants and horses and with dancing, and when a desire for worldly pageants seizes us, the sight of the record of your actions withholds us therefrom, and recalling your deeds which indeed more deserve a smile, we are moved to many tears. Worldly splendours make us rejoice in another spectacle, for amidst the varied beauties of the universe, the heavens glowing with the radiance of their myriad stars, the sea, coloured by its skies, that clasps in a fond embrace its sister earth, the revel of its fish that leap in play from its foam-tossing waves, fill our eyes with delight. Wandering through the woods with the fragrance of flowers and by running springs in the shade of abundant trees gladdens us in a hunderd ways, while the sweet songs of birds render us unenvious of all the festal banquets of the rich. Such is the theatre we possess, to share in the enjoyment of which is difficult, to erase it from our minds, a crime. We plough not the seas in barks and vessels. Our hearts are not aflame with passion for the beauty of others, and we affect not the language of flattery or eloquence. The redundance of professed eulogists obtains no credit in this land, for the practice of this base crew which gives to the creature the praise due to God and overlays the purity of faith with error, darkens celestial light with reprehensible

deeds. *Of a truth you are the most unfortunate of mankind for your worship is sinful and your life is chastisement.*"

The monarch thus replied: "*If your language reflects the light of truth, I should infer that the Brāhmans alone are* robed in the true characteristics of humanity and that this sect are to be regarded as incorporeal spirits. To hold as altogether unlawful the acts of the natural man is either to be God or to be envious of the Supreme Being. In short these principles, in my opinion, proceed from madness not from the fulness of wisdom. O, Didini, I have not fixed my abode in this hired dwelling, nor made of a passing-rest-house a settled habitation, but prudently looking on myself as a sojourner, hasten, unencumbered with guilt, to my true country. This language is not the making of self a god, but like dark-minded bigots that are enemies to their own happiness, I do not affect to make the attributes of the Creator the instruments of my salvation. And whosoever under the guidance of a wakeful fortune, abandoning sinful actions, walks in the way of virtue is not a god, but by means of the grace of that Supreme Lord, rises above his fellow men." The writer [P. 199] continued: "My royal master observes that you call yourselves fortunate in that you have chosen a retired spot of earth where the comings and goings of those without and the busy movement of the world are not heard, and that you consider this praiseworthy as proceeding from your attachment to your hearths and love of your native land. The lowliness and poverty that you cannot avoid is not worthy of commendation: on the contrary, the Almighty has inflicted this as a punishment for your evil deeds. True merit consists in living abstemiously amid abundant fortune, for ignorance and want cannot exhibit the lustre of virtue. The first cannot see what to avoid. the second has not the means by which it may possess. I, who with all the resources of pleasure and enjoyment at my command,

have refrained from them altogether and have sternly chosen a life of toil, am more deserving of a glorious reward."

Some say that after his victory over Porus, Alexander heard that at the extremity of India, reigned a king called Kayd,[16] possessed of many virtues, and who for three hundred years had passed a blameless life. To him he despatched a letter that appealed to his hopes and fears. The king read the letter and thus replied: "I have heard of the successes of your Majesty and would deem the honour of a personal visit the source of fortune, but stricken in years, strength fails me. If my excuse is accepted, I will send as an offering four matchless treasures which are the pride of my life: an accomplished and virtuous maiden of incomparable beauty; a sage unequalled in penetrating the secrets of the heart; a physician, in healing as the Messiah; a cup which though drunk from is inexhaustible. Alexander accepted the gifts and despatched Balinās with some experienced associates to bring them. The envoy returned to the court with these treasures of price together with forty elephants of which three were white, and numerous other presents. Alexander first essayed to test the Hindu sage. He sent him a bowl full of clarified butter. The sage thrust a few needles therein and sent it back. Alexander fused the needles and forming the metal into a ball returned it to him. The sage fashioning of this a mirror, again sent it back. Alexander placed it in a basin full of water and despatched it once more. The sage made of the mirror a drinking cup and set it upon the water of the basin. The monarch filled it with earth and returned it. At the sight of this, the sage fell into a profound melancholy and bitterly reproached himself and directed it to be carried back. Alexander was perplexed at this action. The

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[16] This story is told at considerable length by Masaudi in the 26th Chapter of the 'Meadows of Gold'. The king's name is there Kend. Firdausi's version is somewhat different, but the name is Kayd, as in the text.

next day he held an assembly of the learned to discuss these mysteries. The seer was introduced and honourably received. He was of prepossessing exterior, with a noble brow, tall and powerfully made. Alexander on seeing him, thus reflected: "If to such a presence, he also unites a lofty wisdom, quickness of penetration and strength of will, he is unparalleled in his generation." The sage read his hidden thoughts and making a circuit of his face with his forefinger rested it on the point of his nose. When asked for an explanation, he replied: "I understood your Majesty's reflections and by this gesture I meant to express that as the nose in the face is one, I also am unique in my time." He was then required to expound the enigmas of the preceding day. He answered: "Your Majesty wished to signify the profundity of your wisdom, for as the bowl was full so the royal mind was filled with various knowledge and could contain no more. I, on the other hand, showed that as needles could find a place therein, so could other lore find room in your mind. By fashioning the ball your Majesty's intention was to discover that the clearness of your intellect was not like the bowl of butter in which other things could be contained, but resembled a ball of steel. The construction into a mirror signified that though steel be hard, it is capable of such polish as to reflect the face. By your sinking the mirror in water, I understood the shortness of life and the vast extent of knowledge. By fashioning it into a cup, I answered that what sank in water might with skill be made to float; thus also immense erudition may be acquired by severe application and the shortness of life be prolonged. The filling it with earth implied that the end of all things is death, and the return to earth. This was capable of no answer, and I was silent." Alexander praised his sagacity and penetration and said: "The profit that I have reaped from India has been my meeting with thee." He took him into his companionship and intimacy and parted from him only when he left

India. The other three treasures also were subjected to a similar ordeal and their worth approved.

Some writers narrate the history of Porus after the particulars regarding Kayd, and state that he fled without fighting to distant parts and that his dominions were conferred upon another.

MANI THE PAINTER.[17]

His presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet and he composed a work which he pretended had come down from heaven affirming also that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah; Sāpur, the son of Ardshir Bābagān favoured him. It was not long before his imposture was discovered and he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight. For a time he remained in Kashmir and from thence entered India where his doctrines received some acceptance. From thence he went to Turkistān and China and resided chiefly in the eastern parts till his wanderings brought him to a mountain where he discovered a cave which was untrodden by human foot, and to this he brought provisions sufficient for a year. One day, in the course of conversation, he said to his followers: "I have been summoned to heaven where I shall remain for a twelve-

[17] This account appears to be taken from Khondemir and agrees in the main with D'Herbelot's sketch from the same historian. Firdausi makes him a native of China and places his death in the reign of Shāhpur by whom, he says, Mani was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw as a warning to his followers. The Manichean sect takes its rise from this impostor who, according to D'Herbelot, was a Christian priest in the province of Ahwāz and had many controversies with the Jews and Magians and maintained the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis. He named twelve apostles to preach his doctrines in India and China, and gave them his book called the "Anghelion". "Anghelion, c'est a dire l'Evangile. One of his principles was abstinence from all flesh, and he forbade the taking of animal life. He admitted two principles of good and evil and the dual soul, one bad and created with the body by the evil principle, and the other the good created by the good principle. He denied free-will and the necessity of baptism. *Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), i. 205. Hastings. *Encyclo.* viii. 396.

month: be not troubled at my absence nor withdraw from the worship of God and the practice of virtue. At the end of the year, go, some of you, to a certain mountain and wait in expectation." Previous to his concealment he had learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. After he had ascended the mountain, he painted some wonderful figures which are celebrated by the name of Artang, or Arzhang,[18] and at the time that he had said, he came forth with the book in his hand. Those who saw it were filled with amazement. He exclaimed: "This is not the work of mortals that ye should wonder; I brought it from heaven and it is painted by the angels." This he brought forward as a witness of his prophetic mission and deceived the ignorant and credulous. He attempted to impose upon Bahrām Gor, the son of Hormuzd, the son of Ardeshir, but he failed in his purpose, and in this criminal venture staked and lost his life.

[201] BAHRAM GOR

War the son of Yezdejird, the Wicked, of the Sassanian dynasty. Since the lust of the world fills the brain with extraordinary fancies in the first flush of his success he was seized with the frenzy of adventurous travel, and leaving one of the Magi of the line of Bahman, son of Isfandyār, as governor in his stead, he set out for India in a disguise which defied recognition. In those parts there was a raging elephant which put the whole country in terror. Although the bravest warriors had attempted to kill it, they lost but their own lives. Bahrām hearing of this event arrived at the place and by sheer strength of arm destroyed it. The prince

[18] Hammer Purgstal supposes that the *Artang* might have been an ensign upon which cabalistic fingers were represented, and which the Mongols and Buddhists used to call Māni. (Jahrb. der-Lit. for April, May, June, 1840, p. 28 quoted by Troyer. (*Dabistan*, I. 205).

of that region received him at his Court with much favour.[19] In his vicinity a powerful enemy had arrived to dispute his sovereignty, and he saw no resource but in the payment of tribute. Bahrām dissuaded him from this course, and opposed the invader in person and defeated him. The prince gave him his daughter in marriage, but when he discovered his illustrious descent, he became apprehensive and dismissed him loaded with presents back to his own country. It is said that Bahrām took with him 12,000 musicians; and many other wonderful adventures are related of him.

BURZUYAH.

Nushirwān spent his days in the assiduous pursuit of knowledge, solicitous to discover erudite minds and interesting literary works. He opportunely fell in with a learned Brāhman with whom he frequently held familiar discussions. Enquiry was made regarding the truth of a universal report to the effect that in a certain mountainous part of India certain herbs grew which could restore the dead to life. The Brāhman replied: "The report has a semblance of fact, inasmuch as by the mountain is meant a wise man, by the herbs knowledge, and by the dead an ignorant person," and he proceeded to expound the various lore of the country and the advantages thereof. In this he included the story of Kalilah and Damnah, and briefly recounted its merits and said, "the rulers of Hindustan keep this manual of statecraft studiously concealed and do not show it to every one." The desire to obtain this work rendered the monarch

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[19] See Vol. II. for the connection of Bahrām Gor with the royal house of Mālwah The adventures of this monarch were the subject of a poem by the Persian poet Kātibi, and they are amply narrated in the Shāhnāmah. Firdausi gives the name of the Indian prince as Shangal. Bahrām is represented as having fled from Kanauj with his wife after his marriage, being wearied of his splendid exile. The monarch pursues, but after an interview becomes reconciled to his departure.

impatient. He commanded his ministers saying: "I need a judicious and discerning person who to a strong bodily constitution unites firmness of purpose and various learning, besides a knowledge of foreign tongues." Burzuyah was found to possess these important qualifications and successfully proved his capacity. A large sum of money was entrusted to him in order that he might set out in the guise of a merchant to that country, and through inquiries of experts attain the object of his mission, and return with it and other scientific treatises to the court. He came to India, and setting up as a trader passed himself off as an unlearned person desirous of acquiring knowledge. In this way he secured an intimacy with the ministers of the Indian princes, and through their instrumentality returned to the imperial court with that volume of wise lore, together with other valuable objects. The king received him with favour and fulfilled his desires.[20]

Muhammad Qasim

Was cousin to the celebrated Hajjāj. He received his commission in the reign of the Caliph Abdu'l Malik, as has been already noticed. [P. 202]

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[20] This story is somewhat differently told by Firdausi. Burzuyah, he narrates, was one of the distinguished circle of learned men at the court of Nushirwān, and one day presented himself before that monarch saying that he had lately read in a Sanskrit work of a mountain in India where grew a herb bright as a Greek sword-blade, which skilfully compounded and sprinkled over a corpse would restore it to life, and he asked permission to go in search of it. The king despatched him to India ostensibly as a merchant, with many presents, steeds, and a letter addressed to the king of Kanauj, and with merchandise laden on 300 camels. The Indian prince offered him every facility in his search for the wonderful herb, of which no trace could be found. He was directed at last to a hoary sage who informed him that the mountain was wisdom, the herb an eloquent monitor, and the corpse an ignorant man and that this herb was fitly represented by the work called Kalilah which was in the king's treasury. Returning elated to Kanauj, Burzuyah petitioned the Prince for the gift of the work,

AMIR NASIRUDDIN SABUKTIGIN

Was the father of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. After Bahrām Gor none of the (Persian) kings entered India. Sabuktigin invaded it at the head of an army in the year A.H. 367 (A.D. 977), and after several engagements returned to Ghaznin.[21]

AMIR SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNAVI

Led twelve descents on India. The first was in A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000), and the last in A.H. 418 (A.D. 1027). Fanatical bigots representing India as a country of unbelievers at war with Islām incited his unsuspecting nature to the wreck of honour and the shedding of blood and the plunder of the virtuous.

SULTAN MASAUD

Was son of Mahmud: He crossed into India in A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-35).

SULTAN IBRAHIM, SON OF SULTAN MASAUD

Although a considerable territory in Hindustan was in the possession of the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, none of the undermentioned princes entered India:—Makhul-b-Sultān Mahmud; Maudud-b-Masaud; Masaud-b-Maudud; Sulān Ali-b-Masaud-b-Mahmud; Sultān Abdu'r Rashid-b-Mahmud; Farrukhzād-b-Masaud; but when in course of time

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which *in Arabic* was called Kalilah. For the correct history of the translations of this Indian volume of wise lore (the *Pancatantra*). see *Ency. Islam*, ii. 694-698, under *Kalila-wa-Dimna*. [J. S.]

[21] The latest work on the dynasty of Ghazni is Dr. Nazim's *Sultan Mahmud* (Cambr. 1931). See also the *Cambridge History of India* (1928), Vol. III. ch 2. The dates of Mahmud's invasions of India have been critically discussed in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*. ii. Appendix D, pp. 434 *et seq*. See also Raverty's trans. of *Tabqāt-i Nāsiri*. [J. Sarkar.]

the crown devolved upon Ibrāhim-b-Masaud-b-Sultān Mahmud he made peace with the Saljuqis and turning his thoughts to India he entered it on several occasions.

SULTAN MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM

Also crossed into India at intervals and was successful.

BAHRAM SHAH-B-MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM.

The *Hadiqat (u'l Haqāiq)* of the (poet) Hakim Sanāi[22] and the *Kalila Damna* of (Abu'l Maāli) Nasru'llah Mustaufi were dedicated to him. This prince also visited India.

KHUSRAU SHAH-B-BAHRAM SHAH.

On the death of his father, he succeeded to the throne. It was about this time that Alāu'ddin Husayn Ghori, known as *Jahānsoz* or Burner of the World, sacked Ghaznin and entered India. Sultān Ghiyāsu'ddin Sām and Sultān Shihābu'ddin, nephews of Alāu'ddin Husayn, on whom the latter had bestowed Ghaznin and the adjacent provinces, contrived to secure the person of Khusrau Shāh from India and put him in prison where he ended his days, and thus the dynasty of the descendants of Mahmud passed away. Some authorities, however, assert that Khusrau Shāh held his court at the capital of Lahore, and that on his death, he was succeeded by his son [203] Khusrau Malik who was taken by the Ghoris and placed in confinement,[23] in which he continued till he died.

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[22] This poet was a native of Ghazni. His *Hadiqah* is well known and is altogether of a religious character, a mystical treatise on the unity of God and other devotional subjects.

[23] This latter version is correct. Khusrau Shāh died in A.D. 1160, after a reign of seven years. Khusraū Malik, his son prolonged his feeble rule for 27 lunar years to A.D. 1186. He was taken prisoner by Shihābu'ddin through a stratagem, and sent with his family to Ghirjistān where, some years after, he was put to death.

SULTAN MUIZZ'UDDIN MUHAMMAD SAM.

He is also called Sultān Shihābu'ddin. After the capture of Ghaznin Alāu'ddin Husayn Ghori imprisoned Ghiyāsu'ddin and Shihābu'ddin.

On his death, his son Sayfu'ddin came to the throne and by releasing them attached them to his person.

On the death of Sayfu'ddin in his campaign in I'rāq.[24] he was succeeded by Ghiyāsu'ddin. During his reign Shihābu'ddin led several expeditions into India. and the (defeat and) death of Prithvi Rāj and the conquest of Hindustan occurring about this time, he left his slave Qutbu'ddin (Eibak) at Delhi as his representative. On the death of Ghiyāsu'ddin, the throne was occupied by Shihābu'ddin who favoured the Turkish slaves. Among these was Tāju'ddin Yildiz, upon whom he bestowed the governments of Mekrān and Surān which are dependencies of India.

SULTAN QUTBU'DDIN AIBAK

Was one of the slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu'din, and rose to eminence through his own valour and resolution. The Sultān entrusted to him the viceroyalty of Delhi. He made many successful campaigns in India and performed many acts of personal prowess.

MALIK NASIRU'DDIN QABACHAH

Was also a slave of Mu'izzu'ddin. On the death of his master he made himself master of Uchh, Multān and the Sind country.

SULTAN SHAMSU'DDIN ILTUTMISH

Some account him to have been a slave of Shahābu'ddin and others of Qutbu'ddin Aibak. After the death of the

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[24] Against the Turkish tribe of the Euz or Ghuz long settled in Kipchāk.

latter, his son Arām Shāh being defeated, the sovereignty devolved upon Iltutmish.

SULTAN GHIYASU'DDIN BALBAN

Was one of the slaves of Shamsu'ddin and brought from Turān to India. For a time he held the title of Ulugh Khān and subsequently obtained the sovereign power.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD-B-SULTAN MALIK SHAH SALJUQI.[25]

According to some authorities, towards the close of his life having settled his differences with his brothers, he invaded India and put many to death. A stone idol weighing ten thousand maunds fell into his possession. The Hindus sent him a message offering to ransom it at its weight in pearls. This offer he refused.

SULTAN JALALU'DDIN MANKBURNI.[26]

[204] When Sultān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh took refuge from the troops of the great Qāān, Changiz Khān, in the island of Abaskun, he was accompanied by his son Jalālu'ddin who, on his father's death, set out for Khurāsān

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[25] He was the fifth prince of the elder branch of the Seljuks of Persia, omitting the ephemeral reign of Malik Shāh, son of Barkiarok. He succeeded to power in A.D. 1105 and died in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1118). The author of the *Tārikh-i-Guzidah*, Hamdu'llah-b-Abi Bakr Qazwini, mentions his invasion of India and the capture of the idol. His reason for rejecting the offer of the Hindus was that as Azar, the father of Abraham, was a maker of idols (*but tarāsh*), it should never be said of him that he was the seller thereof (*but farosh*). See *Ency. Isl.* iii. 673. He fled says De Guignes, into Ghilān, passed Astarābād and took refuge in "the island of Abaskun", where he died miserably abandoned by every one. As Suyuti narrates that he fell ill of a pleurisy and died alone and abandoned, and his corpse was shrouded in his bedding, A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220), v. Hist. of the Caliphs. Jarrett, p. 495. The narrative in the text is borrowed from Mirkhond.

[26] See *Encycl. Islam*, i. 1004, under Djalal-al-Din Mangubarti ; also Raverty's trans. of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (where the name is spelt *Mangbarni*), pp. 1013-1023, 1042 *et seqq.* [J. S.] Abaskun is a port on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea.

and thence hastened to Ghaznah, and was engaged in several important actions against the Qāān's forces in which he was victorious. The great Qāān himself marched in person to remedy the disaster. Jalālu'ddin unable to cope with him retired towards Hindustan. The great conqueror pursued him to the banks of the Indus and both armies were again engaged. Yielding at last to superior force he mounted his horse and seizing his royal umbrella in his hand plunged into the stream and crossing its raging waters landed at a point opposite the enemy. He there took off his saddle and flung his clothes in the sun, and planting the umbrella in the ground sat down under its shade. The Qāān beheld this feat with astonishment and was loud in his admiration. For a night and day he remained there and was joined by fifty of his men, and cutting some clubs, they made a night attack on a party of Indians and carried off a considerable booty,[27] and in a short time ten thousand horsemen were assembled under his command. Sultān Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish, Emperor of Hindustan, was under the gravest apprehension, and could not venture to engage him. Jalāl'ddin continued for nearly two years in India carrying on a desultory warfare, and made himself master of several fertile districts, but subsequently returned by way of Kach and Mekrān to the conquest of I'rāq.

Some authorities assert that when the number of his followers amounted to a thousand, he marched towards Delhi, and sent a messenger to Sultān Shamsu'ddin Altmish desiring a post in his service. The latter prudently declined, and after the manner of astute intriguers he poisoned his messenger, and sending him a number of valuable presents sped him towards Irān.[28]

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[27] See this story in the *Tarikh-i-Juhan Kushā* of Juwaini. Elliot. II. and the narrative taken from the Rauzatu's Safā. Elliot. II. Appendix 558.

[28] Ferishta says he compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewistān. and Mirkhond that he remained an independent power in India for three years and seven months. Elliot. II. 561.

TURMATAI[29] NOVIAN.

Was one of the principal generals of Changiz Khān. After the incidents in connection with Sultān Jalālu'ddin, he invaded India and took Multān. Nāsir'uddin Qubācha who was governor of that province, opened the gates of his treasury and won over the soldiery, and by his address and valour remedied the disaster.

MALIK KHAN KHALAJ.

Was one of the military adventurers of Khwārzam and invaded Sind. Nāsiru'ddin Qabāchah advanced to give him battle and displayed great heroism in the encounter in which the Khalaji lost his life.

TAHIR[30]

Was one of the generals of Changiz Khān, and in the reign of Mu'izzu'ddin Bahrām Shāh (A.D. 1239-42) son of Sultān Shamsu'ddin (Iltutmish), he was infatuated with the design of invading Hindustan. Malik Qarāqash at that time held the government of Lahore on behalf of the Sultān and from want of spirit and the disunion among his followers, he set out one night for Delhi, and the town was sacked.

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[29] This name appears in the Tārikh-i-Jahān Kushā as Turtāi (Elliot. II. 391), who was despatched by Changiz Khān in pursuit of Sultān Jalālu'ddin. He captured Multān and ravaged the surrounding country returning through Sind to Ghazni. The word Noviana, (or Novian in oriental historians), in the Mogul language signifies chief or general, corresponding to the Arab word Emir (De Guignes *a*. III. p. 69), and will be found as an adjunct to many names in the history of the Moguls (Vol. III. Book XV). Raverty spells Novian as *Nu-in* and *Nu-yin*, and explains it on p. 164. He gives this general's name as *Turmati* or *Turti* and describes the attack on Multan in 621 A.H. on pp. 534-540. [J. S.]

[30] Raverty spells the name as *Tāir* (p. 1126) and describes the siege of *"Lohor"* (pp. 1133-1135 and 655). Lahore fell on 22nd Dec. 1241. [J. S.] This invasion is noticed by Ferishta without naming the invader, as having taken place on the 16th Jumāda. I. A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241), and according to Briggs, was under "a famous Turk leader Toormoosherin Khān".

MANKUYAH[31]

Was one of the generals of Hulāgu Khān. He advanced as far as Uchh in the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh (A.D. 1242-46), who marched to give him battle. On arriving at the banks of the Biāh, the invader retreated to Khurāsān. A year previous to the invasion of Mankuyah, a part of the army of Changiz Khān entered Bengal[32] and hostilities took place with Tughān Khān, who was at that time governor on the part of Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh (reign 639-643 A.H.), but terms of peace were agreed upon. In the reign of Sultān Nāsiru'ddin Mahmud Shāh, the Mughal troops again invaded the Panjāb and retired.

SARI NOVIAN

Invaded Sind with a large army. Sultān Nāsiru'ddin (A.D. 1246-66), sent Ulugh Khān to oppose him and followed in person, and the invader retreated.[33]

TIMUR NOVIAN

In the reign of Hulāgu Khān marched towards India with a large force and a hard-fought engagement took place with Qadar Khān, son of Sultān Ghiāsu'ddin Balban between Lāhor and Dipālpur in which this nursling of fortune drank his last draught.[34] He was brave, studious, and a friend to learning, and twice despatched gifts of

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[31] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, trans. p. 1047 spells as *Mankadhu* or *Mankadah*, on p. 1153 as *Mangutah*, whom *Raverty* differentiates from Mukātu on p. 1126 *n* : siege of Uchh described on pp. 1154-1156 and also 667. [J. S.]

[32] They arrived at Lakhnauti in Shawwāl, A.H 642 (March 1245), by way of Khatā and Tibet according to Ferishta.

[33] Raverty's trans. of *Tab Nāsiri*, p. 711, mentions the invasion of Nuyin Sālin [not *Sāri*] in 655 A.H. (Dec. 1256 A.D.). Ulugh Khan was the earlier title of Ghiyās-ud-din Balban, Sultan of Delhi [J. S.]

[34] The phrase is not inappropriate, as Qadar Khān was surprised by the routed enemy as he halted by a stream to drink and to return thanks for his victory. E. & D. iii. 122.

valuable presents to Muslihu'ddin Shaykh Sa'adi at Shirāz, with an invitation to his court. Although the poet was unable to accept it, he sent him a work written with his own hand. In this action Mir Khusrau was taken prisoner and has himself briefly alluded to this event in his poem. After this no foreign invasion took place for seven years.

ABDU'LLAH KHAN

Was the grandson of Hulāgu Khān who advanced upon India by way of Kābul, A.H. 691 (A.D. 1292). Sultān Jalālu'ddin (Firoz Khilji, A.D. 1288-95), marched to stem the disaster and a stubborn engagement was fought at Bagrām,[35] after which the invader retreated on terms of peace. Algu, a grandson of Changiz Khān, with many other chiefs entered the service of the Sultān, who gave him his daughter in marriage. In the beginning of the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin, some of the Turān troops crossed the Indus, and he despatched (Almās Beg) Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with a large force to oppose them. The Mughals were defeated, some were taken prisoners, but the greater number were slain.

SALDI

Was of the Mughal race and about this time invaded Sind. The Sultān (Alāu'ddin) appointed Zafar Khān (to oppose him), who in a short time obtained a victory and taking him prisoner, sent him to the royal court.[36]

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[35] Barani's *Tārikh Firoz Shāhi* gives *Barrām* ; a river divided the two armies, but there is no mention of the province in which the engagement took place. Elliot, iii. 147-148.

For *Algu* Barani reads Ulghu. The Tārikhi Firoz Shāhi says that these Mughuls embraced Islām and were allotted residences in Ghiyāspur, Kilughari, Indrapat and Tāluka, which were called Mughalpur after them.

[36] Mentioned in the Tārikhi Firoz Shāhi. Elliot, III. 165.

[206] QATLAGH KHWAJAH.[37]

In the same year crossed the Indus with a large army and advanced by direct marches on Delhi, and as his design was otherwise he did not open his hand to plunder. Sultān Alāu'ddin resolved to give him battle and (Zafar Khān) defeated him, pursuing him for sixteen *kos*. The chiefs through jealousy did not join in the pursuit and the enemy returning surrounded him. Though (Zafar Khān) was offered the strongest assurances of advancement, he refused their terms and died fighting to the last.

TARGHI NOVIAN

At the time when Sultaān Alāu'ddin was investing Chitor, thinking the opportunity favourable, invaded India with a large army. The Sultān after the capture of that fortress, A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303), hastened to oppose him and Targhi possessed himself of the fords of the river Jumna, within five *kos* of Delhi. The Sultān entrenched himself in the vicinity outside the city walls. After some hostilities Targhi returned unsuccessful to his own country.[38]

ALI BEG AND TARTAK

Were descendants of Changiz Khān. At the head of thirty thousand horse, skirting the (Sewālik) mountains, he penetrated to Amroha, A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304). Sultān Alāu'ddin sent an army to oppose them. After severe fight-

[37] Ziau'ddin Barani gives the details of this action which took place in A.D. 1299 and mentions the failure of Ulugh Khān and other chiefs to support Zafar Khān and the favourable offer of Katlagh which was refused. Zafar Khān's reputation for valour among the Mughals resembled that of Cœur de Lion in Syria. If their horses shied they would ask if they had seen the ghost of Zafar Khān. Barani in Elliot, iii. 165-167, also 548 (Khusrau).

[38] These Mongol invasions are described by Zia Barani and Amir Khusrau. See Elliot, iii. 72 and 189 (Targhi), 72 and 198 (Ali Beg and Tartak), 73 and 198 (Kapak), 74 and 199 (Iqbalmand). [J. S.]

ing, both of these chiefs were taken prisoners and the rest
an example were trodden to death by elephants.

KAPAK MUGHAL

In the following year (A.H. 705) reached India with
considerable force, but was taken prisoner. The year afte
thirty thousand Mughals made an incursion through th
Sewaliks. The Sultān sent a large army which seized th
fords and skilfully obstructed them. In the retreat many
the Mughals perished and some were taken prisoners.

IQBALMAND

In the reign of Alāu'ddin invaded the country at th
head of an army of Mughals, but was killed in action. Aft
this no further hostile designs were entertained by them.

KHWAJAH RASHID[39]

Sultān Muhammad Khudabandah sent the author of th
Jāmi'ut Tawārikh-i Rashidi on an embassy to Sultā
Qutbu'ddin [Mubārak Khilji], son of Sultān Alāu'ddin, ar
a close friendly alliance was entered into between them.

LORD OF THE FORTUNATE CONJUNCTION. (TIMUR).

When the sovereignty of Delhi devolved upon Sultā
Mahmud the grandson of Sultān Firoz [Tughluq] and th
office of chief minister upon Mallu Khān, all systemat
administration and knowledge of affairs ceased to exist an

[39] Fazlu'llah Rashidu'ddin was born in A.H. 645 (A.D. 1247
in Hamadān, and as a physician, was brought into notice at th
court of the Mughal Sultāns of Persia. The Jāmi'u't Tawārikh wa
finished in A.D. 1310, and is a general history in 4 Vols. contair
ing the history of the Turkish and Arab tribes, prophets, king
Khalifs, &c. For Khudabanda the Ilkhan, see *Ency. Islam*, ii
974 under *Olcaitu* (pronounced *Oljāita*) and for Rashid-ud din, ii
1124.

the government fell into discredit. At this period the Sublime Standards approached as has already been briefly described. Notwithstanding [207] the conquest of so populous a kingdom, the booty obtained was not important, and the invaders impelled by love of their native land, retired from the country.

BABER.

His history has been fully detailed in the first volume.[40]

HUMAYUN.

When the jewel of sovereignty beamed with the radiance of a coming possession, Humāyun, after some unsuccessful attempts, invaded India (A.D. 1555), as before narrated.

Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the universe, each of whom in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart.

But this long narrative will never end, for there are many of those freed from the trammels of the world and of others fettered therein, who have visited this country, such as Husayn Mansur, Abu Maashar of Balkh, Khwājah Mu'inu' ddin Sijizi, Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, Shaykh I'rāqi, Shaykh Saadi, Mir Husayni, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni and others.

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[40] The *Akbarnāmah*, of which the *Ain-i-Akbari* is the third volume. Accounts of Humāyun will also be found in the 1st volume.

CHAPTER XI.

SAINTS OF INDIA.

(AWLIYA-I-HIND).

Inasmuch as the writer is a suppliant before the servants of God and the love of them is innate in his heart, he concludes this work with a notice of such among them as have been either born or have their last resting places in this country. He trusts that this course will be pleasing to many minds and a source to them of eternal bliss. For himself he will inhale fragrance from the garden of truth and receive the meed of his abundant toil.

Awliyā is the (Arabic) plural of *wali* which is interpreted as signifying 'nearness', by which is intended spiritual proximity. Some authorities ascribe to *wilāyat* with a *ḳasra* of the *wao*, the meaning of diversity of appearance, and to *walāyat* with a *fatha*, that of authority. Others assert that the idea of a lover attaches to the first, and the state of the beloved to the second. The possessor of the former quality is called *wali*, that of the latter, *wāli*. Another opinion is that the word (*walāyat*) with the *fatha*, betokens the proximity (to God) of the prophets, and with a *ḳasra* (*wilāyat*), of the saints.[1] In ancient works many significations have been given,

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[1] Compare with this. Jāmi's introduction to his *Nafahātu'l Uns min Hadharāti'l Quds* (Halitus familiaritatis e virs sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes) p. 3. Lees' edit. where the derivation and meanings of *wali* are discussed and illustrated. "Do you desire to be a *Wali?*" said the celebrated devotee Ibrāhim Adham, to a certain man, "then seek not the things of this world or the next. but resign thyself wholly to God and turn to Him " That is, that the selfish desire for the delights of paradise is an obstruction to perfect communion with God in a similar sense with worldly pleasures though, of course, differing in degree. [Jarrett.]

According to Jurjani, a *wali* is one who knows God . he is delivered from the yoke of the passions : he has influence with

the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being; a lofty soul will indeed love God alone. To me the wonder is, what connection can exist between a dust-mote of creation and the self-existing sun, and what bond lies between the finite and infinity? A *wali*, in my opinion, is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit, and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune, and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it. The latter state they call *Uwaysi* with reference to the example of Uways Qarani;[2] and some say

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The former, who possess the power of revealing things not manifest to the senses, are classed under twelve orders, of which two are regarded as unorthodox:—

[208] (1). Muhāsibi. (2). Qassār. (3). Tayfuri. (4). Junaydi. (5). Nuri. (6). Sahli. (7). Hakimi. (8). Kharrāzi. (9). Khafifi. (10). Sayyāri. (11). Hululi. (12). Hallāji.

God, he can bind and loosen, he also has the gift of miracles (*Karāmat*). *Ency. Islam*, iv. 1109 under *Wali*, where the correct etymology is discussed. [J. S.]

[2] This personage is referred to in the 37th Makāmah of al Hariri; "and the crowd thronged round Abu Zayd praising him and kissing his hand and seeking a blessing by the touch of his tattered garment till I thought that he must be Uways al Qaran or Dubays al Asadi." He was the son of Aāmir and one of the Tābii'n (or those next in time to the companions of Muhammad) celebrated among the devotees of Kufah and was killed fighting at the battle of Siffin under Ali, in A. H. 87. Hariri, p. 506, for the prophetic announcements of his birth and sanctity, the visit of Omar and Ali to him, and their discovery of the "white wonder" of his hand in the Mosaic sense.

I. The source of grace to the FIRST-NAMED was Abu Abdu'llah Hārith[3] b-Asad Muhāsibi, a native of Basrah. He mastered all secular and speculative science and was thoroughly acquainted with the inequalities of the spiritual road. He was *the* teacher of his time [*ustād-i-waqt*] and the author of many works. He died at Baghdad in A.H. 243 (A.D. 857). As he ever judiciously wielded the moral controlling authority of his age, he received this name of Muhāsib.

The SECOND follow Hamdun, the son of Ahmad-b-Ammār, Qassār or the Fuller, his patronymic being Abu Sālih. He studied under Thauri[4] and acquired many spiritual benefits from Salm-b-Husayn Bārusi, Abu Turāb Nakshabi and Ali Nasrābādi, and was a disciple of Abu Hafs. He attained a high degree of perfection though the world gave loose to the tongue of slander against him. He died at Nishapur in A.H. 271 (A.D. 884).

The THIRD revere Tayfur-b-I'sa Bistāmi whose patronymic is Bāyazid. One of his great ancestors was a Magian called Shareshān. His earliest education was received from the elders of Bistām under whom he studied science and

[3] He is said by Jāmi never to have used any support for his back, night or day, for 40 years, but always to have sat resting his knees on the ground declaring it to be the proper attitude for a servant in front of his Lord the King, meaning the Almighty

[4] Sufyān Thauri is noticed in Jāmi, p 716 : and in the same volume will be found the names of all the saints and doctors mentioned in the following pages. Internal evidence conclusively proves that Abul Fazl utilized Jāmi's work in this compilation, one sentence being taken almost *verbatim* in the account of the fourteenth name in the second list, and as usual without acknowledgment. I do not think it necessary to disturb the dust of these uninviting biographies which are often as brief and colourless as those in the text, a bald record of names and dates with laudatory epithets of erudition or sanctity, and concluding occasionally with a few devotional maxims. Many of these are excellent precepts of conduct and are proofs of a true interior spirit of piety, but this is not the place to record them. For the rest, the English reader can be neither edified nor instructed by a hagiography of fossil names, most of them as profoundly forgotton as if they had never survived. The few that require any special mention shall receive it.

reached the rank of a *mujtahid*.[5] Next, having mastered the ordinary subjects of knowledge, he attained to the highest grade of intellectual distinction. He ranked equal to Ahmad Khazrawaih, Abu Hafs, and Yahya-b-Maāz, and was contemporary with Shaqiq of Balkh. He died in A.H. 261 (A.D. 874-75), or according to another account, A.H. 234 (A.D. 848).

The FOURTH are adherents of Junayd Baghdādi whose patronymic is Abu'l Qāsim and who is styled *Qawāriri*, the flask maker, and *Zajjāj*, the glass manufacturer, and *Khazzāz*, the raw-silk merchant. His father sold glass and he himself traded in silk. His ancestors were from Nahāwand, but he was born and bred in Baghdad. He studied, for a time, under Sariy Sakatiy, Hārith al Muhāsibi and Muhammad Qassāb, and his connection is authoritatively traced with Kharrāz [the Cobbler], Ruyam, Nuri, Shibli and many others among the chosen servants of God. Shaykh Abu Jaafar-b-Haddād says that if wisdom could be incarnate, it would assume the form of Junayd. He died in A.H. 297-98 or 99 (A.D. 909-10-11).

The FIFTH are called after Abishkhwur Nuri Serābdil. His name was Ahmad-b-Muhammad or according to some, Muhammad-b-Muhammad. He was commonly known as Ibn-i-Baghawi. His father was from Khurāsān, but his own birth and origin are of Baghdad, and he is among those distinguished for wisdom and virtue. He was in friendly intercourse with Sariy Sakatiy,[6] Muhammad Qassāb, and Ahmad Abu'l Hawāri, and contemporary with Zu'n Nun[7]

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[5] This term denotes a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question, and the title assumes that he was successful. (Full discussion in *Ency. Islam*, ii. 448 (under *Idjtihad*.)

[6] I am not sure of the orthography. *Sakatiy* signifies a dealer in small wares, a pedlar.

[7] Abu'l Fayz Thubān-b-Ibrāhim. The reputation for sanctity and miracles of this mystic extends throughout the Moslem world and his name constantly occurs in its literature. He died in A. H.

of Egypt. He is considered equal in authority with Junayd, but somewhat more impulsive. He died in A.H. 295 (A.D. 907-8) or 286 (A.D. 899).

[209] The SIXTH originate from Sahl-b-Abdu'llah Tustari, who was a disciple of Zu'n Nun of Egypt, and one of the most eminent of those who attained to this sublime vocation. He was among the associates of Junayd and died in the month of Muharram, A.H. 283 (A.D. 896), at the age of eighty-six.

The SEVENTH revert to Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b-Ali Hakim-i-Tirmidi. He was in intercourse with Abu Turāb Nakshabi, Ahmad Khazrawaih and Ibn-i-Jalā, and was pre-eminent in all secular and speculative knowledge. He is reported to have been a voluminous author and to have had the gift of miracles.

The EIGHTH look to Abu Said Kharrāz, or the Cobbler. His name was Ahmad-b-Isa and he was a native of Baghdad. Through his inclination towards the Sufis he went to Egypt and resided in devout attendance by the temple of Mecca. His profession was that of a shoemaker and he was the disciple of Muhammad-b-Mansur Tusi. He associated with Zu'n Nun of Egypt, Sariy Sakatiy, Abu Ubayd Basri, and Bishr Al Hāj, and derived much spiritual instruction from them. He is the author of four hundred works. Those uninstructed in his doctrine believed him to be an infidel. He died in A.H. 286 (A.D. 899). Khwājah Abdu'llah Ansāri says that he knew none of the great doctors more profoundly versed in the mysteries of the Divine Unity.

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245 (A. D. 860), and a flock of birds of a kind never before observed, fluttered over his bier when carried to the grave. On the day following his burial was found written on his tomb-stone in characters dissimilar to those used among men: "Zu'n Nun, the friend of God, and slain by this love of God." As often as this was erased, it was found ever freshly engraved. *Ency. Islam*, i, 963, under *Dhu'l Nun*.

The NINTH invoke Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b-Khafif. His father was from Shirāz and he himself was the disciple of Shaykh Abu Tālib. He was master of secular and spiritual science and had seen Khazraj al Baghdādi and Ruyam, and was a contemporary of (Abu Bakr) Kattāni, Yusuf-b-Husayn Rāzi, Abu Husayn Māliki, Abu Husayn al Muzáyyan, Abu Husayn Darrāj and many others of note. He wrote many works and died in the year A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-43).

The TENTH trace back to Abu'l Abbās Sayyāri. His name was Qāsim and he was the son of the daughter of Ahmad-b-Sayyār. He was a native of Marv and the disciple of Abu Bakr Wāsiti. He pursued the ordinary curriculum of worldly studies as well as speculative science, and attained to an eminence in the practice of the spiritual life. He died in the year A.H. 342 (A.D. 953).

The ELEVENTH. The founder of this order was Halmān of Damascus.

The TWELFTH. This order had its origin in a Persian who was one of the disciples of Husayn-b-Mansur Hallāj of Baghdad,[8] not the celebrated Husayn-b-Mansur (of Bayzā).

These last two have been the subject of much reviling.

In Hindustan fourteen orders are recounted which are styled the fourteen *families* and of these twelve only are described, omitting mention of those of Tayfur and Junayd:

(1). Habibi. (2). Tayfuri. (3). Karkhi. (4). Saqatiy. (5). Junaydi. [P. 210] (6). Kāzruni. (7). Tusi. (8). Firdausi. (9). Suhrawardi. (10). Zaydi. (11). I'yāzi. (12). Adhami. (13). Hubayri. (14). Chishti.

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[8] He was crucified alive for three days from early morning till midday by order of the Caliph Al Muqtadir in A.H. 309 (A.D. 922). He was accused of blasphemy for his words "Ana'l Haqq". "I am the Truth," by which he was supposed to claim divinity. The best accounts of Hallāj are in *Ency. Islam* (ii. 239) and Hastings *Ency*. vi. 480-482. [J. S.]

They assert that Ali, the Prince of the Faithful, had four vicegerents, *viz.*, Hasan, Husayn, Kamil, and Hasan Basri. The source of these orders they believe to be Hasan Basri who had two representatives, Habib-i-Ajami, from whom the first nine obtain their spiritual fervour, and the other Abdu'l Wāhid-b-Zayd, from whom the last five are filled with consolation. The mother of Hasan Basri was one of the slave girls of Ummu Salimah,[9] and he received his name from Omar-b-Kattāb. He early became an orphan. From the dawn of intelligence his mind was illumined and through this brilliant destiny he chose the path of solitude and emaciated himself by austerities while he became filled with the good things of the spirit. He preached a discourse every week and gathered an assembly around him. When Rābi'ah was not present, he would not proceed. The people said to him, "Why dost thou desist because some old woman does not come." He answered, "The food prepared for elephants is of no profit to ants."

The FIRST order trace their connection with Habib-i-Ajami. He was a man of substance and hypocritical in his life. His eyes were opened somewhat by Suhrawardi[10] and he was directed to the true faith by Hasan Basri. Many disciples were instructed by him in the way of salvation. Once when he was escaping from the pursuivants of Hajjāj, he arrived at the cell of Habib. The officers asked him where Hasan

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[9] Hind, the daughter of Abu Umayyah, and the latest survivor of the wives of Muhammad. She died in A. H. 59 (A. D. 678). An Nawawi in his *Tahzibu'l Asmā* (correctio nominum) says, that the mother of Hasan of Basrah was the favourite slave or freed woman of Ummu-Salimah, and Hasan was born to her two years before the close of the Caliphate of Omar (A. H. 21). When the mother was occasionally obliged to leave her infant, Ummu Salimah would nurse it from her own bosom, and it was through the blessing of this privilege that he afterwards attained to his eminence of wisdom and sanctity. He died in A. H. 110 (A. D. 728).

[10] Suhrawardi (Umar) in *Ency. Islam*, iv. 506.

was. He replied within the cell. They searched, but could not find him and reprimanded Habib and said, "Whatever Hajjāj may do to you, will be deserved." He answered, "I have spoken only the truth. If you have not seen him what fault is it of mine?" They again entered and made a strict search and returned in anger and departed reviling him; Hasan thereupon came forth and said, "O Habib, thou hast, indeed, truly done thy duty by thy master." He answered, "O master, thou hast been saved by the telling of the truth. Had I spoken falsely we should both have been killed." One night a needle fell from his hand in a dark room. A miraculous light shone. He covered his eyes with his hands and said, "Nay, nay, I wish not to search for a needle save by the light of a lamp."

The THIRD order derive from Maruf Karkhi. They say that his father was a Christian and changed his faith under Imām Rizā and was honoured with the office of his doorkeeper. He associated with Dāud Tāi and practised mortification and through his rectitude of intention and perfected acts he rose to be a spiritual guide. Sariy Saqatiy and many others profited by his instruction. He died in A.H. 200 (A.D. 815). It was about this time that Magians, Christians, and Jews thronged to him and each wished to practise his own faith under his direction, but it could not be carried out. Nevertheless he held a place in the pleasant retreat of universal tolerance. [P. 211]

The FOURTH follow Sariy Saqatiy whose patronymic is Abu'l Hasan. He is one of the great masters of the practical religious life and was the director of Junayd and many other servants of God. He was one of the associates of Hārith Muhāsibi and Bishr al Hāfi, and was the disciple of Maruf Karkhi. Adequate praise of him is beyond the capacity of my ignorance. In the year A.H. 253 (A.D. 867), he gathered up his garment from this dust-heap of a world.

The SIXTH acknowledge Abu Ishāq-b-Shahryār as their head. His father abandoned the doctrines of Zoroaster and embraced the creed of Islām. He was instructed by Shaykh Abu Ali Firozābādi and was the contemporary of many doctors of the faith, and had mastered all secular and speculative science. He was released from the turmoils of earth in A. H. 426 (A. D. 1034-35).

The SEVENTH was founded by Alāu'ddin Tusi, who was united in the bonds of a spiritual paternity with Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra.

The EIGHTH invoke Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra. His patronymic was Abu Janāb, his name Ahmad Khiwaki, and his title *Kubra*, or the Greater.[11] He was spiritually directed by Shaykh Ismāil Kasri, Ammār Yāsir and Rozbihān, and he had great repute for his insight into matters of the exterior and inner life. Shaykh Majdu'ddin Baghdādi, Shaykh Saadu'ddin Hammawiyah, Shaykh Raziu'ddin Ali Lālā, Bābā Kamāl Jandi, Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bākharzi and many other religious obtained their eternal salvation through his efficacious prayers. He died by the sword in A. H. 618 (A. D. 1221).

The NINTH is favoured through Shaykh Ziāu'ddin Abu'n Najib 'Abdu'l Qāhir Suhrawardi. He was versed in the knowledge of the world and the spirit, and traced his descent from Abu Bakr as Siddiq by twelve intermediary links. His doctrinal precepts he derived in direct transmission from Shaykh Ahmad Ghazzāli; and he was the author of many works, among them the *Adābu'l Muridin* (*Institutiones Discipulorum*). He passed to his heavenly abode in A. H. 563 (A. D. 1167-68).

The TENTH follow Shaykh Abdu'l Wāhid-b-Zayd.

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[11] Because in all controversies, says Jāmi, in which he was engaged in his youth, he was ever triumphant, and so received the appellation. He was killed by the Tartars on their invasion of Khwārzam after the flight of Muhammad Khwārzam Shah.

The ELEVENTH acknowledge Fuzayl-b-I'yāz. His patronymic is Abu Ali and he was a native of Kufah, but according to others of Bokhārā, and other places are also named. He passed his days as a wandering dervish between Marv and Bāward (Abiward), and from his natural goodness of disposition, received interior illumination and his virtuous conduct assured his salvation. He passed from the world in A.H. 187 (A.D. 802-3).

The TWELFTH take Ibrāhim Adham of Balkh as their guide. His patronymic was Abu Ishāq. His ancestors were of princely race and the star of his happy destiny shone forth from his early youth, for he withdrew himself altogether from the world. He associated with Abu Sufyān Thauri, Fuzayl-b-I'yāz, Abu Yusuf Ghasuli and was in intimacy with Ali-b-Bakkār, Huzayfah Marashi and Silm-al-Khawwas. He died in Syria in the year A. H. 161 or 162 (A. D. 777-78-79).

The THIRTEENTH trace back to Hubayrah of Basrah.

The FOURTEENTH are connected with Abu Ishāq Shāmi who was the disciple of Shaykh U'luw Dinawari. When the Shaykh arrived at [212] the village of Chisht, Khwājah Abu Ahmad Abdāl, who was the foremost among the Shaykhs of Chisht received instruction from him, and after him his son Muhammad illumined the lamp of sanctity. Following him, his nephew Khwājah Samaāni carried on the doctrine, whose son Khwājah Maudud Chishti succeeded to the leadership. His son Khwājah Ahmad also reached the same eminence.

There is, however, no exclusive claim in regard to either of these two lists. Any chosen soul who, in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct, and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line, for besides these twelve and fourteen orders, many another catena of religious schools has a worldwide repute, such as the

QADIRI[12]

which follows Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Abdu'l Qādir Jili. He was a Sayyid descended from Husayn. Jil is the name of a village near Baghdad. Some authorities[13] state that he was from Jilān. He was supreme in his time for his secular and spiritual knowledge. He received his dervish's habit from the hands of Abu Said al-Mubārak (b. Ali al-Makhzumi), and is thus spiritually connected with ash-Shibli through four intermediaries. His sanctity and extraordinary miracles are world-famed. He was born into the world in A. H. 471 (A.D. 1078), and bade farewell to it in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165).

YASAWI.

These are disciples of Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi. In his youth he was under the supervision of Bāb Arslān, who was an eminent spiritual guide among the Turks. On his death he profited by the instruction of Khwājah Yusuf Hamadāni. The Turks call him Atā Yasawi; Atā in Turkish signifying a father, and their saints are thus designated. He returned to Turkistān at the command of the Khwājah and ended his days in the spiritual instruction of the people. Many miracles are reported of him. Four spiritual delegates are celebrated as religious guides: Mansur Atā, Said Atā, Sulaymān Atā, and Hakim Atā. Yasi is a town in Turkistān, the birthplace and town of this Shaykh.

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[12] The references to the saints that follow are given here in one place: *Ency. Islam*, ii. 608-611 (Qādiri), iii. 841 (Naqshbandi), Suppl. 183 (Baba Ratan), i. 862 (Muin Chishti), iv. 290 (Farid-ud-din Shakar-ganj), iii. 932 (Nizamuddin Auliya), ii. 152 (Shah Madar under Ghazi Miyan), ii. 861-865 (Khizr under al-Khadir), iii. 687 (Md. Ghaus Gwaliyari.)

For the saints and martyrs of Islam in India, Hastings, *Encyclo. Religion*, xi. 63-73 (T. W. Arnold.)

[13] Among them Jāmi from whom this notice is taken. In his *infancy he refused his mother's milk at the appearance of the new* moon, on the fast of the Ramazān: a cow that he was tending in his youth addressed him in Arabic and inspired him with his vocation: he fasted for 40 days. These are some of the miracles reported by Jami.

NAQSHBANDI.[14]

This school owe their eternal salvation to Khwājah Bahā u'ddin Naqshband. His name was Muhammad-b-Muhammad al-Bokhāri. He was a disciple of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and received his religious instruction in regard to exterior conduct from (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl, his delegate. Khwājah Sammāsi used often to say to Khwājah Ali Rāmithani, [universally known as (Hazrat) Azizān] as they passed in the vicinity of Qasr-i-Hinduān, "From this soil there comes the fragrance of a man that will soon make the Qasr-i-Hinduān (Castle of Hinduān), be called the Qasr-i-Aārifān (Castle of the Pious);" till one day coming from the house of (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl and passing the castle, he exclaimed, "The fragrance has increased—that man verily has been born." On inquiry it was found that three days had elapsed since the birth of the Khwājah. His father carried him to the Bābā, who said that he would adopt him as his spiritual son, and turning to his friends said: "This is the one whose fragrance I smelt, and who will be the spiritual guide of the world." To Amir Kulāl he said; "Withhold no care or kindness in the bringing up [213] of our son Bahāu'ddin." His orders were carried out. After a time when his fame grew, Bābā Sammāsi said to him: "Your zeal has a loftier flight. You have my permission to go and beg of other souls." Thereupon he went to Qutham Shaykh and attended his instruction, and profited by the guidance of Khalil Atā and realised his purpose through the spiritual aid of Khwājah Abd u'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni. The source of his interior illumination was (the prophet) Khizr; his faith and discipline were derived from Khwājah Yusuf Hamadāni. Khwājah Yusuf had four vicegerents, Khwājah Abdu'llah Barqi,

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[14] This account has been taken from Jāmi's notices of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and Bahāu'ddin Naqshbandi to which I refer the reader for those of the other doctors herein named.

Khwājah Hasan Andaki,[15] Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi, and Khwājah Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni. Khwājah Yusuf had received instructions from Shaykh Abu Ali Fārmidi, and he from Shaykh Abu'l Qāsim Gurgāni. The latter was the disciple of the following two personages, Junayd and Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Kharaqāni, and these of Bāyazid Bistāmi, and Bāyazid of the Imām Jaafar as-Sādiq.[16] The Imām was himself nourished from two sources; on the one side from his father Muhammad Bāqir, and he, from his father Imām Zaynu'l Aābidin, and he from his grand-parent the Imām Husayn, and on the other from his mother's father Qāsim-b-Muhammad-b-Abu Bakr, and Qāsim from Salmān al-Fārsi (the companion) and Salmān[17] from Abu Bakr.

It is said that Khwājah Bahāu'ddin had neither a slave nor a handmaid, and when asked the reason of this, he replied that ("the maintenance of) bondage was incompatible with the profession of a religious teacher." They inquired

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[15] Ghujduwān is a small town in Bokhāra. Yāqut.
Andaq is ten parasangs from Bokhārā. Fārmid is one of the towns of Tus. Kharaqān is one of the Bistām villages on the road to Astarābād where, in Yākut's time, was still to be seen the tomb of Abu'l Hasan who died on the 10th of Muharram, A.H. 425 (A.D. 1033), at the age of 73.

[16] The Imām Abu Abdu'llah Jaafar as-Sādiq (the Veracious), fourth in descent from Ali-b-Abi Tālib, born A.H. 80 (A.D. 699); died and buried at Medina A.H. 148 (A.D. 765). The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muhd. al-Bāqir, his grand father Ali Zaynu'l Aābidin, and his grand-father's uncle al-Hasan, son of Ali. "How rich a tomb," says Ibn Khallikān, "in generosity and nobility." See *Ency. Islam,* i. 993 under Djafar bin Md.

[17] He was a freedman of Muhammad; his name Abu Abdu'llah Salmān al-Khayr, or the Good, a native of Tayy, one of the villages of Ispahān; others say from Rāma Hurmuz. His father was headman of the village and a Magian. The youth fled from his home and fell in with some monks, in whose company he remained till their death. The last of them directed him to go to Hijāz and foretold the coming of a prophet. He travelled thither with some Arabs who sold him to a Jew of Quraydha at Wādi'l Qura, who took him to Medina. There he met Muhammad and recognized his prophetic mission, from his signet ring, and from an alms twice offered to him which were the three signs announced to him by the last of the monks. He is said to have been one of the most learned, pious and liberal of the companions.

of him: "To what stage does your spiritual ancestry go back?" He replied, "No one reaches any stage by virtue of a spiritual ancestry." On the night of Monday, 3rd Rabii' I, A.H. 791, (4th March, A.D. 1389) he disburdened himself of his elemental body.

The case of these orders is similar to that of the four schools of theology. Any one reaching the rank of *Mujtahid* may become a doctrinal authority, and there is no difficulty in the recognition of this as fourfold.

But it is better that I should desist from further details and seek the divine mercy by mentioning the Saints of God. In the following enumeration, under the title of "Saints", I have recorded the names of forty-eight only among thousands, and make this a means towards the attainment of eternal bliss.

SHAYKH BABA RATN

Was the son of Nasrat-Tabrindi; his patronymic was Abu'l Rizā. In the time of Ignorance he was born at Tabrindah and went to Hijāz and saw the Prophet, and after many wanderings returned to India. Many accepted the accounts he related, while others rejected them as the garrulity of senile age. He died at Tabarindah, in A.H. 700 (A.D. 1300-1), and was there buried. Shaykh Ibn i Hajr Asqalāni, Majdu'ddin Firozābādi, Shaykh Alā u' ddaulah as Simnāni, Khwājah Muhammad Pārsā and many pious individuals acknowledged and commended him.

KHWAJAH MUINU'DDIN HASAN CHISHTI

Was the son of Ghiyāsu'ddin Hasan and a Sayyid in descent from both Hasan and Husayn, and was born in A.H. 537 (A.D. 1142), in the village of Sijz, of the province of Sijistān.

[214] At the age of fifteen he lost his father. Ibrāhim Qahandazi, a man absorbed in divine things, regarded him with an eye of favour and set aflame the gathered harvest of wordliness with the fire of divine ardour, and guided him in his quest. In Harun, a village of Nishāpur, he attended Khwājah Othmān Chishti, and practised a mortified life and received the habit of *Khalifah* or vicegerent. Subsequently he reached a higher degree of perfection and was spiritually benefited by Shaykh Abdu'l Qādir Jili and other holy men. In the year that Mu'izzu'ddin Sām took Delhi (A.H. 589, A.D. 1193), he arrived at that city, and with a view to a life of seclusion withdrew to Ajmer and there inspired the same zeal among numerous disciples by his own efficacious will. He shared the reward of a heavenly kingdom on Saturday, the 6th of Rajab, A.H. 633 (18th March 1236). His resting place is at the foot of the hilly range of that district and is visited to this day by high and low.

SHAYKH ALI GHAZNAVI HAJUBARI.

His patronymic was Abu'l Hasan. His father was Othmān-b-Abi Ali Jullābi. He lived secluded from ordinary worldly concerns and obtained a high degree of knowledge. An account of him is given in the *Kashfu'l Mahjub li Arbābi'l Qulub* (delectio eorum qui relata sunt in favorem cordatorum).[18] In this work he says, "I followed in this path Shaykh Abu'l Fazl-b-Hasan al Khatli." His resting place is in Lāhor.

SHAYKH HUSAYN ZANJANI.

A man of extensive erudition. Khwājah Mu'in'uddin attended his instructions at Lāhor where his tomb is, and which is visited by many to the gain of their eternal welfare.

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[18] A work on Sufism by Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Ali b. Othmān al Ghaznavi. Khatli is the relative adjective of Khatlān, a province in Transoxiana near Samarqand.

SHAYKH BAHAU'DDIN ZAKARIYA[19]

Was the son of Wajihu'ddin Muhammad-b-Kamālu'ddin Ali Shāh Qurayshi, and was born at Kot Karor, near Multān, in A.H. 565 (A.D. 1169-70) His father died when he was a child; he grew in wisdom and studied in Turān and Irān. He received his doctrine from Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi at Baghdad and reached the degree of vicegerent. He was on terms of great friendship with Shaykh Farid (u'ddin) Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time. Shaykh (Fakhru'ddin) I'rāqi and Mir Husayni were his disciples. On the 7th of Safar, A.H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of serene aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadru'ddin. He read it and gave up the ghost, and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town: "Friend is united to Friend." His resting place is in Multān.

QUTBU'DDIN BAKHTYAR KAKI

Was the son of Kamālu'ddin Musa and came from Ush of Farghānah. He lost his father when very young and privileged by the vision of (the Prophet) Khizr was keenly desirous of meeting with a spiritual guide till the arrival in Ush of Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin. At the age of eighteen he received his doctrine and became a vicegerent. He profited by the instruction of many saints at Baghdad and other places. In the desire of [P. 215] meeting with a holy director he came to India and for a time attended Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā. He arrived in Delhi in the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish. The Khwājah (Mu'inu'ddin) went there on a

[19] Ferishta who has a long monograph on him, says that he left seven million *tankahs* to his son Sadru'ddin, besides other furniture and goods which the latter gave away on the very first day of possession. Being asked why he so disposed of wealth amassed by his father and given in due measure to the poor, he replied that his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, whereas he himself, not so advanced in sanctity, dreaded the temptation.

visit to him and after a little, left him and returned. He was of great service to the people in general. He died on the 14th of Rabii' I, A.H. 633 (Saturday, 27th November, A.D. 1235). His tomb is in Delhi where it is visited by all classes.

SHAYKH FARIDU'DDIN GANJ I SHAKKAR

Was the son of Jamālu'ddin Sulaymān, a descendant of Farrukh Shāh Kābuli. His birthplace was the village of Khotwal, near Multān. In his early youth he followed the common course of studies. At Multān he met Khwājah Qutbu'ddin, went with him to Delhi and was instructed in his doctrine. Some authorities state that he did not accompany him to Delhi, but took his leave on the way and hastened to Qandahār and Sistān, where he set himself to the garnering of knowledge. He then came to Delhi and put himself under disciplinary rule. He had many warrings with the spirit in which he eventually triumphed. When Khwājah Qutbu'ddin was on the point of death, there were present Qāzi Hamidu'ddin Nāgori, Shaykh Badru'ddin Ghaznavi and many other holy men. They agreed that the habit and other personal belongings of the dying man should be committed to Shaykh Faridu'ddin. The Shaykh who was then at the town of Jhānsi, on hearing this, went to Delhi, and taking possession of the trust, returned. He was the source of blessings to many people. He bade farewell to this fleeting world on the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 668 (Monday, 5th September, 1269), at (Pāk) Pattan in the Panjāb, which at that time was called Ajodhan.[20]

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[20] Ferishta gives various accounts of the derivation of his epithet *Ganj i Shakkar,* (the treasure-house of sweets). Once on going to see his spiritual director, being weak from fasting, his foot slipped and he fell in the mud, it being the rainy season. Some of the mud entered his mouth and was changed into sugar. His director, on his arrival, had preter-natural intuition of the event, and told him that the Almighty had, probably, designed him to be a store-house of sweet things and would preserve him in this condition. On his return home, he found that this epithet had spread

SHAYKH SADRU'DDIN AARIF

Was the son of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin. During his father's life-time he reached the highest degree of sanctity. Sayyids Fakhru'ddin I'rāqi and Mir Husayn yere his disciples. He died in Multān, where he is buried, in A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309).

NIZAMU'DDIN AULIYA.

His name was Muhammad and he was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl who came from Ghaznin to Badāon in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35), where Nizāmu'ddin was born. For a time he went through the ordinary course of studies and received the epithet of Nizām *al-Bahhāth*, or the Controversialist, and *Mahfil Shikan*, the Assembly-router. At the age of twenty he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar and obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination. He was then sent to Delhi to instruct the people, and many under his direction attained to the heights of sanctity, such as Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Muhammad Chirägh i Dilhi, Mir Khusrau, Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq, Shaykh Akhi Sirāj, in Bengal, Shaykh Wajihu'ddin Yusuf in Chanderi, Shaykh Yakub and Shaykh Kamāl in Mālwah, Maulānā Ghiyās in Dhār, Maulānā Mughis in Ujjain, Shaykh Husain in Gujarāt, Shaykh Burhānu'ddin Gharib, [216] Shaykh Muntakhab, Khwājah Hasan, in the Dekhan. He died in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 18th Rabii' II, A.H. 725 (3rd April 1325). His tomb is in Delhi.[21]

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among the people who designated him by it. Another account is that meeting with some *banjārās* who were taking salt to Delhi, they asked him to bless their bales that they might sell with profit. He did so, and on their arrival the sacks were discovered to be full of sugar.

[21] "In Ghiyāspur," says Ferishta, "which is one of the quarters of new Delhi". He relates that Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlak Shāh who then reigned at Delhi, though outwardly treating Nizāmu'ddin with consideration, was in reality displeased with him. When about to return from his expedition to Bengal he sent a message to the Shaykh directing him not to await his arrival at Delhi, and that henceforth he was no longer to remain in Ghiyāspur. The Shaykh

SHAYKH RUKNU'DDIN

Was the son of Sadru'ddin Aārif and the successor of his eminent grandfather [Bahā-ud-din Zakariya]. At the time when Sultān Qutbu'ddin (Mubārak Shāh Khilji, A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), regarded Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin with disfavour, he summoned Shaykh Ruknu'ddin from Multān in the hope of disturbing his influence. On his arrival near Delhi he met Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin. Qutbu'ddin on receiving the Shaykh (Ruknu'ddin) asked him "Who among the people of the city was the foremost in going out to met him?" He replied: "The most eminent person of his age." By this happy answer he removed the king's displeasure. His resting place is Multān.

SHAYKH JALALU'DDIN TABRIZI

Was the disciple of Said Tabrizi. After some wanderings, he fell in with Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi and by his zealous service attained the office of vicegerent. He was on terms of intimacy with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā. Shaykh Najmu'ddin Sughra, who was Shaykh u'l Islām at Delhi, bore enmity against him and maliciously incited a disreputable woman to accuse the Shaykh of incontinence. Through the miraculous powers of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā, the falsehood of the charge was established. He then went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal.

SHAYKH SUFI BADHNI.

His birthplace was Oudh. He lived a life of extraordinary abstraction, heedless of all save the worship of God.

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replied, *hanuz Dilhi dur ast*: Delhi is still far off. Before the king's arrival in Delhi while at Afghānpur, the building which had been raised by Alāf Khān for his reception, fell upon the king and crushed him in the ruins, in Rabii' I., A.H. 725. The proverb *Dilhi dur ast* owes its origin to this event.

It is said that Khwājah Qutubu'ddin and he, with a number of others, were taken prisoners by the Mughals. Hunger and thirst drove the captives to the greatest straits. It was then that the Khwājah, by supernatural power, drew forth from his wallet warm cakes (*kāk*), with which he supplied each one of the party, while the Sufi gave them all to drink from his broken water-vessel (*badhnā*). From this circumstance the Khwājah was called *Kāki*, and the other *Badhni*.

KHWAJAH KARAK.

One of the greatest of the ascetics. He lived apart from worldly intercourse and passed his days in ruined places. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi sent him the habit of a recluse, which he took and threw into the fire. The bearer reviled him to the Khwājah who replied, "Go and demand it back, so that thou mayest know what has in reality happened." When he made his request, Khwājah Karak said, "Go, and take out a cloak from the fireplace, but only your own." When he went to look, he found that habit among many others, and repented of his conduct. His tomb is at Karrah, Mānikpur. [P. 217]

SHAYKH NIZAMU'DDIN ABU'L MUAYYAD.

He stood in the relation of a disciple to his maternal uncle Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Ahmad Ghaznavi and flourished during the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi and Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā, both considered an interview with him as a great happiness.

SHAYKH NAJIBU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the disciple of Shaykh Badru'ddin Firdausi of Samarqand, who was the *khalifah* or vicegerent of Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bākharzi, who held the same relation to Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra. From thence he came to Delhi and for

a time directed the consciences of men, and there died. Some say that he and Shaykh I'mādu'ddin Tusi were the disciples and vicegerents of Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Firdausi.

QAZI HAMIDU'DDIN NAGORI

Was the son of Atāu'ddin of Bokhārā, where he was born. In the reign of Mu'izzu'ddin Sām he came to Delhi with his father, and for three years held the office of Qāzi at Nāgor. Unexpectedly the desire of a life of retirement seized him. Abandoning the world he journeyed to Baghdad and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi. There he entered into intimate friendship with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and after travelling to Hijāz came to Delhi. He died on the night of the 5th of Ramazān, A.H. 644 (Sunday, 9th November, A.D. 1246) without any previous illness. He is buried in Delhi.

SHAYKH HAMIDU'DDIN SUWALI OF NAGOR

Was the son of Shaykh Ahmad. In his early youth he was handsome and rich, but in pursuit of the truth he abandoned the world and applied himself to the practice of austerities. He wore the mantle of discipleship under Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin and attained a high degree of perfection. He was styled *Sultān u't-Tārikin*, the King of Recluses. He rolled up the carpet of life on the 29th Rabii' II, A.H. 673 (31st October 1274). His resting place is in Nāgor.

SHAYKH NAJIBU'DDIN MUTAWAKKIL

Was the brother and disciple of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar. Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin used to say: "When I left Badāon for Delhi desiring to pay my respects to Ganj Shakkar, I met Najibu'ddin and was much benefited by his society." He died on the 9th of Ramazān, A.H. 660 (27th July 1261). [P. 218]

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN

His birthplace was Ghaznah. In a dream he received the discipleship of Khawājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, and abandoning all, undertook the toil of a journey in quest of the holy man. In Delhi his desires were fulfilled and he received the office of vicegerent. Qāzi Hāmidu'ddin, Shaykh Farid u'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, Sayyid Mubārak Ghaznavi, Maulānā Majdu'ddin Jurjāni, Shaykh Ziyāu'ddin Dihlavi, and other eminent personages received the blessing of his instructions. In his old age when he was unable to move, the sound of a hymn would excite him to ecstasy and he would dance like a youth. When asked how it was that the Shaykh could dance notwithstanding his decrepitude, he replied: "Where is the Shaykh? It is Love that dances." His resting-place is at the foot of his own master's grave.

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN ISHAQ

Was the son of Minhāju'ddin Bokhāri, but some say he was the son of Ali-b-Ishāq, of Delhi, where he was born. He went through the usual course of studies, but some speculative difficulties not being solved in this country he set out for Bokhārā. At Ajodhan, in intercourse with Ganj i Shakkar, his doubts were removed, and becoming his disciple he set himself to mortify his senses. The Shaykh conferred on him the distinction of being both his vicegerent and his son-in-law. He was buried in that place.

SHAYKH NASIRU'DDIN CHIRAGH-I-DIHLAVI, OR THE LAMP OF DELHI

His name was Mahmud and his birthplace Delhi. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliya. He departed from this world that all must leave on the 1st of Ramazān, A.H. 757, (2nd Sept. 1356).

SHAYKH SHARAF (U'DDIN) OF PANIPAT

His patronymic was Abu Ali Qalandar. He lived as a recluse and in one of his writings he says of himself. "At the age of forty I came to Delhi and received instruction under Khwājah Qutbu'ddin. Maulānā Wajihu'ddin Pāili, Maulānā Sadru'ddin, Maulānā Fakhru'ddin Nāfilah, Maulānā Nāsiru'ddin, Maulānā Mu'inu'ddin Daulatābādi, Maulānā Najibu'ddin Samarqandi, Maulānā Qutbu'ddin of Mecca, Maulānā Ahmad Khansāri and other learned men of the day gave me a license to teach and to pronounce judicial decisions, which offices I exercised for twenty years. Unexpectedly I received a call from God, and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel. In Roumelia I fell in with Shamsu'ddin Tabrizi and Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Rumi who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence I threw into the river. Subsequently I came to Pānipat and there lived as a recluse." His tomb is there.

SHAYKH AHMAD.

His birthplace was Nahrwālah, commonly known as Pattan. He became the disciple of Hamidu'ddin Nāgori and attained the high rank of a vicegerent; Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā who was difficult to please, much commended him. He was buried at Badāon.

SHAYKH JALAL.

Was the son of Sayyid Mahmud-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri. He was universally known as *Makhdum i Jahāniyān* (lord of mankind).

He was born on the *Shab-i-Barāt*, 14th Shaabān, A. H. 707, (7th Feb., A. D. 1307). He was the disciple of his father and received a vicegerency from Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l Fath Suhrawardi. It is said [219] that he journeyed much

and had intercourse with Imām Yāfai and many others. He visited Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh i Dihlavi, and became a vicegerent in the Chisht family. He put off his earthly body on Thursday, the Id-i-Qurbān 10th Zil Hijjah, A. H. 785, (2nd Feb., A. D. 1383). He was buried al Uchh, near Multān.[22]

SHAYKH SHARAFU'DDIN MUNIRI.

Was the son of Yahya-b-Isrāil, the head of the Chishtis. He was instructed under Ganj i Shakkar. His childhood passed, he practised a life of austerity in the hills, and in the desire of seeing Shaykh Nizām Auliyā, he went to Delhi with his eldest brother, Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Muhammad. The Shaykh meanwhile had died, but others affirm that he saw him and by his direction went to Najibu'ddin Firdausi, and after discipleship became his vicegerent. Shaykh Shamsu'ddin Muzaffar of Balkh and Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Awadhi, called also Jamāl Qitāl, received the vicegerency from him. He left many works, and amongst them his writings on the mortification of the spirit are in use as exercises. His burial-place is in Behār.

SHAYKH JAMALU'DDIN HANSAWI.

Was the descendant of Abu Hanifah of Kufah. His profession was to deliver discourses and pronounce judical decisions, but renouncing this office he became the disciple of Shaykh Farid Ganj i Shakkar and reached a high degree of virtue. To whomsoever the Shaykh Farid gave a certificate of vicegerency, he would send him to Jamālu'ddin on whose approval the certificate took effect. If he did not approve the Shaykyh would say that what Jamāl tore up Farid could not repair. He was buried in Hānsi.

[22] According to Beale he is the founder of the Malang and Jalāliya Fakirs, and his memoirs, called the Kitāb-i-Kutbi, have been written by one of his disciples.

SHAH MADAR.

His title was Badii'u'ddin. High and low throughout Hindustan have great devotion to him and attest his great sanctity. They say that he was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Tayfuri Bistami. He never wore garments of rich texture and he held aloof from men. Every Monday his doors used to be open and a crowd of suppliants collected. As the people respectfully kept back, it was his custom to recite some story in which those who sought advice received their answer; and whoever heard the response which befitted his case, he rose blessing him. Strange tales are told of him. The Madāri order take their origin from him. His resting-place is in Makanpur.

On the anniversary of his decease every year, crowds of people from distant parts flock thither, carrying banners of all colours, and recite his praises. Qāzi Shihābu'ddin in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqi had a quarrel with him of which he found reason to repent.

SHAYKH NUR QUTB-I-AALAM

[220] Was the son of Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq. His true name is Shaykh Nuru'ddin Ahmad-b-O'mar Asad, and he was born at Lāhor. He was the disciple and vicegerent of his eminent father, who received the vicegerency from Shaykh Akhi Sirāj. He in some degree attained to the knowledge of the Ineffable Mystery and became a mystic of exalted degree, as his works and some of his letters, in themselves, testify. Shaykh Husām-u'ddin Mānikpuri was his vicegerent. He died in A. H. 808 (A.D., 1405), and was buried at Panduah.

BABA ISHAQ MAGHRABI

Was born at Delhi and was the disciple of Hāji Shaykh Muhammad Kimi. His line of succession through some few

intermediaries, traces back to Junayd. Shaykh Ahmad Khattu thus writes: "I went to Delhi in his company. He showed me his old dwelling and said: "At the age of twelve I set out in search of spiritual help from saintly souls and chosing the vocation of a recluse received instruction from many eminent persons, and in the city of Kim, in Mauritania, and in intercourse with Shaykh Muhammad who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, I attained to the desire of my heart, and became a vicegerent." He returned to Delhi in the reign of Sultān Muhammad who received him with much honour. Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin instructed him in a vision to retire to Khattu in seclusion, and he followed this direction.

SHAYKH AHMAD KHATTU.

His title was Jamalu'ddin and he was born at Delhi, in A. H. 737 (A.D. 1336), of a noble family of that city. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi. His name was Nasiru'ddin. By a freak of fortune he was carried away from his dwelling in a tempest of wind. After a time he was blessed with the instruction of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi and garnered a store of secular and theological learning. In the reign of Sultān Ahmad Gujarāti (A.D. (1411-43), he came to Gujarāt where all classes received him with respect and were loud in his praise. He subsequently travelled in Arabia and Persia and met many eminent doctors. He was buried in Sarkhech, near Ahmadābād.

SHAYKH SADRU'DDIN

Was the son of Sayyid Ahmad Kabir-b-Sayyid Jalālu'-ddin Bokhāri, and was commonly known as Rāju Qitāl.[23] He was the disciple and vice-gerent of his father and received also the latter distinction from his brother *Makhdum-i-*

[23] See Ferishta under Jalālu'ddin Husayn Bokhāri, for the history of the family.

Jahāniyān and Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l-Fath. Sultān Firoz held him in great honour. He slept his last sleep in A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403).

SHAYKH ALAU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the grandson of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, and son of Badru'ddin Sulaymān. He was a man of holy and commendable life and attained to great spiritual eminence. On his decease Sultān Muhammad Tughlak built a mausoleum over his remains. ([P. 221]

SAYYID MUHAMMAD GESUDARAZ (LONG HAIR)

Was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh-i-Dihli. He became proficient in theology and secular knowledge and by the direction of his spiritual guide went from Delhi to the Dekhan, where he was received with honour by high and low. He died in A. H. 825 (A.D. 1421-2), and was buried at Kulbargah. [Gulbarga]

QUTB-I-AALAM.

His patronymic was Abu Muhammad, and his title Burhānu'ddin. He was the son of Shāh Muhammad-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin *Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān*, and was born in A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388). He was the disciple of his illustrious father and received the vicegerency from Shaykh Ahmad Khattu. In the reign of Sultān Muhammad (Shāh Karim, A.D. 1443-51), the descendant of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh by two removes, by order of his father he came to Gujarāt and there became eminent in secular and speculative learning. He died in A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453). His tomb is in Batwah, near Ahmadābād.

SHAH AALAM.

His name was Sayyid Muhammad, he was the son of Qutb-i-Aālam and was born on the 9th of Zu'lqaadah,

A.H. 817 (18th January 1415). He was the disciple of his father from whom he received the vicegerency and attained to eminent sanctity. Extraordinary miracles are related of him. His days came to an end on the 20th Jumāda II., A.H. 880 (21st Oct. 1475). He lies buried at Rasulābād, near Ahmadābād.

SHAYKH QUTBU'DDIN

Was the son of Shaykh Burhānu'ddin-b-Shaykh Jamāl-u'ddin of Hānsi and the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā. He lived apart from men and took no presents from princes. Sultān Muhammad in person went to Hānsi and brought him to Delhi. He is buried at Hānsi.

SHAYKH ALI PAYRAV

Was the son of Maulānā Ahmad Mahāyami. He became proficient in worldly and spiritual knowledge and explained the mysteries after the manner of Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Arabi. He has left many works on theology, but most of them are no longer extant.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD JAUNPURI

Was the son of Sayyid Badh Uwaysi. He received instruction under many holy men and was learned in spiritual and secular knowledge. Carried away by extravagance he laid claim to be a *Mahdi* and many followers gathered round him and numerous miracles are ascribed to him. He is the origin of the *Mahdavis*. From Jaunpur he went to Gujarāt and was much in favour with Sultān Mahmud the Great. The narrow-mindedness of worldlings made India intolerable to him and he resolved to pass into Persia, but died at Farrah and was there buried.

[222] QAZI KHAN.

His name was Yusuf and his birthplace Zafarābād. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir, surnamed Kamālu'l Haqq. He was also the disciple of Hāji Hāmid who was the vicegerent of Husamu'ddin Mānikpuri. He acquired secular and theological learning. His spiritual guide, during his own lifetime, charged him with the superintendence of his vicegerents, and at his death entrusted to his care his own son Abdu'l Aziz. On the 15th of Safar, A.H. 900 (13th November 1494), he rested from the troubles of the world.

MIR SAYYID ALI QAWAM.

His birthplace was Siwānah. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bahāu'ddin Jaunpuri Shattāri. Some say that he was instructed by Shaykh Qāsā Shattāri, while others affirm that his connection with all spiritual families can be correctly proved. In the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), he passed from earth. His restingplace is Jaunpur.

QAZI MAHMUD

Was the son of Shaykh Jālindha-b-Muhammad Gujarāti. He was born in Birpur. He was the disciple of his father and received the mantle of vicegerency from Shāh Aālam. Divine love filled his heart and many an edifying discourse fell from his lips. From the age of eleven he was spiritually illumined, and wonderful accounts are given regarding him. On the 13th Rabii' II. of the year A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535) in which the Emperor Humāyun defeated Bahādur (Shāh) of Gujarāt, he passed to the other world and lies buried in Birpur.

SHAYKH MAUDUD AL-LARI

Was the disciple of Bābā Nizām Abdāl. He went through the usual course of studies for a time under Maulānā

Abdu'l Ghafur of Lār and sought spiritual guidance from many souls. He was thoroughly versed in the methods of exposition and exegesis of the schools and skilled in the complicated problems of philosophy, and he had met Shāh Niamatu'llah Wali and Shāh Qāsim Anwār. He slept his last sleep in Ramazān A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530).

SHAYKH HAJI ABD'UL WAHHAB-AL-BOKHARI.

Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri had two sons. Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān was the son of Sayyid Mahmud and this (Shaykh Hāji) was descended from (the other son), Sayyid Ahmad. He was the disciple and pupil of Sayyid Sadru'ddin Bokhāri. He was versed in secular and speculative science. He died in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525-26). [P. 223]

SHAYKH ABDU'R RAZZAQ

Was born at Jhanjhāna[24] and was the disciple and vicegerent of Shāh Muhammad Hasan and the son of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir. At first he went through the usual course of studies which he abandoned for a higher aim. He died in A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), and was buried at Jhanjhāna.

SHAYKH ABDU'L QUDDUS.

He asserted himself to be a descendant of Abu Hanifah. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad-b-Shaykh Aārif-b-Shaykh Ahmad Abd'ul Haqq. He acquired secular and spiritual learning and became eminent in theology. Many of his mystical sayings are recorded. The Emperor Humāyun with a few of the learned, visited him in his cell and an animated controversy took place. He folded up the carpet of his life in A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543). He was buried at Gangoyah,[25] near Delhi.

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[24] In the Muzaffarnagar dist., U. P

[25] Gangoh, is a town in the Sahāranpur dist., U. P. It consists of an old and new quarter, the former founded by the legendary

SAYYID IBRAHIM

Was the son of Mu'inu'ddin-b-Abdu'l Qādir Husayni. His birthplace was Iraj. He was the disciple of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Qādiri Shattāri. He was proficient in all learning and rarely equalled for his good deeds. He had travelled much, and in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1517-40) went to Delhi. Shaykh Abdu'llah of Delhi, Miyān Lādan, Maulānā Abdu'l Qādir the soapmaker, and other celebrated doctors acknowledged his sanctity. He yielded up his fleeting life in A.H. 953 or 958 (A.D. 1546-51). He was buried at Delhi.

SHAYKH AMAN.

His name was Abdu'l Malik, son of Abdu'l Ghafur. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan. By the direction of his master, he received various instruction under Shaykh Muhammad Maudud al-Lāri. He died on the 12th Rabii' II., A.H. 958 (20th April, 1551)

SHAYKH JAMAL

Was the son of Shaykh Hamzah and his father's disciple. He chiefly led a retired life though among worldly occupations. He was buried at Dharsu.

I think it fitting to conclude these notices with an account of (the prophets) Khizr and Elias, and thus supplicate an enduring remembrance.

KHIZR.

His name was Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Fāligh (Phaleg), the son of Aābir (Heber), the son of Shālikh (Sale), the son of Arfakshad (Arphaxad), the son of Sām,

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hero Rājā Gang and the latter by Shaykh Abdu'l Quddus who gives his title to the western suburb, where his tomb still stands among other sacred shrines.

(Sem), the son of Nuh (Noe). Some [P. 224] call him Kalyāan-b-Malkān, others Malkān, the son of Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Simeon, the son of Sām, the son of Noe.[26] His patronymic was Abu'l Abbās. He was called Khizr because he sat upon a white skin which through the blessed influence of his feet turned to green. He was born in the time of Moses within two parasangs of Shirāz. or according to another opinion in the time of Abraham. Some place him shortly before the mission of Abraham and others, a considerable time after. Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah in his *U'rwat (li Ahli'lkhalwat wa'ljalwat)*[27] (ansa viris solitariis et multum conspicuis oblata) says of him, "he has many wives, and children are born to him and he gives them names, but no one can find a trace of him. It is now one hundred years and seven months that he has withdrawn himself from the world, and no children of his survive. In his early profession of broker he used to buy and sell and secure profit, and borrow and give in pledge; he is also learned in alchemy and knows where the treasures of the world lie buried, and by the command of God expends them in the service of the people, and never acts solely for his own benefit. He delights in music and dances, and will often pass a day and a night together in an ecstatic trance. A thousand years ago he renewed his youth, and subsequent to that time this occurs after every one hundred and twenty years." The Shaykh continues: "In this year the period of renewal takes place and from the epoch of the Hijrah up to this day the renewal has occurred seven times. He associates, and prays with

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[26] The generations of Sem to Abram in Gen. xi. descend through Arphaxed, Sale, Heber, and Phaleg. The further generations through Reu and Serug are here displaced for the fictitious substitutes.

[27] This work is in Persian by Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah Ahmad-b-Muhammad Simnāni and was completed on the 23rd Muharram, A.H. 721 (A.D. 31st January 1321), in the town of Sufiyābād. [Hāji Khalifah.]

the (saints called) *Qutb* and *Abdāl.*[28] They say that once in Medina some camel-men were having a fight with stones. A piece of stone struck Khizr on the head and cut it open. The wound chilled and became inflamed and his illness lasted three months. *His prophetic office is disputed though many* believe it." He accompanied Zu'l Qarnayn (the two-horned[29] Alexander) in search of the water of life, and obtained the boon of length of days. Some say that both Elias and Khizr obtained the water of life, and others maintain that Khizr is a spirit who assumes various bodily forms, and they deny him to be of mortal race.

ELIAS

Was the son of Sem, the son of Noe, and grandfather of Khizr. Some authorities give his father's name as Yāsin and some give Nusayy and different other names. Others again derive his genealogy thus,—that he was the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar (I'izār), the son of Aaron the brother of Moses. There is also a disagreement regarding his prophetical office. The *Qutbs*, *Abdāls*, and Khizr, stand to him in the light of disciples and revere him. He is tall of stature, with a large head; is reserved in speech and absorbed in thought. He has a solemn and awe-inspiring exterior, and the mysteries of all things are revealed to him. It is said that he was raised up for the defence of the faith of Moses

[28] Jāmi, a great authority on points of mysticism, says that the saints are providentially raised to prove the truth of the prophetic mission, and are the sources of grace to the faithful and an assurance of victory to them over the infidels. They are 4,000 in number; do not recognise each other, nor know their own dignity and are hidden both from themselves and mankind. Three hundred among these have the office of binding and loosing, and are called *Akhyār* (the Good). Forty others are called *Abdāl* (Just). Seven others are termed *Abrār* (Pious). Three others are *Nuqaba* (Leaders) and one is termed *Qutb* (Pillar), or *Ghaus* (Defender).

[29] He received this epithet says Tabari because he traversed the world from end to end, the word *Qarn* signifying a horn, a term applied also to the extremities of the universe. It is given to him in the Qurān (Sur. xviii. vv. 82, 84, 92).

and was sent as an inspired guide to the people of Baalbak; when he found that his admonitions were of no avail, he asked for his deliverence from the Almighty,[30] and his prayer was heard. One day he went up into a hill with Eliseus, the son of Akhtub, and a fiery chariot with its equipage and harness appeared, and leaving Eliseus as his successor he mounted the chariot and vanished from sight. [P. 225]

Extraordinary accounts are told of these two personages Khizr and Elias. The first mentioned roams chiefly over dry land and brings those who have strayed into the right path; the latter keeps by the coasts. Some reverse these conditions. Each has ten holy persons as their assistants, and both are said to have lived for many years and associate together. Some of the learned, however, do not believe in their existence. Elias is prayed to for the prevention of calamities, and Khizr for their remission after they have befallen.

PRAISE BE TO GOD

That a general review of the state of Hindustan has been now presented and the modes of thought and the customs of its people explicitly recorded. As time pressed and my mind was ill at ease, I did not formulate the proofs of their doctrine nor compare them with the systems of Greece and Persia. Neither did I set down the various conflicting opinions among the Hindus, nor express the thoughts that occurred

[30] "And when he was there and sat under a juniper tree he requested for his soul that he might die and said, "It is enough for me, Lord, take away my soul: for I am no better than my fathers."

III. Kings xix. 4.

Thus spoke Eliseus as he fled from Jezabel to Bersabee of Juda. Abul Fazl confounds Samaria with Heliopolis, and, perhaps, from the similarity of names, places the slaughter of the false prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel in Baalbak. Mount Carmel is still remembered as the Jabal Mār Elyās. Eliseus was the son of Saphat of Abelmeula. Tabari gives Elias the genealogy assigned by Abu'l Fazl and calls Eliseus the son of Akhtub. See Tabari, Zotenberg, p. 419, 10.

thereon to this bewildered member of the synod of creation. Were my spirit not too much oppressed by the gloomy toil of these pages and the deciphering of the characters of manuscripts, and did fortune favour and continue its aid, I would first arrange these systems of philosophy in due order and weigh them with those of the Grecian and Persian Schools, contributing somewhat of my own impartial conclusions in measured approval or disapproval, as my fastidious judgment dictated.

[A. F. disappointed by the talk of his 5 Muslim and 9 Hindu philosopher companions.]

Before I had left my obscure home and had approached the gracious threshold of majesty which is the abode where truth meets with recognition, and had mixed with the learned of all creeds, it had been my constant wish that the Bountiful Giver of all desires would vouchsafe to me the companionship of five intelligent and well-disposed persons, namely, a scholar of literary attainments; a profound philosopher; a mystic of holy life; an accomplished rhetorician; and a thinker of speculative and lofty spirit. It was herein my desire that each of these through his own perspicacity and just views of the divine Government, should not regard the truth as captive to his own discoveries, but ever suspicious of his own liability to error, advance in his inquiries with a bold step so that in the common pursuit of truth, the opinions of each might be lucidly set forth. The prescriptive duties of investigation might, in such circumstances, be exercised, and convincing argument distinguished from specious fallacy and proof from all beside it, in the hope that from the heart-lacerating thorn-brakes of discord there might be a happy transition into the garden of unity. When from seclusion I became engaged in public affairs, the five wishes of my aspiring mind grew to fourteen, and nine Hindus increased the contemplated list. I found the majority of them, however, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like a silk-worm,

a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own conclusions, and conceding attainment of the truth to no other, while foxlike, artfully insinuating their own views. In dejection of spirit [P. 226] as one crazy, I nigh came unto losing the control of my reason and breaking the warp and woof of life. On a sudden the star of my fortune blazed in the ascendant and the Imperial grace interposed in my favour, and thus rescued in some measure from vain imaginings, I found peace in the pleasant pastures of universal toleration (*sulh-i-kul*).

I trust that by the happy destiny of this God-fearing monarch this union will be realised, and my long-cherished desires bloom with the radiance of fulfilment.

> O Lord! Unto my soul its sight restore,
> And let my feet Thy stair of Truth explore.
> The treasures of Thy clemency set free
> And bid my spirit find its goal in Thee.
> Grant through life's busy ways still at my side,
> Thy grace may aid me and Thy mercy guide.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

COMPRISING THE HAPPY SAYINGS OF HIS MAJESTY,

AND THE CONCLUSION,

With a brief notice of the Author.

(P. 227.) As I have now succinctly described the Sacred Institutes, in acknowledgment of my own obligations and as a gift of price to the rest of mankind, it appears fitting that I should record somewhat of the sayings of His Imperial Majesty in relation both to secular and spiritual concerns, in order that his words and actions may become known to far and near.

The following are among his utterances:—

There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language.

Each thing has a quality inseparable from it and the heart is influenced by some irresistible attachment to the power of which it submits and builds thereon the foundation of its sorrows and joys. Whosoever by his brilliant destiny withdraws his affections from all worldly concerns, attains to the Divine love which is above all others.

(P. 228.) The existence of creatures depends on no other bond than this. Whoever is gifted with this wisdom shall reach a high perfection.

Whosoever habituates himself to preserve this sacred relation, will be withheld from it by no other occupation.

Hindu women fetch water from their rivers, tanks or wells, and many of them bear several pitchers one above the other upon their heads and converse and chat freely with their companions, walking the while over any inequalities of ground. If the heart in like manner preserves the balance

of its pitchers, no harm will befall them. Why should men be inferior to these in their relations with the Almighty.

When this interior affection both in its immaterial and material aspects is thus strengthened, who can sever the attachment of the rational soul to the Supreme Being?

From the practice of real asceticism the transition is easy to unlawful mendicancy. Since a thing is best comprehended by contrast with its opposite, the latter also thus comes to be pleasurably regarded.

The intellect will not with the full assent of reason, confessedly oppose the divine law, but some do not believe in the divine books, nor credit that the Supreme essence that is tongueless will express itself in human speech, while others again differ in their interpretation of them.

The divine grace is shed upon all alike, but some from unpreparedness in due season and others from incapacity are unable to profit thereby; the handiwork of the potter evidences this truth.

The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body.

The first degree of dutiful obedience is not to scowl with knitted brows when trials befall, but regarding them as the bitter remedies of a physician, to accept them with a cheerful countenance.

That which is without form cannot be seen whether in sleeping or waking, but it is apprehensible by force of imagination. To behold God in vision is, in fact, to be understood in this sense.

Most worshippers of God are intent on the advancement of their own desires not on His worship.

As the dark hair turns to grey, the hope arises that this hue which is never far distant, may be kept burnished by the

wondrous workings of destiny, in order that the rust of the heart may be cleansed with it and its vision illumined.

Some there are who maintain that men walk in opposition to the will of God, and that their salvation depends on their renunciation of this evil habit; but he who is spiritually illumined knows that none can effectually oppose His commands, and physicians from this reflection provide a remedy for those that are sick.

Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the Unknowable is vain.

(P. 229.) The object of an appellative is the removal of ambiguity, but this is not predicable of the All Holy Essence.

There is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent.

All that men account good and bad and virtue and vice, arises from the wondrous phases of God's grace: the discordant effects result from human action.

To impute the existence of evil to Satan is to make him a co-partner of the Almighty. If he is the robber, who is responsible for his being one?

The legend of Satan is an old-world notion. Who has the power to oppose the will of God?

A peasant was seized with a desire to seek the Lord. His spiritual guide learning his love for his cow, placed him in a confined space and directed him to exercise himself in meditation on that object. After a time he called him forth to test him. As the man had been absorbed in that contemplation, he persuaded himself that he had horns, and replied that his horns prevented his exit. His director seeing his single-mindedness, by degrees weaned him from his error.

The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason. It is meet that he should labour in its burnishing, and turn not from its instruction.

A man is the disciple of his own reason. If it has naturally a good lustre, it becomes itself his director, and if

it gains it under the direction of a higher mind, it is still a guide.

Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments. If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors.

Many whose minds are diseased persuade themselves into an affectation of health, but the spiritual physician recognises the impress on their brows.

As the body becomes sickly from indisposition, so the mind has its disorder; knowledge decays until a remedy is applied.

For a disordered mind there is no healing like the society of the virtuous.

To read the characters of men is a thing of great difficulty and is not in the power of every one.

The soul notwithstanding its superiority, takes the tone of the natural disposition by association with it and the brilliancy of its lustre thus becomes dimmed with dirt.

[P. 230.] Through dullness of insight the concerns of the soul which are the source of happiness are neglected, while the pampering of the body which enfeebles the spirit, is eagerly practised.

Men through attachments to their associates acquire their disposition, and much of good and of evil thus results to them.

When his understanding is still undeveloped, man is in constant change of mood; at one time taking joy in festivities, at another sitting disconsolate in the house of mourning. When his vision is raised to higher things, sorrow and joy withdraw.

Many in the conceit of their imagination and entangled in the thornbrake of a blind assent to tradition, believe themselves to be followers of reason, whereas if it be carefully regarded they are not in its vicinity.

Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative custom, mis-

take the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason, and garner for themselves eternal perdition.

Acts and words are variously the effects of good sense, or of desire or of passion, but through the withdrawal of impartial judgment the facts are noisily misrepresented.

When rising from sleep which is a semblance of death, one should be earnest in giving thanks for a renewed life by seemly thoughts and virtuous actions.

Conscience requires that rectitude and probity which is commendable in the sight of all men, should be associated with appropriate action.

One should first labour for one's own edification and then turn to the acquisition of knowledge in the hope of lighting the lamp of wisdom and extinguishing the risings of dissension.

Alas! that in the first flush of youth our inestimable lives are unworthily spent. Let us hope that in future they may virtuously terminate.

The vulgar believe in miracles, but the wise man accepts nothing without adequate proof.

Although temporal and spiritual prosperity are based on the due worship of God, the welfare of children first lies in obedience to their fathers.

Alas! that the Emperor Humāyun died so early and that I had no opportunity of showing him faithful service!

The sorrows of men arise from their seeking their fortune before its destined time, or above what is decreed for them.

(To his son.) My good counsel is your brother. Hold it in honour.

(P. 231.) Hakim Mirzā[1] is a memorial of the Emperor Humāyun. Though he has acted ungratefully, I can be no

[1] Akbar's brother, king of Kābul. He rebelled against Akbar, invaded India and besieged Lahor in the 11th year of Akbar's reign. See *Akbarnamah*, Eng. tr., vol. ii. 407-412, vol. iii. 532-543.

other than forbearing. Some bold spirits asked permission to lie in ambush and put an end to that rebel. I could not consent, thinking it remote from what was befitting in his regard. Thus both that distinguished memorial of majesty escaped from harm, and my devoted friends were shielded from peril.

The concerns of men are personal to themselves but through the predominance of greed and passion they intrude upon (those of) others.

It is meet that worldlings should lead a busy life in order that idleness may be discouraged and the desires may not wander towards unlawful objects.

It was my object that mendicancy should disappear from my dominions. Many persons were plentifully supplied with means, but through the malady of avarice it proved of no avail.

The world of existence is amenable only to kindness. No living creature deserves rejection.

The impulse of avarice, like pride, is not consonant with magnanimity, and, therefore, should not be suffered to enter or influence the mind.

The office of a spiritual director is to discern the state of the soul and to set about its reform, and lies not in growing the locks of an Ethiop and patching a tattered robe and holding formal discourses to an audience.

By guidance is meant indication of the road, not the gathering together of disciples.

To make a disciple is to instruct him in the service of God, not to make him a personal attendant.

Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion?

Clemency and benevolence are the sources of happiness and length of days. Sheep that produce but one or two young ones in a year are in great numbers, while dogs notwithstanding their prolificacy are few.

The phrase is remarkable that one sits down [when asked] to show the road, but one rises to rob it.[2]

The difficulty is to live in the world and to refrain from evil, for the life of a recluse is one of bodily ease.

Although knowledge in itself is regarded as the summit of perfection, yet unless displayed in action it bears not the impress of worth ; indeed, it may be considered worse than ignorance.

(P. 232.) Men from shortsightedness frequently seek their own advantage in what is harmful to them : how much the more must they err in regard to others.

Men through blindness do not observe what is around them, intent only on their own advantage. If a cat defiles its claws in the blood of a pigeon they are annoyed, but if it catches a mouse they rejoice? In what way has the bird served them or the latter unfortunate animal done them wrong?

The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon.

When the light of wisdom shines, a man distinguishes what is truly his own. What he has is only borrowed.

In a storehouse, mice and sparrows and other animals have a common interest but from ill-nature each thinks the place his own.

Most people avoid the society of those they dislike, and do not let the displeasure of God occupy their thoughts.

It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them

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[2] Alluding to the Persian idiom. *Ba-rāhnumāi nishistan wa ba-rāhzani barkhāstan.*

would be in itself reprehensible: and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion.

An artisan who rises to eminence in his profession has the grace of God with him. The worship of God is the occasion of his being honoured.

Sleep and food are a means for the renewal of strength in seeking to do the will of God. Miserable man from folly regards them as an end.

Although sleep brings health of body, yet as life is the greatest gift of God, it were better that it should be spent in wakefulness.

A man of penetration finds no (preordained) injustice. He regards adversity as a chastisement.

A wise man does not take heed for his daily sustenance. The analogy of bondsman and servant is an exhortation to him.

Happy is he who hath an ear wherewith to hear and an eye to see, for as truth cannot be overthrown, [even] a blind man in possession thereof will not choose a bad path.[1]

Children are the young saplings in the garden of life. To love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful Creator.

(P. 233.) To bestow in alms a coin which bears the impress of the name of God is very reprehensible.

In our prayers we should avoid the asking of temporal blessings in which the humiliation of another person is involved.

As to the seeking after God being thought to consist in controlling the natural bent of the spirit, most people find the solution of their troubles therein; were it otherwise, fruition would in many become a stair to further gratification.

The material world is analogous to the world of the spirit, for as in the one what is given in trust is again reclaimed,

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[1] The latter part of this sentence is corrupt in the reading. My rendering is, therefore, conjectural.

so in the other, works are required in accordance with knowledge.

In the receiving of admonition there is no respect of age or wealth. No distinction is recognized between the tender in years or the poor and others in the necessity of listening to the truth.

The prophets were all illiterate.[4] Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.

Since the poet builds on fiction, his creation cannot be seriously accepted.

A rope-dancer performs with feet and hands, a poet with his tongue.

He who happily introduces the verses of another in his own compositions or appositely quotes them, discovers the other's merit and his own.

A certain seeker after God was addicted to gluttony. He went to an adviser of practical experience, who gave him a bowl made of (the shell of a dried) pumpkin which he was told to fill in measuring his daily food and also to grind its edge a little (daily) and apply (the paste) to his forehead as a sectarian mark. At the same time, to throw him off the scent, he taught him a prayer to be recited. In a short time his failing was cured.[5]

Would that we did not hear of such differences of opinion among professors of secular learning, nor were confounded by contradictory commentaries and explanations of tradition.

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[4] "Who shall follow the appostle, the illiterate prophet." Qurān, vii; and again "It is he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate Arabians an apostle from among themselves." Sur. lxii.

[5] Thus, starting with his accustomed quantity of food on the first day, the amount of it was reduced imperceptibly day by day and the patient felt no sudden privation. I have heard of a Bengali Vaishnav *sādhu* who reduced his food in old age by measuring out his daily portion of rice in a half cocoanut shell, whose edge he used to rub against his curry-stone once daily, thus decreasing its capacity imperceptibly. Jarrett missed the point of the anecdote in his translation, which I have rejected. (J. S.)

Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.

There are but three causes of aberrant judgment, *viz.*, incapacity of mind; the society of enemies in the guise of friends; the duplicity of friends that seek their own interest.

Would that none other than the prudent had the reading and writing of letters, in order that the base might have no opportunity of fabrication for their own purposes, or of persuading short-sighted simpletons by every specious lie.

The detection of fabrication is exceedingly difficult, but it can be compassed by weighing well the words of the speaker.

Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are to my hand, yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds, and my heart is oppressed by this outward pomp of circumstance; with what satisfaction can I undertake the conquest of empire? How I wish for the coming of some pious man, who will resolve the distractions of my heart.

On the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow. [P. 234.]

A darvesh on the northern bank of the Rāvi, entered his cell and allowed no one to frequent it. On being asked the reason, he replied, that he was engaged in a special devotion, and that until the death of Abdu'llah Khān, governor of Turān,[6] he would not leave it, nor allow any one access to

[6] See Vol. I. XXX. and 468; this prince had written to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islām, and Mirān Sadr and Hakim Humām were sent to him on an embassy to explain matters with an ambiguous Arabic verse to the effect that, as God and the Prophet had not escaped the slander of men neither could His

him. His majesty said, "If he is one *whose prayers* are heard, then let him gird up his loins for my welfare, and refrain from this foolish prayer."

If I could but find any one capable of governing the kingdom, I would at once place this burden upon his shoulders and withdraw therefrom.

If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?

The Giver of desires has committed to my charge many a noble fortress. No one has thought of provisioning them, yet confiding in the strength of God, no further apprehension alarms me.

Whoever seeks from me permission to retire from the world will meet with cheerful acquiescence in his desires. If he has really withdrawn his heart from the world that deceives but fools, to dissuade him therefrom would be very reprehensible; but if he only affects it from ostentation, he will receive the requital thereof.

If in ailments of the body which are visible, its physicians have made and do make such errors of treatment, in the disorders of the soul which is invisible and its remedies scarce attainable, what medicine will avail?

It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.

On the day when the Almighty wills that my life should cease, I also would not further prolong it.

My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, he may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to His displeasure.

Majesty. I am not sure whether I have seized the sense of the concluding lines. I infer that Akbar wished it to be known that he had no grudge against Abdu'llah. [Jarrett] [The translation of the last sentence has been changed by me. J. S.]

The solution of difficulties depends on the assistance of God, and the evidence of the latter is the meeting with a wise spiritual director. Many persons through not discovering such a one, have their real capabilities obscured.

[P. 235.] One night my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision appeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted.

Whosoever with a sincere heart and in simplicity of mind follows my institutes will profit, both spiritually and temporally, to the fulfilment of his wishes.

The source of misery is self-aggrandizement and unlawful desires.

The welfare of those who are privileged to confidential counsel at the court of great monarchs has been said to lie in rectitude and loyalty; no self-interest or mercenary motive should intervene; and especially in times of the royal displeasure, if no conciliatory language will avail, they should be silent.

A special grace proceeds from the sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty; but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized.

How can the common people possessed only with the desire of gain, look with respect upon sordid men of wealth. From ignorance these fail in reverence to this fountain of light, and reproach him who prays to it If their understanding were not at fault how could they forget the *Surah* beginning "By the sun," &c.[7]

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[7] The XCI. of the Kurân. "By the sun and its rising brightness: by the moon when she followeth him: by the day when it showeth its splendour: by the night when it covereth him with darkness: by the heaven and him who built it: by the earth and him who spread it forth . . . . how is he who hath purified the same, happy, but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable." —Sale.

The reason why the hair of the head turns grey first is because it comes before the beard and the whiskers.

I have heard no good reason from the *Hindus* for the sounding of the gong and blowing the *conch* at the *time* of worship. It must be for the purpose of warning and recollection.

When it rains, if light breaks from the west, the air will clear, for, radiance from the quarter whence darkness proceedeth is a harbinger of light.

The reason why under the Muhammadan law an inheritance seldom passes to the daughter notwithstanding that her helplessness seems deserving of greater consideration, is that she passes to her husband's house and the legacy would go to a stranger.

The meat which is nearer the bone is sweeter because it contains the essence of the nutriment.

Fruit in a plentiful season is never so luscious and sweet, because the source of supply of these qualities is proportionately subdivided.

The tales of the ancients, that, in certain places of worship fire from heaven was present, were not credited, and it was held to be exaggeration, it not being known that a mirror or the sun-crystal[8] being held to the sun would produce fire.

For all kinds of animals there is a fixed breeding season. Man alone is constantly under the impulse of desire to that end. Indeed, by this providential multiplication of the species a greater stability is given to the bond of union upon which the foundation of social life depends.

[P. 236] Eating anything that dies of itself is unlawful. There is a natural repugnance to it.

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[8] The *Surya-kānta* or 'sun-loved,' a sunstone or crystal, cool to the touch and supposed to possess fabulous properties because, like a glass lens, it gives out heat when exposed to the rays of the sun. Monier-Williams, S. D.

A man's being eaten after he has been killed is the just requital of his own baseness.[9]

The prohibition against touching anything killed by the act of God, the cause of which is unknown, is in order to respect the dead.

Blood contains the principle of life. To avoid eating thereof is to honour life.

The birth of ugliness from beauty is not surprising. Indeed, if a man were to beget a different kind of animal, it would not be extraordinary, for as a matter of fact forms are designed from concepts, and since these are capable of being imagined, their production may take place.

If the love of the husband prevail, he but idolises his own partialities and begets a daughter; if the wife has the stronger affection, the image of her husband is oftenest present, and a boy appears.

As to what is said in ethical treatises, that an enemy should not be despised, the meaning is that since friendship and enmity are but phantasms of the divine dispensation, one should overlook the intervening enemy and view the Deity beyond.

Many a disciple surpasses his master, and his attitude to him must be one of deference and submission.

Miracles occur in the temples of every creed. This is the product of mental enthusiasm, for the truth can be but with one.

A gift is the deposit of a pledge and a lightening of an obligation from a former debt.

The origin of wearing the sacred thread (in a Brāhman), is that in ancient times they used to pray with a rope round their necks, and their successors have made this a religious obligation.

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[9] Or perhaps 'his own gormandising nature.' (*Khwāri.*)

In Hindustan no one has ever set himself up as a prophet. The reason is that pretensions to divinity have superseded it.

When any one is said to be of a good, or low origin, what is meant is, that one of his ancestors attained to spiritual or temporal distinction, or was known to fame from connection with some city or profession. It appears to me that good-breeding should involve good works.

It is said that greater friendship is shown by the receiver of a gift than by the giver;[10] but I consider that in the giver it is personal. He does not give but to a worthy object, and this can be evidenced in a receiver only by a gift.

(P. 237.) In Hindu treatises it is said that, in the acquisition of learning or of wealth, a man should so toil as though he were never to grow old, or to die.[11] But since the luxurious, from fear of these two sources of despair, withhold themselves from labour, it appears to me that in acquiring these twin needs of a worldly career, we should regard each morrow as our last, and postpone not the work of one day to the next.

The Hindu philosopher says that in the garnering of good works, one should have death constantly in view, and, placing no reliance on youth and life, never relax one's efforts. But to me it seems that in the pursuit of virtue, the idea of death should not be entertained, so that freed from hopes and fears, we should practise virtue for the sake of its own worth.

It is strange that in the time of our Prophet no commentaries on the Qurān were made, so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise.

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[10] *Cf.* Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography,* ch. vi. An old maxim I had learned . . . says, "He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged." [J. S.]

[11] "The wise man must fix his thoughts on knowledge and wealth, as if he were never to grow old, or to die: but he must practise virtue as if Death had already seized him by the locks." Introd. *Hitopadesa.* Sir W. Jones' Trans. [corrected here by J. S.]

(Regarding the saying), "the love of a cat is a part of religion," if the noun of action is not in construction with the agent, as Mir Sayyid Sharif put it to escape a difficulty, it would not be humane to avoid a cat or regard it with repugnance. The silence of Maulānā Saadu'ddin from this (obvious) reply is, therefore, not to be defended.[12]

'What the ancients have said, *viz.*, that the heaviest trials fall on the prophets, next upon the saints, and by proportionately diminishing degrees upon the virtuous, does not commend itself to me. How can the elect of God be thus punished?" Some of the philosophers suggested to his Majesty that these were trials sent by God. The king was amazed and said: "How can trials be justifiable by one who knows both what is hidden and what is manifest?"

Every sect favourably regards him who is faithful to its precepts and in truth he is to be commended. If he be engaged in worldly pursuits he should pass his days in righteousness and well-doing, and in garnering the needs of the time;

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[12] The ephemeral controversies of the Court which Abu'l Fazl seemed to regard as enduring to all time, and of which the subjects and actors have long been forgotten, are to be elucidated only on conjecture. The saying alluded to in the text appears to be a parody on the tradition, 'the love of country is a part of religion'. Some traditions regarding the cat have been preserved and will be found in the *Hayāt u'l Hayawān* [Vita animalium: auctore Shaykh Kamālu'ddin Mhd b-Ben Isa Demiri, anno, A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405) mortuo, Hāj Khal]. One of these, on the authority of Salmān al-Fārsi, says that "the Prophet gave an admonition respecting the cat," *i.e.*, its humane treatment. Abu Hurayrah, the wellknown companion, who received his epithet (father of the kitten), on account of having always a kitten with him, narrated a tradition that a woman was punished in hell for maltreatment of a cat. Ayesha asked him if this was true. He replied, he had heard it from Mumammad's own lips. She rejoined that a Muslim woman could not have been so punished on account of a cat, and that the culprit was an infidel. He should, therefore, be careful how he repeated these traditions. In explanation of the grammatical point, I suggest that what is meant is the duty of mankind in the humane treatment of cats, and, no doubt, all other animals; but if the word 'love' be in construction with a definite agent, and it be said that "the love of Zayd towards a cat is a part of religion," the application is censurable.

and if of a retired habit, he should live in warfare with himself and at peace with others, and regard praise and blame indifferently.

Some are of opinion that the greater the number of intermediaries between him that seeks the truth and him that has reached it, the more the grace of God abounds. But this is not so: rather the attainment thereto is dependent on attrahent grace and good works.

It is strange that the Imāmis make beads of the earth of Karbalā, and believe that it is mixed with the blood of the Imām (Husayn).

Whoever bestows his garments upon ignoble people, upon rope-dancers and buffoons, it is as though he went through their antics himself.

He alone whose knowledge is superior in degree to that of the author of a work should make selections therefrom, otherwise it is not a choice of passages but showing his own merit. [P. 238.]

The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus[13] does not carry the appearance of truth. A man raised to power by the Almighty does not act in this manner especially when he thinks his end drawing near.

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[13] The stratagem is thus described by Firdausi: Now spies arrived from Hind before the world-lord and informed him at large of how the elephant contendeth in warfare! "It will rout two miles of horse. No cavalier will dare to face that beast." Then the Shah (Alexander) assembled all the master-smiths . . . who made a horse with saddle and rider complete, of iron . . They charged it with black naphtha, and then ran it on wheels before the troops . . . He bade to make a thousand such and more . . .
Now when Sikandar was approaching Fur (Porus), eager for the fray the warriors advanced. They lit the naphtha in the steeds: Fur's troops were in dismay. The naphtha blazed: Fur's troops recoiled because those steeds were iron. Whereat the elephants when their own trunks were scorched, fled likewise . . . Thus all the Indian host and all those huge high-crested elephants were put to flight. (Warner's translation of *Shahnamah*, vi. 115-116. Jarrett entirely missed the context. J. S.)

One should write out a quatrain of Omar Khayyām, after reading an ode of Hāfiz, otherwise the latter is like drinking wine without a relish.

Men give the names of eminent men to their sons. Although it is done by way of good augury, it is not respectful. And what is most curious is that this is chiefly practised by theologians who do not believe in metempsychosis; while the Hindus who do, refrain from it.

It is a remarkable thing that men should insist on the ceremony of circumcision for children who are otherwise excused from the burden of all religious obligations.

If the reason of the prohibition of swine (as food), be due to its vileness, lions and the like should be held lawful.

Burial of the dead is an ancient custom: otherwise why should a traveller on the road of annihilation bear a load. He should return as he came.

One day Qalij Khān brought a register to His Majesty, and said, "I have named this the Khulāsatu'l Mulk" (the Abstract of the Kingdom). His Majesty replied: "This name would more befit a province, a district, or a town: it should rather be called Haqiqatu'l Mulk" (the Real State of the Kingdom). Qalij Khān then represented his own capacity in affairs. Others who were present raised objections: During the discussion his knowledge of mathematics was questioned; on this he was silent, but introduced religion. His Majesty uttered the following verse:

"Hath earth so prospered 'neath thy care,
That heaven thy vigilance must share?"

On one occasion at a meeting for philosophical discussion, one of the poets in the assembly uttered the following couplet:

"The Messiah his friend, Khizr his guide, Joseph riding at his rein,
Oh! would that my sun might meet with this honour."

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His Majesty said "instead of 'my sun' if you read 'my knight', it would be more appropriate." Discerning judges were loud in applause.

One day the following quatrain of Mulla Tālib Isfahāni, in an elegy on Hakim Abu'l Fath and congratulatory on the arrival of Hakim Humām,[14] was quoted in His Majesty's presence:

"My brothers in their love what concord show!
This homeward comes ere that doth journeying go.
That went, and behind him all my life he bore,
This comes, and coming doth that life restore."

His Majesty remarked that the word *dumbālah* (behind) was prosaic and it would better run, *ze raftanash* (from his going). The critics much approved.

(P. 239.) Solicitation is reprehensible from every man, especially from those who are disinterested and of lofty spirit for these defile not their hands save with necessities: therefore to solicit of them is to dishonour oneself and them.

Difference of capacity is the cause of the continuance of mankind.

The truth is such that where it reaches the ear it must penetrate the heart. Conviction is irresistible.

The severe illness of the young suggests the doctrine of metempsychosis.

What the divine books say, that great sinners in ancient times were changed into monkeys and boars, is credible.

If the idea were merely that souls were transfused into a few determinate shapes, this would be unworthy; but if the strange workings of destiny joined them to mineral, vegetable and animal life in serial progression till they were exalted to a high dignity, where would be the wonder?

Some of the ancients say that the punishment of each continues through various bodies, and that a body is thus

[14] See Vol. I, p. 474.

prepared for the expiation of each period—this corroborates the above.

To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this.

The darkness of smoke is due to the absence of light and its own worthlessness.

When the time of death approaches, a certain sadness supervenes, and when it is at hand, a faintness also ensues. This, indeed, indicates that the gift and withdrawal of life are in the hands of God.

The ear is the sentinel of the voice. When the speaker becomes deaf he loses the need of speech.

Although thieving is worse than fornication when it is practised when the faculties are first developed and in old age, yet because the commission of the latter grave sin contaminates another as well as the doer thereof, it involves the greater guilt.

It is not right that a man should make his stomach the grave of animals.

The killing of an innocent man is a benevolence towards him, for it is committing him to the mercy of God.

The authority to kill should be his who can give life, and he who performs this duty at the command of right judgment, does so with reference to God. [P. 240.] When an inheritance passes, while a daughter is alive, to the brother's child, it having been transmitted to the deceased from his father, there is justification, otherwise how can it be equitable?

A city may be defined to be a place where artisans of various kinds dwell, or a population of such an extent that a voice of average loudness will not carry at night beyond the inhabited limits.

A river is that which flows throughout the whole year.

Kingdoms are divided from each other by rivers, mountains, deserts or languages.

In cold climates such as Kābul and Kashmir guns should be made thicker than ordinary, so that dryness and cold may not crack them.

A moderate breeze differs relatively in reference to a mill or a ship, but what is commonly understood by this term is one of sufficient force to extinguish a lamp.

The interpretation of dreams belongs to the world of augury. For this reason it is established that none but a learned man of benevolent character should be entrusted to draw a good omen thereform.

Rhetoric consists in the language being commensurate with the capacity of the hearer, and that a pregnant meaning shall be pithily expressed in a manner intelligible without difficulty. Eloquence requires the delivery to be accompanied with elegance of diction.

One moral may be drawn from the instances of the ruler of Egypt (Pharaoh), and Husayn Mansur (Hallāj) namely that presumptuous contemplation of one's self (*khud-bini*) and gazing at God (*Khudā-bini*) are things different from each other.[15]

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[15] And Pharaoh said, 'O ye nobles, ye have no other God that I know of but myself. Burn me then, Hamam, bricks of clay, and build me a tower, that I may mount up to the God of Moses, for, in sooth, I deem him a liar' . . . But we seized on him and his hosts and cast them into the sea: Behold, then the end of the wrongful doers'. (*Quran*, xxviii. 38-40).

Abul Mughith Husain bin Mansur, surnamed Hallāj (from his profession of cotton-carding) was a celebrated ascetic and preacher. "He is considered by the Sufis to be one of their most spiritual leaders, who, they believed, had attained the fourth or last stage of Sufism (perfect union with the Divine spirit). He was condemned by the Khalif of Baghdād, Muqtādir and was put to death because he used to proclaim *Ana-l-Haqq*, *i.e.*, 'I am the Truth' or in other words, 'I am God,' . . . on 26th March 922 A.D. (Beale, *Dictonary*, 243.) Full life in *Encycl. Islam*, ii. 239-240, in which L. Massignon writes,—Among the doctrines of this sect is that of "the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit, which becomes united with the created spirit of the ascetic (so that), the saint becomes

Dignity is the maintenance of one's station.

A wise man was asked the reason of the long life of the vulture and the short existence of the hawk. He replied, "The one injures no animal, and the other hunts them.

On this His Majesty remarked, "If the penalty to a hawk that lives only on animal life, be a brief span of existence, what shall happen to man who notwithstanding abundant provision of other kinds, does not restrain himself from meat? Nevertheless, the thought that harmless animals are lawful and animals of prey forbidden food, is full of suggestion.

Learning to speak comes from association, otherwise men would remain inarticulate. But when the experiment was tried it was shown through the instance of a dumb man, how, though silent in such a case, he might make himself understood by strangers.

(P. 241.) Whosoever imprecates upon another the vengeance of God will not be heard. It was this reflection that comforted a man who had been cursed by others.

Since I used nitre (for cooling water), I recognise the rights of salt (fidelity) in water also.[15]

When I came to India I was much attracted by the elephants, and I thought that the use of their extraordinary strength was a prognostication of my universal ascendancy.

Men are so accustomed to eating meat that were it not for the pain, they would undoubtedly fall to on themselves.

Would that my body were so vigorous as to be of service to eaters of meat who would thus forego other animal life,

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the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying *Ana'l Haqq*, I am the creative truth." This corresponds exactly to the Hindu vedantist's realisation *so'ham* 'I am He'.

Prof. Browne calls Hallāj "a dangerous and able intriguer," and this was also Akbar's estimate of the man. (J. S.)

[15] This is a conceit on the well-known eastern duty of protecting a guest who has eaten of one's salt. This protection does not extend to the offer of water, but the use of nitre gives water this salt and its consequent rights.

or that as I cut off a piece for their nourishment, it might be replaced by another.

Would that it were lawful to eat an elephant, so that one animal might avail for many.

Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is, that many others might willingly forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. *I took this feeling to indicate a necessity* for protecting animals, and I refrained from animal food.

Men should annually refrain from eating meat on the anniversary of the month of my accession as a thanksgiving to the Almighty, in order that the year may pass in prosperity.

Butchers, fishermen and the like who have no other occupation but taking life, should have a separate quarter and their association with others should be prohibited by fine.[17]

A merchant was approaching his end and his four sons were about to quarrel over his property. He directed them with due counsel, and told them that he had providently bequeathed them equal portions and had left these, one for each, in the four corners of his house, and that when he died they were to take their several shares. When his instructions were carried out, one found gold, another grain, and the other two paper and a bone respectively. Not com-

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[17] This was the old Hindu and Buddhistic rule. Fa Hien observed in North India in 399 A.D.,—"Only the Chandālas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat . . . They are [held to be] wicked men, and live apart from others." [Legge's tr. ch. xvi.] Yuan Chwang noticed the same practice about 629,—"Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes outside the city." [Bk. II. 5, Beal's tr. i. 74.] J. S.

prehending this they began to make a disturbance. The King of Hindustan, Sâlivāhana, thus interpreted it: "By the bone is meant that cattle should be demanded (by its holder) of the first, and by the paper, a money credit of the second." When the whole was computed, the shares were thus found to be equal.

Hasan Sabbāh[18] was once on journey by sea with a numerous company. Suddenly a storm arose, and consternation seized the people. He himself was cheerful, and when questioned thereon, he announced to them that [P. 242] they would be saved. On reaching land all of them were assured that the future was revealed to him. In point of fact he was undisturbed through his assurance that the will of God could not be altered, and his announcement of the good tidings of their security was caused by this reflection, that if they were drowned no one could save them; had they thought otherwise they would have taken to (vain) supplication.

Ali, called also Khārwā[19], used to say that he had seen a person in Baliā whose upper part consisted of two bodies, each possessing a head, eyes, and hands, with but a single body below. The man was married, and a jeweller by profession.

In the year [968 A.H. = 1560 A.D.] that Bayram Khān received permission to depart for Hijāz, a hunting

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[18] This was the famous chief of the Persian Ismailians and known in the history of the Crusades under the name of the 'Old man of the Mountain', by which is meant, the mountainous district from Isfahān to Zanjān, Qazwin, Hamadān, Dinawar and Qirmisin. Founder of the sect of Assassins. The legends about his life are given in *Sargudhast-i-Sayidnā*. He ended his reign and life in A.H. 518 (A.D. 1124) *Enc. Isl.* ii. 276.

[19] For *Khārwā* the variants are *Khāura* and *Hārā*, and for *Baliā*, *Malibār* and *Balisā*. For the man's name I suggest *Khārjah* "a certain man whose mother is called *āmm-i-Khārijah* who is also the mother of several tribes." [Richardson's *Dict.*], and for the place *Malibār*. This would make Akbar's story an Arab sailor's yarn like those given in *Ajāib-ul-Hind* about India's coastal ports. (Devic's French trans., 1875.) [J. S.]

leopard killed a doe near, Sikandrah; a live young one was taken from its stomach. I separated, the flesh from the bone myself and gave the leopard its fill. In doing so something pricked my hand. I thought it was a piece of a bone. When carefully examined, an arrow-head was found in its liver. The doe must have been hit by an arrow when young, but by God's protection it had touched no vital part, and did not hinder the animal from waxing strong and becoming pregnant.

A mouse will take an egg in its paws and lie on its back, while the others seize him by the tail and drag him into his hole. It will also give a twist to its tail while inserting it into a bottle and draw out opium or whatever else may be inside. There are many such instances of their ingenuity.

If a wolf opens its mouth impelled by desire to seize its prey, it can do so. At other times it cannot open it however much it may wish. When captured it utters no sound.

The difference between stone and salt[20] lies in this, that the former is not soluble in water and the latter dissolves.

Once in a game preserve, a tame deer had a fight with a wild one. The latter was cleverly caught. Some of the spectators quoted the following line: ,"We have never seen any one who could overtake a deer by running." The point was thus explained, that *ahu* "a deer" in Persian, means also "a defect," and this is not (required to be) secured by pursuit and effort.

The marriage of a young child is displeasing to the Almighty, for the object which is intended is still remote, and there is proximate harm. In a religion which forbids the re-marriage of the widow, the hardship is grave.

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[20] I hazard the emendation of *mang* into *namak*. [J. S.]

Marriage between those who are not related is commendable in order that heterogeneity may become kinship, and between relations, the more remote the affinity the closer is the concord; and what has been recorded of the time of Adam, *viz.*, that as sons and daughters were born to each, the son of one was given to the daughter of another, sustains this view.

As to the kinship between cousins being within the permitted degrees under the Muhammadan law, this was established in the beginning and was analogous to (the custom in) the time of Adam's birth. [P. 243]

It is improper to consort with a woman when moved by concupiscence, or with one too young or too old,—most of the latter cease to be capable of child-bearing after 55,—with a pregnant woman or a female during her monthly course . . . [Reason given in every case, not translated. Akbar followed the Hindu maxim, *putrārthe Kriyate vāryā, i.e.*, a man takes a wife with the object of having sons. J. Sarkar.]

To seek more than one wife is to work one's own undoing. In case she were barren or bore no son, it might then be expedient.

Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children.

The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price.

It is an ancient custom in Hindustan for a woman to burn herself however unwilling she may be, on her husband's death and to give her priceless life with a cheerful countenance, conceiving it to be a means of her husband's salvation.

It is a strange commentary on the magnanimity of men that they should seek their deliverance through the self-sacrifice of their wives.

A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of good. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His

gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people, in obedience and praise.

The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty.

Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes, and the good works of such as have attained to true liberty of spirit also profit these.

A monarch should not himself undertake duties that may be performed by his subjects. The errors of others it is his part to remedy, but his own lapses who may correct?

Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degrees of circumstance and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto. This quality of appreciation adds dignity to the pursuit of happiness and is the chief source of success.

What is said of monarchs, that their coming brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth. When minerals and vegetables have their peculiar virtues, what wonder if the actions of a specially chosen man should operate for the security of his fellows. [P. 244.]

In the reciprocity of rule and obedience, the sanctions of hope and fear are necessary to the well-ordering of temporal government and the illumination of the interior recesses of the spirit; nevertheless a masterful will, never suffering the loss of self control under the dominance of passion, should weigh well and wisely the measure and occasion of each.

Whoever walks in the way of fear and hope, his temporal and spiritual affairs will prosper. Neglect of them will result in misfortune.

Idleness is the root of evils. The duty of one who seeketh his own welfare is to learn a profession and practise

it. It is imperative in prefects never to be remiss in watchfulness.

The anger of a monarch like his bounty, is the source of national prosperity.

Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world.

Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good-administration: the adoration of the elect is expressed in their mortification of body and spirit. All strife is caused by this, that men neglecting the necessities of their state, occupy themselves with extraneous concerns.

A king should abstain from four things: excessive devotion to hunting; incessant play; inebriety night and day; and constant intercourse with women.

Although hunting suggests many analogies of kingly action, certainly the foremost of them is that the granting of life [to the doomed] becomes a habit.[21]

Falsehood is improper in all men, and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight.

Superintendents (*Dāroghahs*) should be watchful to see that no one from covetousness abandons his own profession.

Shāh Tahmāsp, king of Persia, one night forgot a verse. His torchbearer quoted it. He punished the speaker somewhat, and said, "When a menial takes to learning he does so at the expense of his duties."

A king should not be familiar in mirth and amusement with his courtiers.

A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.

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[21] I have modified Jarrett's translation here. There are many instances in Mughal Indian history of the Emperors ordering the encircled deer in a *qamurgha* hunt to be set free. [J. Sarkar.]

A king should make a distinction in his watch over th goods, the lives, the honour and the religion of his subjects If those who are led away by greed and passion will not b reclaimed by admonition, they must be chastised.

He who does not speak of monarchs for their virtues wi assuredly fall to reproof or scandal in their regard.

The words of kings resemble pearls. They are not fi pendants to every ear.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION

[The author toiled hard for seven years in completing this book.]

(P. 245.) Praise be to God that this royal treasure of record, this register of knowledge, the syllabus of the volume of wisdom, the summary of administrative writings, the tablet of instruction in the school of learning, the exemplar of ceremonial among men of understanding, the code of polity of the imperial court, this patent of morality in the audience-hall of justice and mercy, has been brought to completion. Much labour had to be endured and many difficulties over-come before the inception of this antidote for the world's constitution, this prophylactic for those envenomed by sensuality and suffering could be successfully undertaken. Many a dark night passed into morning and many a long day grew to eve, ere this mine of the diadem of eternal happiness, this pearl of the throne of everlasting sovereignty could be publicly displayed. What warring of the capacity with the natural constitution took place, how many a struggle between myself and my heart drove me to distraction ere the count of this investigation fleeting as the world, the result of this search deluding as the waters of a mirage, could be set down! Prayers were poured forth before the Almighty throne, sup-plications were offered up on the threshold of divine light, in order that this amulet on the arm of the wise, this magic spell of those who love knowledge, written in my heart's blood, might have the spirit of life breathed into its lettered form.

What toil endured through love that work so planned,
Watered by tears and blood, should rooted stand!

Alas! Alas! that one nurtured by the divine bounty and long suffused by the radiance of truth, should defile his tongue with murmurs of toil and labour, and record his harrowing of soul and his travail on the tablet of illustration!

[The author's gratitude to Akbar for his encouragement and guidance during the composition of this book: its high value to mankind.]

It is through the wondrous workings of His Majesty's favour and the spell of his enduring prerogative that this dissertation has been set forth and a great work brought to its conclusion. That cynosure of divine unity to the virtuous, by the efficacy of a direct intention and the probity of unswerving rectitude appointed a treasurer to the stores of his wisdom and sagacity, and gave him access to the recesses of his sanctuary. That gem of singlemindedness, in honour of the Supreme Being and in thanksgiving for ever increasing bounties, brought forth a work of knowledge by a (P. 246) master-spirit of wisdom for the profit of inquirers, and a royal mandate from the tabernacle of sanctity for the seekers of happiness. By a sublime favour he endowed this fortunate and loyal nature with the capacity of reading and understanding it, and by his all-embracing condescension permitted me to reproduce somewhat thereof as came within my limited intelligence and to be honoured with the stewardship of the divine bounty. Far and near, friend and stranger, participate therein, and all classes of mankind illumine their minds with the splendour of truth. Thanks be to God that in these noble maxims of conduct, the visible world finds its remedy, and the things of the invisible are by them harmoniously regulated!

The light that o'er seven spheres celestial plays,
Wins all its radiance from imperial rays.
The blind need now no more a staff to take,
While those that see find luminous their ways.

The garden of prosperity blooms unto good-will and for joy has come a day of festival. The eye opens in cheerfulness and the night of sorrow has passed. Many a truth in the orders of nature and grace, and many incidents of binding and loosing have been set down in despite of fraudful concealers of the truth, and an illumination of wisdom is displayed for the guidance of the sightless and faint of heart and for the purblind that lose their way. Through a lofty destiny for which sincere loyalty is another name, a new canopy of wisdom has been erected, and the duty of thanksgiving which is the final cause, has reached its accomplishment.

In honour of my liege, the king,
With all true loyalty I bring
A cypress set in garden fair,
Wherein shall trysting all repair,
And with full draughts of wine elate,
Its happy growth commemorate.

[Firdausi wrote his *Book of Kings* in 30 years, but earned obloquy by demanding from his royal master payment in gold commensurate with the size of his epic. Abul Fazl, in a nobler spirit has written his *Book of Akbar* in seven years out of pure gratitude to his master, who has made his subjects happy and prosperous and set up a model of wise and beneficent government before all mankind.]

Notwithstanding the coming and going of so many leaders of the caravans of knowledge and the gathering together of treatises from the schools of learning, to-day only can the purity of the jewel of wisdom be assayed and its weight tested by another scale—now only is sovereign intellect arrayed on the throne of empire and its sway enforced by a later ordinance. Now must the field of gift and offering be made wide and the festal melodies and pæans of success resound, but not as Firdausi, who in a

grovelling spirit, fell into the aberration of greed and made the curtain of his honour an object for the haggling of traffic. He was a seller of words and knew not their value. Thinking them interchangeable with a few pieces of metal, like shameless hucksters of the market, he lost his credit in stickling for price. *He* sought to make rateable worth incalculable, and the measurable measureless. *This* servitor at the table of multitudinous royal bounties records in this work his gratitude for transcendent favours, and signalizes the wondrous dispensations of the world-adorning Creator of the universe.

Had naught but gold this volume from me wrung,
Life would have ended ere a pearl were strung;
'Twas love that planned the task, for through such strain
Could only love my feeble voice sustain.

Firdausi took thirty years of labour to secure eternal execration, while I have borne with seven years of toil for the sake of everlasting glory. He fused his worth into the cast of verse which is a matrix of determinate shape, and I have strung into writing, gems of the purest water through the infinite expanse of prose. [P. 247]

My pen its point deep in my heart's blood dyes
To write such prose as far all verse outvies;
For prose in its degree doth verse excel,
As unbored pearls the rarest price compel.

What connection is there between the servitor of the Lord and the worshipper of gold? between thanksgiving and lamentation? Self interest let fall a veil before his clear vision in that he sought largesse in the laboratory of genius from the great ones of the earth. Had no defect obscured his sight in his dealings with others, he would not have entered so devious a path nor spoken a line for lucre, and

would have secured the possession of the jewel of magnanimity.

> When thought of self intrudes doth genius flee,
> And the heart blinds the eyes that may not see.
> The beam in his own vision what though plain,
> The critic quick to cavil seeks in vain;
> Absorbed in greed the faults of others hears,
> But from his own withholds unwilling ears.

But apart from this consideration that in the markets of wisdom, works that delight the heart cannot be purchased by the gold and silver of the world, and that such gems of price are not to be weighed against coin, by his grace of diction and the charm of his verse he strove to immortalize his name, and has left behind him a noble and gracious scion in the full vigour of youth that will survive to ages. To the rich and prosperous it adds another dignity: the wise that love truth it favours with another aid. The simple-minded that seek after happiness are familiarized with the gains and losses of life, and it pours out for the many who resent the disappointments of toil, the healing balm of resignation. To the faint of heart it lends courage: to those who have the craft of the fox it gives the boldness of the lion and the fury of the alligator. Upon the intolerant and narrow-minded it bestows cheerfulness and large views, and stimulates the magnanimous and raises them to the pinnacle of greatness.

Although to outward appearance he was but rendering a service to the great ones of the earth, he was implicitly bearing the jewels of his wisdom to the market of appreciation. Had he not been under the influence of cupidity, nor exposed his penetrating genius to the spoil of misplaced desire, he could never have been sufficiently grateful for the divine favour in the opportunity of winning the applause and admiration of mankind. Nay, had he possessed any

sense of justice and any knowledge of the world, besides this rare product of intellect, he would have carried some substantial offering to the throne of majesty, in order that the royal approval might be the means of displaying the quality of his jewel, and that he might bequeath as a gift of price, a memorial to his successors in the pursuit of intellectual fame.

Praise be to God! that by the divine grace and providential assistance, I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition, not even with regard[1] to the large field of its acquired characteristics, far less its innate qualities in any abundance.

He who is deficient in a lofty spirit and noble sentiments is ensnared by a desire of worldly goods. But even the stranger knows that the [P. 248] odour of misrepresentation has not entered my nostrils, and the alien recognises in me a critical judge. What analogy is there between the painted silks of China and the raw yarn of a hair-rope maker? between a keen blade of Egypt and a piece of coarse iron? How can the priceless gem of truth descend to the level of worldly potsherds? Why exchange eternal bliss for the silvered inanities that soon decay? And especially at this time when by the wondrous workings of destiny and a smiling fortune, priceless jewels are but as gravel before the palace of auspiciousness, and my loyal spirit, illumined by the rays of wisdom, has found rest on the heights of joy. Were I even destitute of the goods that pass from hand to hand in the market-square of the material world, and fortune through malice or fickleness, sent not wealth to serve me, I would never entertain such a feeling nor approve in my

[1] I should alter the punctuation of the text and place the stop after *tabí'at-i-u*. [Jarrett.]

own person such imprudence in affairs. On the contrary, my first thought is the praise of God, in that the deeds of majesty have been illustrated by commendable description. The second consideration of the mind with a view to human needs is that the eminent men of future time and the learned of the present, may bring up gems of purest ray from this fathomless sea to beautify the mansions of their deeds. Had I possessed a lofty spirit, I should not have descended from the summit of the heights of unity to the level of polytheism, but what is to be done?[2] I quote the words used by the leader of the enlightened minds of the past, the spiritual doctor (Maulānä Rumi)—

> Since I am linked with those who see awry,
> Idolater! I, too, must preach idolatry.

[Wise and good men work to secure the blessings of God and the good opinion of mankind at the same time, and they succeed in both by reason of their honesty, self-control, and unselfish sense of duty. Abul Fazl's success in life illustrates this truth.]

Though every one cannot comprehend the object of this fast in the morning of existence and this mirage in the noon of life, I think that all should perceive and bear in mind that the exertions of the wise and the good should be restricted to two objects, and the supreme purpose of pursuit in those of lofty penetration and wakeful destiny should not exceed these. The *first* is to secure the benediction of God and to lay the foundations of a stately fabric in the pleasant meads of His holy pleasure, and this is the means to eternal life and the ornature of enduring bliss. Those who choose that country

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[2] This language, considering the dedication of the volume and the eye under which it was written, cannot be taken as an expression of regret at his accredited apostasy from Islam and conversion to Hinduism, but to imply the necessity of following the language of conventionality though pledged to the support of his master's creed. Nevertheless his sincerity in his adhesion to Akbar's faith was suspected. See Vol. I: Biography xvii.

for their abode go not down unto death, and the sound of body therein behold not the face of sickness. Its vigorous dwellers know not of debility, nor those that thrive there, of decay. Wealth does not decline in poverty, and loss of vision enters not therein. This is to be obtained only by a sincere intention and the possession of the four excellent qualities together with the avoidance of the eight vicious characteristics of which books of wisdom have fully treated. The *second* is a good repute in this fleeting world, which signifies an enduring existence and a second life. Although this also is accomplished through the same source of enlightenment by which a virtuous disposition is formed, yet it is chiefly secured by a smooth tongue and an open hand, and sincerity of intention and rectitude of mind are not imperative. Blest is he who by the divine auspices links the first with the second, and prospers in the temporal as well as in the spiritual world. The means adopted by the seekers of truth to participate in social enjoyments and yet to win peace with some comfort to their consciences, are these, that with strenuous endeavour and by the favour of fortune, [P. 249] they separate good resolutions and virtuous conduct from the disorders of self-regard and the labyrinth of hypocrisy, and submitting their minds to the dictates of sovereign reason and the divine pleasure, live apart from the blame and praise of mankind: and the profit which these simple dealers obtain from their inestimable lives and the advantage secured by their exertions, are a perpetual remembrance and an illustrious name.

The leaders in the four quarters of the visible and invisible worlds, and the deep thinkers that betake themselves both to occupation and retirement, who through their comprehensive views and wide survey of the field of knowledge penetrate the mysteries of these two sublime principles, sustain by the grace of God the weight of the two worlds on the shoulders of their capacity, and in the strength of the Almighty arm move lightly under the burden. The harmo-

nious operation of these two opposite interests, one alone of which is rarely attainable under the most capable and statesmanlike administrators even under the sanction of penal law, is by them so successfully carried out under the guidance of celestial favour that the primordial intelligence of nature itself stands amazed and the wonder-working heavens are confounded. By them, moreover, the sources of advantage and detriment, both temporal and spiritual, are commanded, and these antagonistic dual elements simultaneously co-operate in the establishment of festal conviviality of intercourse.

[Akbar's unrivalled greatness as a ruler and Abul Fazl's duty to record His Majesty's great acts and rules for the benefit of posterity.]

And for exemplar of such a one, lo! from the brow of this prosperous reign that irradiates the face of the State, what splendour is reflected and as a glory shines upon the raiser of its auspicious banner in this our happy age! For today the skies revolve at his will and the planets in their courses move by his sublimity.

> Akbar, the king, illumines India's night,
> And is as a lamp in the court of the House of Timour.

The heart exults at his mention and the tongue vaunts his praise. May the Almighty vouchsafe long life to this incomparable wonder of the kingdom of wisdom, and eternal happiness to his subjects. This sovereign of the orders of nature and grace, by the light of his God-given intelligence and the night-beacon of his powerful will, has so organized the measureless limits of these two dominions and moves through them with such prudence and sagacity, that aspiring discerners of each form of progress look to no other than him, and each and all consider as their own this pearl of wisdom that enlightens the world. Since the time that eloquence and knowledge of affairs have existed and the highway of literary composition been frequented, so exquisite and exact a

co-operation of two antagonistic principles in a single hallowed person has never been recorded—a person who is the meeting of the oceans of church and state, the fountain head of temporal and spiritual order—who prepares the litters of travel while yet abiding in his native land[3]—a lamp for those who gather in privacy, a solver of trammels to those who are in bonds, a balm for the open wounds of the broken-hearted. Manifold worldly cares raise no dust of defect in his heart that loves retirement, and perpetual prayer and a concentrated mind suffer no breeze of pre-occupation to play upon the necessary duties of his station. Thus he has outward obligation with liberty of spirit.

Lo! from his brow behold the pure of sight
God's love and knowledge beam with radiant light.
A crowned monarch—a throne's rightful heir—
Lord of the world—the kingdom's founder there!

[P. 250.]

It is imperative upon the ambition of all masters of eloquence to decorate the ears and throat of the age with a description of the virtues of such a choice specimen of the court of existence and to adorn with its beauty the bosom and skirt of Time. A rare treasure will thus be prepared for future travellers in the caravans of being, and seekers from afar will come into the possession of knowledge. Although the spheres themselves in their courses by gesture and speech, tell thereof and transmit it to succeeding generations, yet by the workings of destiny accidents befall and the thread of continuity is often severed. When, however, works are written to record these wondrous deeds and they are inscribed upon the tablets of time, the hand of vicissitude less frequently affects them and they endure to distant ages. A fabric that is laid upon virtue, the summit of the porches thereof reaches

[3] That is, preparing for the world to come while yet in this, or facilitating the salvation of others.

to the pinnacles of the seventh heaven, and a foundation whereon fortune builds is not sapped by revolving cycles.

> Behold the recompense of noble toil
> That guards the Cæsars' halls from Time's despoil!

It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not. Of the splendour of the House of Buwayh no record exists save in the labours of the pens of Sābi[4] and Muhallabi, and the noble pages of Rudaki, U'nsari and U'tbi alone tell of the glories of the kings of Ghazni.

> Mahmud hath many a palace raised on high,
> That with the moon might well dispute the sky:
> Yet of all these no stone doth now remain.
> While Time doth roll o'er U'nsari in vain.

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[4] Abu Ishāq Ibrāhim-b-Hilāl, as-Sābi or the Sabean, author of some celebrated Epistles, was clerk of the Baghdad Chancery office in which he acted as secretary to the Caliph al-Muti l'llāh and to I'zzu'd Daulah Bakhtyār of the family of Buwayh the Daylamite. He was born about A H. 320 (A.D. 932), and died in 384 (A.D. 994.) He wrote a history of the Buwayh dynasty under the title of *Tāju'l Milal* or *Tāju'l Daylamiyah*.

Al-Muhallabi was descended from Ibn Abi Sufra al-Azdi and was appointed Wazir by Mu'izzu'd Daulah Ibn Buwayh in A.H. 339 (A.D. 950). Ibn Khallakān says that his powerful influence and firm administration, as well as his acquaintance with literature, made him celebrated He was born in A.H. 291 (A.D. 903) and died in A.H. 352 (963), and was buried at Baghdad. A few of his verses are given by his biographer.

Rudaki flourished in the reign of Amir Nasr, son of Ahmad of the Samānide dynasty, and was extraordinarily favoured by that prince. He turned the Arabic translation of Pilpay's 'Fables' into Persian verse in A.H. 313 (A.D. 925), and was the first who wrote a *Diwān* or collection of odes in Persian. He died in A.H. 343 (A.D. 954). Beale. U'nsari lived in the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and wrote an heroic poem on the deeds of Sultān Mahmud. He was also the author of a *Diwān*. He ranked not only as one of the first poets in that celebrated court, but was versed in all the learning of that age. His death is placed variously in A.H. 1040 and 1049. For U'tbi, see Vol. II.

Whosoever comprehends this talisman of prudence this spell of enlightened research, and appreciates these characters of thought and this lawful sorcery, will perceive this much, that my intention is to apprize far and near of these two attributes of high sovereignty and to lay the stable foundations of an enduring dominion. By this means the writer will secure a determinate sustenance from these divine treasures and a large provision from the table of manifold graces.

> This lasting work I consecrate to Fame,
> And to all time commemorate his name;
> Above its page its syllables enrolled
> Shall turn the pen that writes them into gold.

But if through the strange effects of self-interest such fact is unperceived and this pious intention is hidden from his view, at least this measure of knowledge will be secured and the collyrium of vision in this sufficiency will be prepared, that the design of the mind that employs the pen and the object of this benevolent purpose is the happiness of the people [P. 251] at large and the prosperity of the commonwealth.

[This history is intended to serve as a lesson-book of political science for the instruction of mankind and as a moral treatise for the practical teaching of subjects in the right conduct of life.]

The primary purpose of these annals of wisdom is the distinguishing of right from wrong, for the feet of many have been worn in the search of this recognition and have effected nothing; and secondly, to appreciate the results of virtuous and vicious conduct, of which this work is full. From the one he will learn how to garnish and sweep his house, from the other, to order the ways of his life. When he meets with prosperity and joy, finding no trace of those that have passed away, he will not admit the inroads of

presumption; and if sorrow oppress him when among such as have gone before, no exemplars thereof remain, he will not surrender himself to its sway, but among the accidents of life, seated upon the prayer-carpet of enlightenment, he will be assiduous in praise and supplication before the Supreme Giver, and from the importance and helplessness of the strong that are no more, he will perfectly comprehend the power of the Omnipotent hand. Dumb as I am and dejected of heart, what are these vain imaginings and this apparatus of chronicle and pen-craft! What connection is there between enemies of the flesh who love retirement, and the showy and affected scribblers of the world? And what analogy between those who abate the price of their own wares and the displayers of adulterated goods?

My thoughts do modestly my works decry
While Gebirs, Moslems hawking run, "who'll buy?"

[Abul Fazl's early studies—his mental conflict and despair.]

How shall I write of the strange ways of fortune and the delusive workings of destiny? In the beginnings of knowledge, I was overwhelmed with sorrow at the thought of existence, and at sacred places and auspicious times I prayed for release from the flesh. But, unawares, my spirit drew me by degrees to the school of research, and in confusion of heart which leads men astray, I sought the world. The ordinary course of learning was opened before me, and my mind became stored with ample measure of knowledge which raised in me an extraordinary arrogance. Under the guidance of a happy fortune, from a perusal of the works of the ancients, my mind was convinced that men must necessarily be comprised under three classes. The *first* is characterized by evil disposition and conduct, and this is evidenced in the traducing of one's neighbour and disclosing his faults. The *second* by good intentions and virtuous puropses; and the

possessor of these they describe as half a man. From amiableness in his judgments and a large tolerance of views, he speaks charitably of all men. The *third* by a lofty spirit and eminent virtue; and these reveal the perfect man. The master of these qualities from transcendent elevation of mind, regards not mankind at all, and, therefore, much less virtue and vice in the abstract. Objective ideas find no entrance into his mind. His contemplation ever traverses the field of his own heart, and discovering his own defects, he labours to remedy them, and finally he adorns the sanctuary of his soul with the true principles of virtue in the hope of attaining by their means to the goal of deliverance in the fruition of eternal bliss.[5] When I read these seductive and winning numbers on the dice-tables of wisdom, I woke somewhat from my slumber and began to inquire. Withdrawing from worldly concerns, I fell to a critical introspection and began to transcribe the roll of my sins. When I had traversed a portion of this terrible road, veils in fold on fold were suspended before my vision. It [P. 252] seemed as though I could not advance a step, and save a few venial errors which I had committed in my youth, I believed myself innocent. As the very delusion of this mocking fancy awoke me to consciousness, I was not undone by my spiritual enemies. I was compelled to turn back and alighted at the first station of abstraction from being, and made the transcription of the failings of my fellow creatures a mirrored reflection of my own. I thus became aware of many reprehensible qualities. In this ghostly and spiritual warring and distress of mind and body, leaving the recess of seclusion, I came to the court of His Majesty and the star of my fortune rose on the horizon of desire.

[Abul Fazl's mind was liberalised and his spirits exhilarated by his contact with Akbar.]

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[5] The influence of the Sanskrit Schools of Philosophy is here very distinct. This passage breathes the spirit of the Vedanta.

By his great condescension His Majesty resolved my doubts, and I surmounted the heights of the visible and invisible worlds. I was honoured with the guardianship of the treasure of truth and entrusted with the keys of familiar intercourse, as has been briefly adverted to at the close of the first and second books. My heart emptied itself forth, and a treatise on morals was composed. A new life arose in the framework of language. For a long period the provision of bodily sustenance, the furnishing of which is approved in the truth-desiring eyes of sovereign reason, made my mind uneasy. What I had read in ancient works, occasioned only further bewilderment. One morning I craved for a scintillation from the court of the lord of light, and sought the exhibition of the talisman that resolved all difficulties. And as fortune befriended me and my heart was attentive, a refulgence from the luminary of grace shed its rays and the wondrous enigma was solved, and it was made clear that daily provision was under the pledge of royal justice and the acceptance of duty by grateful servants, as I have to some extent notified at the beginning of the last book. Most strange of all, however much from time to time the desire for seclusion which innate in me renewed its impulse, the thought of increased worldly advancement likewise gained strength. With this provision secured of appropriate sustenance and due supply of bodily vigour[a] on which the success of every undertaking depends, I withdrew from various other pre-occupations and turned my attention strenuously to military matters, and like those exclusively occupied in business, whom more solemn considerations do not affect, severing not the night from day, I sat at the gate of expectation. Since in this profession centres the interest of life and

[a] He required a large provision. His enormous appetite needed for its gratification or surfeit twenty-two *sers* of solid food daily. See Vol. I. Biography, xxviii. Both Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi entered the military service, then the only profession. See Vol. I. Biography, xv.

it adorns the acquisition of perfect and accurate judgment, in uniting the coruscation of political ability with the glitter of the sword, my whole ambition was to perform some service and to dare some signal deed in honour of this chosen profession, which would astonish even experienced statesmen and amaze the perusers of the history of the ancients, in order that the duties I had undertaken might be adequately fulfilled. This desire every moment increased, but the inopportuneness of the season suffered me not to speak. I had come from a religious house and a college to the royal court.

[Abul Fazl's secret longings gratified by Akbar's command to him to write the history of his reign—the other courtiers envy him.]

Those who regard outward circumstances only might impute designs to me that had never crossed my mind, and I judged from appearances that if this secret intention got wind, they would blame me and loosen the tongue of reproach. But since the luminous mind of majesty is a mirror of verities and a world-displaying cup,[7] without representation on my part or communication, the king vouchsafed to favour and honour with a commission my obscure personality that was unassisted by patronage, and raised me to an exalted rank and to the degree of a very distinguished command.[8] For some days among the learned at their meetings considerable [P. 253] jealousy was excited, and the courtiers had for a long time banded together in envy against me. It was a strange coincidence that I should be about the arsenal in search of a sword, while fate would force a pen into a master hand. I was examining the burnish of the lance-head while destiny

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[7] The cup or mirror of Jamshid, as well as of Solomon, Cyrus, and of Alexander, which mirrored the universe, according to Oriental tradition.

[8] He received in 1585, the command of a thousand horse. In 1592 he was promoted to be commander of two thousand horse, and about 1595 to the command of two thousand five hundred horse, and became one of the grandees of the empire. See Vol. I. xv, xviii, and xxi.

was sharpening the point of the reed in order that the ordinances of the sovereign might be reverently proclaimed in the publication of these important records. I was a prey to conflicting emotions. Since I had not the capacity for this office, and my mind had no inclination to this kind of historiography, I was on the point of declaring my incompetence and standing aside, withdrawing from so onerous a task. But as I was impressed with His Majesty's knowledge of things that are hidden and with the obligation of responding to his favours by some signal service, I was unable to decline his command. The thought then occurred to me that His Majesty had in view my own application and industry as well as the literary capacity of my brethren,[1] so that the materials which I might with indefatigable assiduity collect together, that accomplished and eloquent writer [Fayzi] might harmoniously set in order and thus bring to completion this stupendous task. In a little while under the strenuous support of a will of miraculous efficacy, I opened my eyes to an interior illumination, and reflected that the royal command was a magic inspiration to literary effort and a talisman for the illumining of wisdom. With a sincere mind and a lofty determination this complex of sorrow and joy set his face to the duty. My chief reliance was in this, that by the grace of the divine favour, having diligently collected the necessary facts and given material embodiment to their spiritualized form, the eulogist of the court of the Caliphate, the erudite scholar of the Imperial House, the first writer of his age, the laureate among accomplished poets, Shaykh Abu'l Fayz-i-Fayzi my elder brother and superior, would graciously supervise it, and under the correction of that master of style, a fresh texture would be hand-woven into a fabric of beauty.

[Just after one-half of this book had been written, Abul Fazl's collaborator and guide, his elder brother Faizi died,

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[1] For the names of these see Vol. I., xxxiii.

but our author steeled his heart to carry his task to completion, in spite of grief and heavy administrative duties.]

Scarce half of the first book had been written, when destiny worked its spell, and that free spirit in the fulness of its knowledge, took its last journey and afflicted my heart with an exceeding grief. When, by the talisman of the royal sympathies, I was recalled from the desire of aimless wandering to the city of service, manifold kindnesses were as a balm to the open wound of my soul, and I applied myself zealously to my great task. A light dawned on me as to the object of the royal command and the aim of its lofty view. I brought my mind to that consideration and with a prayer to the Almighty, I set out on the road. On the one hand lay the painful feeling of incompetency and a heart overwhelmed with affliction and stress of occupation which no material successes however numerous could remedy, and the ulcers of which no profusion of outward gratifications could salve, --on the other was the ebb and flow of the sea of my heart wherein human efforts were of no avail, nor could the door of its secret retirement be closed and the busy world kept out. How can I describe the violent conflict of these two unusual states of mind, or with what capability express the intercurrency of this strange dual operation. The first conjured up in the clear recesses of my mind, a fanciful play of wave and leap of fountain with swirl of rain and fall of dew; it wove thousand fictions and suggested frequent supernatural interventions [P. 254] and seemed to assure him who chose it, of the attainment of the truth and the honour of presidency in the state-council of wisdom. From the second, a vision of flinty stones, of strewn fragments of brick and as of clod-heaps and scatterings of blackened soil appearing from the same source of discernment, arose with a warning aspect. Coarseness of speech, scurrility, vauntings and vain babble of which the characteristics are a moral decadence and desire of associating with the base, time after time, in a novel

guise came flaunting by. Accompanying this miserable condition and disorder of mind, the stress of helplessness and isolation now and again received a fresh impulse. Although it is the way of the world seldom to form bonds of attachment, but rather the more constantly to sever the ties of friendship, my plain speaking and discernment of hypocrisy co-operated with this worldly tendency. Some friends of Baber's household and intimates of long standing withdrew from association with me. With the burden of affairs on my shoulders and journeying over inequalities of ground and moving through perilous paths, how could I in utter loneliness, reach half way on the road, or when arrive at my destination? But by the advent to the gardens of blessedness of one or two godly friends who in this dearth of manhood were obtained by me, I triumphed over all my difficulties.

[Akbar's sympathy and interest hearten Abul Fazl in writing this book.]

Strangely enough, with all this apparatus that inspired fear and this struggle within and without, I did not withold my hand from writing nor did my resolution flag, nay rather, every moment fresh vigour was aroused in me and this momentous conflict grew stronger and the strife of the flesh and the spirit increased until the light of truth shone forth and my difficulties were solved, the wondrous effects of the holy spirit of His Majesty were again evidenced in me, and my heart and vision were flooded with an extraordinary light. The writings of the wise of ancient times to some extent corroborated the accuracy of my own course and exculpated my sorry conscience with its ignoble tendencies. What the sages of old affirm is this, that the leader of the caravans of hallowed sovereignty is supreme over high and low, and that the pleasant mead of spiritual and temporal concerns blooms fair under the beneficent lustre of such unique wonder of the world of wisdom: moreover that the visible ruler who is the chosen among thousands of mankind to reduce to order the

scattered elements of social organisation holds sway over all men, but his power extends only to their bodies and finds no access to their souls. The lords of spiritual dominion, on the other hand, have no authority save over pure consciences, as the practice of the saints in general and of all holy men illustrates. The ordinary class of professors of learning and the shallow sciolists of the world influence solely the minds of the vulgar, and the effect of their instruction is to be found only in such waste ground. But as the monarch of our time has been appointed sovereign likewise over the invisible world, his sacred inspiration has wrought these extraordinary effects in me who am rude of speech, ignorant and helpless, and raised me from the deeps of ignorance to the heights of knowledge.

With joyful omens blest, my strain
Shall celebrate his glorious reign;
His praises shall my pen proclaim,
And here enshrine his royal name.

[How Abul Fazl secured the materials of his history.]

[P. 255] My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time. In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of State, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs. And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory, I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries; and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons. The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my

difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies. By the blessing of daily-increasing favour I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease. Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility. By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes.

[How Abul Fazl worked up the raw materials collected for his history.]

When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era. And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out. When through supernatural illumination, the announcement of a new basis of computa-

tion entered the ear of intelligence, that old and tattered garment was cast aside and a robe of honour newly woven of grace, was substituted, and by the power of the Being who created speech, this great work, with all the difficulties it presented, was brought to a conclusion, and numerous expressions of satisfaction were felicitously evoked.

As this world of tribulation is not a home for the wise of heart, the more so that friends who live for the happiness to come are covered by the veil of concealment and on account of the ingratitude of the incapable, have withdrawn their hearts from participation in the false shows of its delusive scene, I looked upon each of my days as though it were to be my last, and employed myself only in the preparations for my final journey. In this sorrowful condition I hastened along my road, and the labours on the fulfilment of which I had counted were not ordered according to my desire.

[He repeatedly revised his composition to give it literary grace.] . As by [P. 256] the decree of destiny my life was still prolonged, for the fourth time I renewed the task and gave it all my solicitude. Although my first efforts were now directed to remove all superfluous repetitions, and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition, I perceived the incomplete arrangement of my fresh materials, and the due ordering of this was undertaken. And since I was new to the road and stricken with grief and friendless, an exceeding depression of spirit came upon me, in that, with all my toil and with such excessive care these many lapses had occurred and such frequent errors had appeared. What would be the result, and where would it all end? I began a fifth revision and went over the work from the beginning. Although all my acknowledged endeavours were directed to immortalize these events and to place their issues in due order, yet as sagacious writers consider that verse is as the savour of salt to prose, I took much pains in the introduction of a few stanzas which should be in harmonious accord with

the composition, and many a correction and emendation was made, independently of any consideration of the cavils of numberless critics. The truth is that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring. However much they may oppose the feeling, these defects are approved as merits. I who have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others, could employ no collyrium regarding this question, nor devise any remedy for this defect of vision, but on this five-fold revision a rumour of this new development spread abroad. Some of my acquaintances joined in supporting me; others were as unanimous in an underhand depreciation. I formed a resolution, for the sixth time, to set my mind free of its waverings of suggestions, and to exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism; but the frequent calls upon me made by His Majesty left me no time.

I was compelled therefore to present him with this fifth revision, and was rewarded with a perpetual satisfaction.

> What mine hath ever yielded gem so fair?
> What tongue-born treasure can with this compare?
> Beneath each letter is a world concealed,
> Each word's expanse shows worlds on worlds revealed.
> Its every pearl bedecks the earth and sky,
> And if ye see it not—be yours the penalty.

It is my hope that by the blessings of a sincere intention and its own merits, the task which was set before my grateful heart may be happily concluded, and my mind be disburdened in some measure from the distress of its many anxieties. Within the space of seven years, by the aid of a resolute will and a lofty purpose, a compendious survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant, has been concluded, and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day, which is the 42nd of the

Divine Era,[10] and according to the lunar computation 1006, the occurrences of fifty-five years of that nursling of grace have been felicitously recorded, and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden. [P. 257]

> The princely heart that virtue dowers,
> For him gems bloom instead of flowers,
> And hill and dale his kingdom round
> Shall with their monarch's praise resound.

It is my expectation to write in four volumes[11] a record of the transactions of the royal house during one hundred and twenty years, which are four generations, that it may stand as a memorial for those who seek knowledge in justice, and with the Institutions of His Majesty as the concluding book, I purposed the completion of the Akbarnāmah in these five volumes. By the aid of the Almighty three have been written, and many a secret of wisdom has been revealed and a treasure of truth weighed in the balance.

> I bear from wisdom's inmost store
> The royal House this treasured lore,
> And pray its justice and its grace
> May ne'er my memory efface.
> And let this loyal offering be
> Accepted of its Majesty.
> May God His favour grant benign,
> And His acceptance deign with thine,
> And raise its dignity on high
> With thy name's glorious currency,
> That it from thee may win renown
> And link my fortunes with the throne.

[The last two sections of the *Akbarnamah* are yet to be written.]

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[10] The starting point of the Divine Era was Friday, the 5th of Rabii' II. A.H. 963 (19th February 1556).

[11] See Vol. I, Preface.

If destiny in its wondrous workings gives me leisure and capricious fortune, opportunity, the remaining two books shall be satisfactorily terminated and form a history of deeds replete with attraction. If not, let others, guided by grace and a propitious fate, set down, year by year, the events of this enduring reign, with a lofty resolution and unremitting industry, in right understanding, with a noble purpose and in a spirit of freedom, rendering populous the habitations of Church and State and fertilizing the gardens of grace and nature with refreshing waters. Let them not forget this obscure wanderer in the desert of aberration and in their glad work acknowledge their obligations to me who first displayed the continuous succession of this series, and suggested to them the manner of its record. But if this be not approved and they desire, by recommencing on a new method or fashion of language of the day, to compile the transactions of this never-fading dominion,

> Be it unto thy peoples' welfare, Lord,
> Beneath the shadow of King Akbar's sway.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

[P. 258] The writer of this important work had it in his mind to draw up a memoir of his venerable ancestors and some particulars of strange incidents in his own life, and form of them a separate volume which should be a source of instruction to the intelligent who look afar; but various occupations, especially the composition of this work, absorbed his attention to the exclusion of all else. At this juncture a secret inspiration prompted the thought that the world would not welcome the detailed journals of personal biography in an isolated form, and that it would be more opportune to append an account thereof to this work and to intersperse here and there some practical and didactic comments. Accepting this happy suggestion, I have thrown off this sketch and liberated my soul.

Since to vaunt of lineage is to traffic from empty-handedness with the bones of one's ancestors and to bring the wares of ignorance to market, and is to be foolishly vain of the merits of others while blind to one's own defects, I was unwilling to touch the subject or indulge in such idle vapouring. In this demon-haunted wilderness, to be linked by any chain deters advance and the irrigation of the genealogy of the outer world is of no profit to the interior spirit.

> Be not, as fools, alone thy father's son;
> Forget thy sire; choose merit for thine own.
> What though should fire beget a scion as bright,
> Smoke can be ne'er the progeny of light. [P. 259.]

In ordinary parlance genealogy signifies seed, race, tribe and the like, and the term embraces the distinctions of high and low. Any rational man recognises that the one reverts to

the other, inasmuch as among intermediaries in the line of descent some one individual has become distinguished for material wealth or spiritual eminence, and thus become celebrated by name or title or profession or place of birth; whereas the vulgar who, though accounting mankind to be the sons of Adam their primitive father, yet by attending to romantic fictions accept only these assumptions, are evidently led astray in this matter by the remoteness of the line and do not realize the actuality of that patriarch. Why then should any upright and discerning man be deluded by these fables and trusting to them, withdraw from the pursuit of truth? What availed the son of Noah his father's communion with the Almighty, and how did the idolatry of his race injure Abraham the friend of God?

> Jāmi! serve God through love, nor lineage heed,
> For such road knows no son of this or that.

Nevertheless through the decrees of fate I am linked to worldlings and associated with those who give priority to birth above worth. Thus I am compelled to allude to it, and to furnish a table for such as them.

[Abul Fazl's ancestors in their home in Yemen. His fifth forefather settles in Sewistan as a teacher and pious man.]

The count of honourable ancestry is a long history. How may I retail their holy lives for the unworthy inquisitiveness of the moment? Some wore the garb of saints, some were immersed in secular studies, some were clothed in authority, some engaged in commerce and others led lives of solitude and retirement. For a long period the land of Yemen was the home of these high born and virtuous men. Shaykh Musa,[1] my fifth ancestor, in his early manhood, withdrew from association with his fellows. Abandoning his home he set out on travel, and accompanied only by his knowledge

[1] Cf. Vol. I. Biography of Abul Fazl.

and his deeds he traversed the habitable globe with a step that profited by what he saw. In the ninth century by the decrees of heaven, he settled in quiet retirement at Rél, a pleasant village of Sewistān, and married into a family of God-fearing and pious people. Although he had come from the desert to a civilized town, he did not exchange his retired habits for the occupations of the world. Ever contemplative on his prayer-carpet of introspection, he wrestled in prayer with himself and spent his precious days in the ordering of the wayward spirit. His virtuous sons and grandchildren following his example lived happily, and were instructed in the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of philosophy. In the beginning of the tenth century Shaykh Khizr set out impelled with the desire of visiting the saints of India and of seeing Hijāz and the people of his own tribe. Accompanied by a few of his relatives and friends he came to India. At the city of Nāgor, Mir Sayyid Yahyā Bokhāri of Uch, who was successor to Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān and had a large portion of the spirit of sanctity, Shaykh Abdur Razzāq Qādiri of Baghdad (who was one of the distinguished descendants of that paragon among eminent saints, Sayyid Abdu'l Qādir Jili), and Shaykh Yusuf Sindi who had traversed the fields of secular and mystic lore and had acquired many perfections of the religious life, were engaged in the instruction and guidance of the people, and multitudes were profiting by their direction. In his zeal and affection for these eminent teachers and under the attractive influence of the soil of this ancient country, that wandering exile there took up his abode. [P. 260]

[Author's father Shaikh Mubārak Nāgori—his birth, precocious genius, vast learning and long travels.]

In the year A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505), Shaykh Mubārak (my father) came forth from the realm of conception into visible personality and was clothed in the mantle of existence. Through a miraculous efficacy of will, at the age of four he

displayed the light of his intelligence and a daily-increasing illumination shone from his auspicious countenance. When nine years old he was already considerably well-informed, and at fourteen had run through the usual course of the studies and had by heart the text-books of every science. Although the grace of God guided the caravan of his wakeful fortune and he had received alms from the street of many a learned mystic, he principally attended Shaykh Atan through whose instruction he increased his interior thirst. This Shaykh was of Turkish extraction and lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi he had taken up his residence in that city and had attained to an eminent degree of knowledge under Shaykh Sālār of Nāgor who had studied in Irān and Turān.

Briefly to resume, Shaykh Khizr returned to Sind, his whole object being to bring some of his relations back with him to this country. He died on his journey. Meanwhile a severe famine had befallen Nāgor, and an epidemic plague added to the disaster. Except his mother, all other members of his family perished. A resolution to travel had always been uppermost in the enlightened mind of my venerable father, and the desire of seeing the eminent doctors of every land and of soliciting their godly assistance was vehement within him; but that queen of virtue, his lady mother, suffered him not, and no thought of disobeying her entered his righteous mind. In this hesitancy of spirit, he came under Shaykh Fayyāzi of Bokhārā—may God sanctify his soul:—and his agitation of mind increased. In his early days of study the peerless eyes of that discerning sage had fallen upon a certain servant of God with whom it was his daily fortune to receive interior enlightenment and (guidance to) eternal salvation. He solicited his direction in the choice of a settled course of life. He received the following answer: "About this time a certain person will become an acknowledged master of instruction and will be established as a guide

to those who seek knowledge; his name is U'baydu'llah and his distinguishing epithet *Khwājah-i-Ahrār*, (master of the free of spirit): attend his lectures and follow the course he points out." The Khwājah at that time was footsore from his long investigations and assiduously sought the great theriac of truth. In due time he attained this eminent rank and Fayyāzi learnt from him how to seek God. His seclusion was directed to be in absolute obscurity and his (spiritual) office was determined without formal delegation. Wherever the Khwājah in his allusions refers to "the dervish," he means this wonder of the world (Fayyāzi).[2] For forty years he resided in Turkistān, and in deserts and mountains enjoyed the ecstasy of solitude. He had attained the age of one hundred and twenty years and the fire of his soul was burning with undiminished intensity. One night my father, in the city of my birth, was discussing the subject of religion with some godly and pious persons and many edifying matters had been brought forward, when suddenly the sound of a sigh was heard and a flash of heavenly light shone. However much they attempted to account for this, they could find nothing. The next day after much investigation [P. 261] and a diligent search, it was discovered that this mystic personage was in retirement in a potter's house. My father now for a space reposed in the light of his direction and his own distracted mind ceased to wander. For four months consecutively he enjoyed this happiness and was daily tested by the alchemy of his glance. Within a short period, the time of the Shaykh's departure to heaven drew nigh, and with his mind filled with divine truths, he gave forth his counsels of guidance for those who were seeking revelation, and in ecstasy of spirit and with a serene mind he passed away.

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[2] This passage is so obscure from the confusion and omission of pronouns that it is with great difficulty I have been able to disentangle and determine what I conceive is its sense.

About this time that pattern of pure womanhood who had given my father his earliest instruction, departed this fleeting life. The affair of Maldeo,[3] caused an interregnum; my venerable father withdrew towards the seacoast with a view to greater seclusion. His sole purpose was to travel over the country and to derive some profit from intercourse with various classes of men.

[Mubārak's encyclopædic scholarship—his teachers.]

At Ahmadābād he fell in with distinguished doctors and further improved his knowledge, and received a high diploma for every important branch of learning. He acquired a various acquaintance with the doctrines of Mālik, of Shāfiai, of Abu Hanifah, of Hanbal, and of the Imāmiyah [Shi'a] school, both in the principles of law and the law itself, and by strenuous application acquired the dignity of a *mujtahid*. Although traditionally from his ancestors he belonged to the theological school of Abu Hanifah yet he had always adorned his conduct with discretion, and avoiding a servile following of opinion, submitted only to demonstration and took upon himself the things which the flesh resisted. Thus by his greatness of soul and fortunate destiny he passed from the knowledge of the visible to the understanding of the invisible, and the pleasure-ground of the material world led the way to the kingdom of truth. He had read treatises on Sufism and transcendental theology, and had perused many works on contemplation and worship, especially the verities of Shaykh-b-Arabi, of Shaykh-b-Fāridh

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[3] See Biog. Vol. I. ii. Blochmann refers to this as "the Maldeo disturbances" without further comment. I think he misapprehends the sense. Abul Fazl must refer to the affair subsequent to the final defeat of Humāyun by Sher Shāh, near Kanauj, in A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540). Humāyun fled to Sind, and failing in his attempts there marched by way of Jesalmer to Nāgor and Ajmer then ruled by Maldeo the most powerful of Hindu Rājahs. This prince determined to seize him and make him over to Sher Shāh. Warned in time Humāyun fled at midnight to Amarkot.

and of Shaykh Sadru'ddin of Iconium. Many doctors of physics and ontology honoured him with their countenance, and many successes attended him and uncommon precepts of direction added to his fame. Among the chief divine graces vouchsafed to him was that he became a disciple of the Khatib Abu'l Fazl Kāzarun. This personage from his appreciation of merit and knowledge of men, adopted him as a son and diligently instructed him in various knowledge, and made him commit to memory the subtleties of the Shifā,[1] the Ishārāt, the Tazkirah and Ptolemy's Almagest. Thus the garden of learning was refreshed with irrigation and the penetration of his vision was further increased. That learned man at the instance of the princes of Gujarāt, had come from Shirāz to the country, and the groves of wisdom received a renewal of bloom. He had acquired learning under divers theologians of the time, but in the great branch of mystical contemplation he was the disciple of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni. That learned doctor had first received the leading principles of science from his own father, and subsequently, in Shirāz had attended as a pupil the lectures of Maulānā Muhyi'ddin *Ashkbār*, or the Weeper, and Khwājah Hasan Shāh Baqqāl, these two theologians being among the principal pupils of Sayyid Sharif Jurjāni. He for a time also frequented the school of Maulānā Humāmu'ddin Gulbāri who was proficient in drawing horoscopes and there lit the lamp of erudition, [P. 262] and through good fortune thus acquired a wonderful extent of knowledge. He had also

[1] The *Shifā* and *Ishārah* are two works of the famous Avicenna, *i.e.*, Abu Ibn Sina (980—1037 A.D.), whose full name was Abu Ali al-Husayn-b-Abdu'llah ; the former on logic according to Hāji Khalifah, but Ibn i Khallakān states its subject to be philosophy (*hikmat*), a term wide enough in application among Orientals to include medicine, and may signify science in general. The *Ishārat i'la i'lm 'il Mantik* (indicium ad scientiam logicæ), is on the same subject and by the same author. There are many works under the title of Tazkirah. The reference is probably to the great work of the grammarian Abu Ali Hasan-b-Ahmad al-Fārisi, who died in A.H. 989 or 1581 A.D. *Ency. Islam.* ii. 419.

made a thorough study of philosophical works the principles of which he explained with much elegance, as his treatises on that subject evidence and commendably illustrate. In the same city of grace, my venerable father had the good fortune to attend upon Shaykh U'mar of Tattah, who was one of the greatest saints of the time, and that night-illumining jewel possessing the power of an exquisite discernment, inspired him transcendentally with elevation of soul and sublime knowledge. He also fell in with many doctors of the Shattāri, Tayfuri, Chishti and Suhrawardi orders, and profited by their instruction. In the city likewise, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh Yusuf, who was one of the most ecstatic and inspired of mystics, and through him was filled with new wisdom. He was ever absorbed in the ocean of the divine presence, and omitted no minute particular of ceremonial worship. From the holy influence by which he was surrounded, his desire was to erase altogether from the expanse of his mind the impressions of knowledge, and withdrawing entirely from the conventional obligations of intercourse, to become absorbed in the contemplation of the divine perfections. But that reader of the secrets of the heart's recesses discovering his intention dissuaded him therefrom, and he courteously communicated to him that a ship was about to sail, and that he should visit Agra, and if his difficulties were not there overcome, he should proceed to Irān and Turān, and wherever the spirit led him or a call directed him, thither should he go and occupy himself with secular teaching.

[Mubārak comes to Agra in 1543 and marries.]

Conformably to this direction in the first of the (Persian) month of the Urdibihisht (April), in the Jalāli year 465, corresponding to Saturday, the 6th of Muharram 950 A.H. (A.D. 10th April 1543), he happily alighted in that prosperous seat of empire which may God guard from all adversity! In that delightful residence he happened to become acquainted with Shaykh Alāu'ddin Majzub or the ecstatic,

who could read the tablets of the heart and the secrets of the tomb. This saint, in one of his returns to consciousness from an ecstatic trance, informed him that it was God's will that he should remain in that city and abandon further wanderings, and he announced to him good tidings and comforted his roving spirit. He took up his residence on the banks of the Jumna, in the vicinity of Mir Rafii'u'ddin Safawi of Ij.[5] He here married into a Quraysh family distinguished for wisdom and virtue, and lived on terms of intimacy with its head, the chief of the quarter; and this upright personage, looking upon the arrival of that nursling of wisdom as a rare distinction, received him with warmth of affection and cordiality. Since he was a man of much wealth, he wished my father to share his mode of life; but by the guidance of fortune and grace, he did not consent, and preferring the threshold of reliance and an independent mind, he pursued a life of interior recollection combined with worldly pursuits. The Mir was one of the Hasani and Husayni Sayyids. Some account of his ancestors is given in the works of Shaykh Sakhāwi. Although their birthplace was originally the village of Ij of Shirāz, yet for a long time past they preferred to live at Hijāz, and some members of the family have been continually settled in both places where they have been the givers and recipients of benefit. Although he had studied [P. 263] philosophy and theology under the direction of his own parents, he nevertheless, as a pupil of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni, reached a higher distinction therein. In Arabia he studied the various branches of traditional lore under Shaykh Sakhāwi of Cairo in Egypt, who was a disciple

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[5] Blochmann has "Iuju (Shirāz)," but Yāqut gives no such name. The text has distinctly Ij and Yāqkut locates Ij in the district of Dārābjird, and states that the Persians pronounce it "Eek." One Dārābjird he places in the district of Istakhr adjacent therefore to Shirāz. Abul Fazl intends this locality, as he shows lower down. The present ruins of Dārābjird formed the ancient citadel of Pasargadae which contained the tomb of Cyrus.

of Shaykh Ibn-i-Hajr al-Asqalāni,[6] and when he died in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547), my father retired to his own seclusion.

[Mubārak sets up as a teacher at Agra.]

He continued his efforts in the regeneration of his soul while attending to the perfect propriety of his exterior conduct, and was assiduous in his worship of God. He employed himself in teaching various sciences and made the expounding of the opinions of the ancients an occasion for withholding his own, and gave no tongue—that fatal member—to the expression of desire. Some few prudent and virtuous persons of whose sincerity he was assured, he admitted to his society and appreciated their merits, but from the rest he held himself excused and avoided association with them. In a short time his house became the resort of the learned where high and low were honourably received. Among gatherings of friends, there were also conclaves of the envious, but these did not depress him, nor those elate. Sher Khān, Salim Khān and other grandees proposed for him a stipend from the State revenues and to settle on him a suitable freehold, but as he possessed a high spirit and lofty views he declined and thus raised his own reputation.

As he was gifted with an innate aptitude for the direction of men, and held a divine commission for the enunciation of truth, while at the same time he had the concurrence of the saints of his time and the affection of his well-wishers daily increased, he undertook the guidance of those who frequented his lectures and sought enlightenment, and he denounced all evil habits. Self-interested worldlings took offence and entertained unseemly intentions. As he had no desire to oppose any hostile discussion and allowed no thought of acrimony or servility to enter his mind, he did not the less continue to

[6] Shihābu'ddin Abu'l Fazl Ahmad-b-Ali-b Hajr al Asqalāni, the well-known author of the Isābah fi tamyiz is-Sihābah (recta institutio de distinctione inter socios prophetæ). He died in A.H. 852 (A.D. 1449). *Ency. Islam*, ii. 379, under *Ibn-Hadjar*.

speak the truth boldly and to reprove evil doers, and did not attempt to win over quarrelsome seceders. And this occasioned that the Almighty miraculously blessed him with true friends and spiritually-minded sons. Although he employed his hours in teaching philosophy, during the time of the Afghāns he lectured little on theology. When the lofty crescent-bearing standards of Humāyun shed a new splendour over Hindustan, some students from Irān and Turān attended the school of that knower of the mysteries of the spirit and of the world, and his lectures grew in repute, and the field of the thirsty in the drought-year of discernment overflowed with water, while timid travellers encamped in the pleasure-ground of repose. Affairs had now scarcely got into train when the evil-eye fell on them, and Hemu[7] now rose in the ascendant. The well-disposed withdrew into obscurity and retired in disappointment. My venerable father with a stout heart, continued firm in his own seclusion, and by the favour of God, Hemu sent messengers with expressions of apology, and through the interposition of a man of my father's excellent character many were released from the oppression of anxiety and entered the meads of joy.

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[7] Hemu was a shop-keeper whom Salīm Shāh had made Superintendent of the markets, and who was raised by Muhammad Shāh Aādili to the highest honours and entrusted with the whole administration. He certainly proved his great capacity, for he suppressed the revolt of Sikandar Sur in the Punjab, crushed Muhammad Sur in Bengal, captured Agra from the Mughal troops, and defeated Akbar's general Tardi Beg at Delhi. He was, however, eventually beaten at Panipat by Bayrām Khān on the 5th November 1556, after a desperate battle in which he fought with the greatest bravery. He had been shot in the eye by an arrow in his howdah, and though in great agony, he drew the arrow with the eye-ball out of its socket and wrapt it in his handkerchief, and continued the fight to encourage his troops. He was taken prisoner and carried before Akbar. Bayrām recommended the king to slay him with his own hand and fulfil a meritorious act. Akbar lightly touched him with his sabre and became entitled to the honours of a Ghāzi—a slayer of infidels. The deed itself he suffered Bayrām to execute, who decapitated Hemu at a single blow. Saladin, a tru[illegible]

[Abul Fazl's recollections of the famine and plague in Hindustan in 1556.]

In the beginning of the year of the accession of His Majesty to the imperial throne, as though wild rue.[8] [P. 264] were set on fire upon the State with the view of arresting the evil-eye, a great famine occurred, which raised the dust of dispersion. The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses. In addition to this and other immeasurable disasters, a plague became epidemical. This calamity and destruction of life extended throughout most of the cities of Hindustan. Still that enlightened sage remained in his seclusion and the dust of tepidity settled not in the serene chamber of his mind. The writer of this work was then five years old,[9] and the luminary of discernment so blazed before the arch of his vision that its expression cannot enter the mould of language, nor, if expressed, would it find access to the narrow hearing of mankind. He has a perfect recollection of this event, and the evidence of eye-witnesses confirms his testimony. The distress of the times ruined many families and multitudes died. In that habitation[10] about 70 people, in all, male and female, high and low, may have survived. Contemporaries marvelled at the easy circumstances and general cheerfulness of the dervishes and attributed it to magic

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[8] It is popularly supposed that a fumigation with wild rue and its seeds which are set alight, arrest the malignant effects of the evil-eye. The term used is "the eye of perfection". The praise of any object in the possession of an Oriental is regarded as ominous by him and as bringing a nemesis with it, for all perfect things decline after reaching their zenith.

[9] He was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram 958 (14 January 1551).

[10] I presume this means the quarter in which his family resided. There is no mention of these distresses in Ferishta. Abul Fazl makes a brief allusion to it in the Akbarnāmah. He says that there was great scarcity throughout Hindustan, and especially in Delhi where the famine was extreme, and although money might be obtained, food-grain was not to be had ; men were driven to feed on human flesh, and parties were formed to carry off any solitary person in order to eat him. Text, Vol, II. 35.

and incantation. Sometimes a *ser* of grain would be obtained, which was set to boil in earthenware vessels, and the warm water distributed amongst these people. Most strange of all was that there occurred no difficulty of provision in my father's house, and except the worship of God no other thought disturbed his mind, and save an examination of his own conscience and a perusal of the travels of the spirit no other occupation employed him, until the mercy of God was vouchsafed unto all and a universal affluence lit the countenance of joy. The royal standards shone again with splendour and by a daily increasing justice filled the world with a new radiance. The palace of wisdom grew in amplitude and the wares of knowledge rose to a high price. Science in its many branches and learning of every kind were now diffused. New elucidations, high and lofty views and important discoveries were published abroad and all classes of men received countless benefits from the treasury of intellect. The quiet retirement of that discerning nature became the resort of the learned of the universe, and the highest topics were matters of discussion. But the envy that had been chilled now warmed to life, and the malevolence of the wicked increased. My father steadily followed his own course disregarding the fashion of the times and sitting at the gate of independence pursued not the road of prescribed conventionality. Men of little influence and envious, losing patience followed the path of detraction. Most of them accused him of attachment to the Mahdawi doctrines,[11] and uttered the most absurd fictions. They stirred up the simple and ignorant, and did their best to produce keen annoyance by their evil intrigues. The chief instrument in their hands was the affair of Shaykh Alāi.

[Affair of Shaikh Alāi, a follower of Mir Sayyid Md. of Jaunpur, who was regarded as the predicted Mahdi.]

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[11] See Vol. I. Biog. iii, iv. ff. for the Mahdawi movement and the history of Shaykh Alāi. On the *Mahdawi* sect, *Ency. Islam*, iii. 111. On the *Mahdi*, *ibid*, iii. 111-115. [J. S.]

There is a sect in India who regard Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur as the predicted Mahdi and go to extreme lengths in this assertion, and forgetting the other demonstrations[12] of this mission besides doctrine, works, and blameless moral conduct, adopt this movement. In the reign of Salim Khān, a youth called Shaykh Alāi, irreproachable in his character and conduct, fell into this whirlpool, and came into that auspicious city (of Agra), originally for the purpose of seeing my venerable father with a view to a life of seclusion and retirement. Certain seditious men who sought [P. 265] but a pretext, were loud in their frivolous accusations and gave occasion to scandal. The learned of the day who are ignorant pretenders and sell poisonous herbs under show of antidotes, rose up in malice against him and conspired to put him to death, and even obtained judicial decrees. My father did not concur with them and found neither reason nor tradition on their side. They sought to bring the dispute before the Emperor of Hindustan, and strove for their own undoing. The king assembled a council of the learned of the time, and great efforts were made to obtain a legal sentence. My venerable father was also summoned to attend. When his opinion was asked, he gave it against the crafty pretenders who sought but their own advancement. From that day, they maliciously imputed to him an attach-

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[12] Amongst these are that he must be of the tribe of the Quraysh and of the family of Fātima. His countenance will be open and his nose aquiline, and he will fill the earth with equity and justice as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression. A rival, also of the Quraysh, will be raised up to oppose him, who will levy war against him and obtain aid of his uncles of the tribe of Kalb. During the reign of the Mahdi, heaven and earth will be pleased with him and there shall be abundant rains, and the earth will give forth her fruits and men's lives will pass pleasantly, and he will continue on the earth seven, eight or nine years, and dying, will be prayed over by the Muslims. Other tokens have been predicted, such as the black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorāsān ; but these were additions made in the interest of the Abbasides and for the glory of that house. See also Biochmann's extract from the Rauzat u'l Aimmah. Vol. I. Biog. iii.

ment to that cause, and on so trifling a point as to whether the mission of the Mahdi is a tradition of authority or otherwise,[13] out of sheer malignity, they proceeded to such lengths that he was ruined. Some evil-minded men reviled him for the Shiah tendencies which they presumed he held, not understanding that knowledge is one thing and profession is another.

[Theologians opposed to Mubärak denounce Mir Muhammad as a heretic. Before Islam Shah Sur Mubārak defends the Mir's doctrines as orthodox.]

At this very time they also made a suspect of one of the Sayyids of I'rāq[14] who was among the choicest souls of the age, whose character and conduct were alike virtuous and his precepts harmonized with his actions: but by the royal favour their arm was shortened from reaching him. One day in the royal presence, they represented that no religious authority should be accorded to the Mir, and that since his views were repudiated, it would be inconsistent to recognize his leadership in religious functions. They adduced some cases in point from ancient Hanafi treatises in support of their contention that the teaching of I'rāq dignitaries (*ashrāf*), ought not to be accepted. The prospects of the Mir were gloomy. As he was on terms of fraternal religious intimacy with my father, he laid the whole truth before him, and my father comforted him with judicious counsel and encouraged him to confront more boldly the suggestions of the wicked,

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[13] I accept the variant reading in the note ; traditions related only on one authority are in contradistinction to traditions supported by several contemporary and concurrent narrators.

[14] This was probably Miyān Abdu'llah, a Niyāzi Afghān and a disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. See Vol. I. Biog. v. Badauni's own version of the persecution of Shaikh Mubärak is given in Vol. II, text p. 198-200, where he says that Mubārak first took refuge with Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur, who merely sent him money by some of his disciples and advised him to go away to Gujrat ; Mubārak next appealed to Mirzà 'Aziz Kokah, who praised the Shaikh to Akbar and secured the Emperor's pardon for him. [J. S.]

and in refutation of the traditionary authority that had been cited against him, he stated that they had not understood its drift. What had been brought forward from the Hanafi works referred not to Persian but to Arabian I'râq, and many passages he quoted in confirmation thereof; and further that they had not distinguished between dignitaries *par excellence* (*ashraf i ashrāf*) and the nobles (*ashrāf*), for the degrees of royal rewards and punishments are assigned distributively to four classes. The *first* is the pre-eminent (*ashraf i ashāf*), such as doctors, divines, Sayyids, and holy men. The *second* is termed *ashrāf*, the noble, that is the officials and land proprietors and the like. The *third* is styled *awsāt*, or the intermediate, which is understood as comprising the industrial and commercial professions. The *fourth* comprises the inferior orders who do not rise to the preceding degree, such as the mob and the low rabble. Each of these orders is subject to a separate code of sanctions regulating the acknowledgment of honourable service and the penalties of misconduct. And, indeed, if every evil-doer was to receive the same punishment, this would be a deviation from justice. The Mir was emboldened by this assurance and much rejoiced, and in order to clear himself and expose the ignorance of his traducers, he submitted the opinion of the Shaykh for the royal consideration. Those wicked men with their evil machinations were confounded. When they discovered the source of their confusion, they were inflamed with jealousy. Similar instances of assistance such as this were divulged and contributed to the turbulence of the ignorant. Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no [P. 266] creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him. After a long controversy, this point was abandoned and they

reverted to the accusation of his Shiah tendencies; but by the protection of God the detractor was covered with shame, his infamy exposed and he was overwhelmed with confusion: nevertheless, in his recusancy and blindness he took no admonition and continued to seek his occasion, confirmed in his malice, until the wondrous ways of destiny and the caprice of fortune were manifested, and a vast dispersion came as an exemplary warning.

[In 1570, Shaikh Mubārak sets up as a public teacher in Agra. The bigots in envy form a plot to ruin him.]

In the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), my father came forth from his retirement, and great troubles presented themselves, of which I shall briefly make mention as a hortatory instruction. Although the hornet's-nest of envy was still in commotion, and the viper's hole alive with the brood, the night-lamp of friendship dim and even the good intent on molestation had closed the door of estrangement, as has been already alluded to, at this time I say, when learning was regarded with honour and the distinguished of the day were his disciples and the numbers at his lectures were in full attendance and my father, according to his custom, denounced all evil habits and exhorted his friends and well-wishers to avoid them, the learned doctors and divines of the time who regarded his beautiful soul as a mirror to their own defects, maliciously conspired to restore their position. Labouring under the convulsions of their tortuous purposes, they represented to themselves that if they could but adduce some particular instance to convince His Majesty who loved justice, it would signally re-establish their former titles to esteem and result in a condition disastrous (to my father). Oppressed by grief and vexation, they continued their intrigues and boldly advanced in a course of detraction and by their sophistries and crafty insinuation they led astray many of the courtiers with their show of affected regrets.

Some amongst the evil-disposed they roused by an appeal to their bigotry.

Although for a considerable period this unseemly conduct had continued, yet by the aid of virtuous and truthful individuals, the conspiracies of the wicked had always been defeated. At this juncture, however, this honest and trusty band were remote, and the chief of these intriguers at court set himself to gratify his malice. These shameless wretches and unclean spirits of evil found their opportunity. My venerable father had gone to the house of a servant of God and I had the happiness of accompanying him. That overweening braggart[15] with his affected haughtiness was also present at the visit and began his crafty discourse. The conceit of learning and exuberant youth possessed me. I had never before set foot outside of college to be present at any public functions, but his vain words drove me to open my lips and I spoke so much to the point that he was ashamed and the spectators were amazed. From that day, he vowed to avenge his being convicted of ignorance, and emboldened those who had lost heart. My venerable father was unconscious of their designs and I in my pride of knowledge, gave no heed. At first those worldlings without religion, like crafty schemers, convened assemblies ostensibly in the interests of truth and religion, and by persecuting assaults on those who sought but quiet, many were hunted to death. [P. 267] Whenever a monarch, well meaning and with every good intention, leaves the direction of religion, education and justice entirely to a body who are outwardly respectable, and himself assumes in their regard the mantle of indifference, the influence of the truthful and righteous wanes and the crooked-moving white-ants of learning and the

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[15] This must refer to Makhdum-u'l-Mulk, whose bold opposition to Akbar's religious pretensions caused his dismissal from court, his banishment from the kingdom and finally his removal by poison at the instigation of Akbar, if the Sunnis are to be believed. See the notice of his life in Vol. I. Biog. vii.

courtiers unite in intrigue against these few and bigotry has full sway. And it comes to pass that families are subverted and reputations totally ruined. At such a time when these wretches had gained credit for virtue, like a bride that is falsely passed off for a virgin and proves a harlot, and when graceless worldlings were triumphant, and the sordid and blind of heart were united in purpose, sympathetic friends remote, the honest of speech secluded, and the gatherings of contention of the profane frequent, these conspiracies were hatched and compacts of persecution made.

[In a dark night Shaikh Mubārak and his two elder sons flee from their home, on hearing a treacherous friend's false report of an impending attack by their enemies.]

One of the double-faced and fickle, a fallen angel of malevolent cunning who had insidiously crept into the lecture-rooms of my venerable father under a show of sincerity and was in collusion and understanding with that body, was found and despatched at mid-night inspired with impious deceits and spells to infatuate. That clever imposter at dead of night with a trembling heart and tearful eyes, a pallid colour and dejected countenance, hastened to my elder brother's chamber and his evil spells disturbed that simple soul and seduced one ignorant of guile and deceit. The purport of his information was this: "The principal men of the day have been for a long time hostile, and the faithless and ungrateful without shame. They have now found this opportunity and mean persecution. Many of these turbaned divines are witnesses and having appointed a prosecutor, have incited him to procure an investigation on colourable pretexts into their slanders. Every one knows the influence these men have at court and how many eminent men for their own aggrandizement they have had put out of their way, and what high-handed persecutions they have enforced. I have a friend in their secret counsels. Even now at midnight he informed me of this, and I have in trepidation come to you lest when

day breaks it may be too late to mend matters. Now my advice is that they should convey the Shaykh to some concealment without any one's knowledge and let him for a few days live retired until his friends can assemble and he can represent his case fully to His Majesty." That good soul [Faizi] took alarm and with much agitation went to the Shaykh's chamber and informed him of the case. He answered: "Though my enemies may be powerful, the Almighty is vigilant and a just monarch now rules the world. If a handful of godless unprincipled men are unrighteously filled with envy, the obligation of pledges is still binding and the door of investigation is not closed. Moreover, if the decrees of God for my injury have not been issued, though all are united against me they can avail nothing and can do no evil nor inflict harm upon me; but if the will of the Creator be this, I will cheerfully and gladly give my life and withdraw from the possession of this fleeting existence." As my brother was scarce master of himself and afflicted with grief, mistaking truth for self-deception as he had mistaken a false pretext for condolence, he drew his dagger and said, "Practical business is one thing and religious mysticism is another; if you do not go I will at once kill myself: for the rest, look you to it. I shall not await here the day of ruin." The paternal bond and fatherly affection induced compliance with his wish. At the command of that serene sage I was also awoke.

Under compulsion, then, in the darkness of that night, three persons set out, having no appointed guide and unequal to the fatigues of travel. My venerable sire, reflecting on the accidents of fortune, maintained silence, while between myself and my brother, than whom one more inexpert at the time in political dealings or worldly business one could not imagine, a conversation continued and we spoke of our place of retreat. Whomsoever he mentioned I objected to and whom I named he disapproved.

With outstretched arm against me comes the foe;
No trusty friend averts the threatened blow.
Throughout the world man and his works I see,
But not a trace bespeaks humanity.

[The helpless fugitive family of Mubārak remove from place to place but find no friendly shelter.]

Driven to extremity, after a thousand difficulties we arrived at the house of a person regarding whose fidelity my brother was assured and of whom I, fasting in the morn of existence and of little account in the market of this elemental frame, had not the least suspicion. At the sight of his peaceful and dignified visitors, the man was surprised and regretted our coming and was in hesitancy how to act. At last he found a place for our lodging. When we entered the house it was more forbidding than his own heart. A strange scene took place and an exceeding sorrow filled our minds. My elder brother hung round me saying, "Notwithstanding my greater experience, I have been mistaken, and thou with little knowledge of men hast judged aright. Now what is to be done and what is the course proposed, and where may we take refuge?" I replied, "Nothing has as yet happened; let us return to our own home and let me be the spokesman, and perhaps the badges of office of these worldlings will be removed and the trouble that threatens be overcome." My father applauded and approved the counsel, but my brother would not consent and said, "Thou hast no knowledge of this business nor perceive the fraud and diabolical malignity of these men. Let us leave this place and discuss as we go along." Although I had not traversed the desert of experience nor the good and evil ways of men, a divine inspiration suggested a person to my mind and I said, "It has occurred to me that if things go fairly well, such a one will help, but in a time of serious trouble it will be difficult for him to join us." As time was pressing and our minds in perplexity we set out in his direction. Footsore we pro-

ceeded through ways clogged with mud and reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune. Loosing hold of the "strong handle" of reliance in God, trudging onwards disspirited and thinking the world in pursuit, we advanced each step with difficulty, breathing with effort, oppressed with exceeding sorrow and believing the day of the resurrection of the wicked at hand.

At dawn we reached his house. At the news he met us with cordiality and found us a suitable lodging and our many cares were somewhat abated. [P. 269]

[Shaikh Mubārak's enemies get a royal warrant issued to arrest him for trial according to the Qurānic law against heresy.—Akbar orders his release—Mubārak's enemies still persecute him.]

In this retreat after two days, we learnt that these envious agitators had lifted the veil of shame and openly divulged the intentions of their foul minds and like crafty intriguers on the morning of that night they represented their case to His Majesty and perplexed his august mind. An order was issued from the imperial palace that affairs of state should not be transacted without consultation with them, that this was a question of faith and religion the issue of which lay entirely in their hands, that the fugitives should be summoned before the judicial tribunal and whatever the illustrious law decided and the heads of the government determined should be carried out. The royal persuivants were set on and despatched in search, and when they learnt what had happened they made every effort at discovery. Some evil-doers, plotters of villainy, accompanied them and not finding us in our dwelling and believing a vain report, they surrounded the house and finding my brother Abu'l Khayr in the house they took him to the court and reported our flight with a hundred embellishments, and made it an occasion of shameless accusations. By an extraordinary favour of heaven His sagacious Majesty was apprised of this gathering of interested detractors and their manner of insinuation, and replied,

"Why is all this hostility shown against an obscure dervish and learned ascetic, and what is the object of this senseless clamour? The Shaykh constantly travels and has now probably gone abroad for recreation. Why have they brought this boy? and why interdicted the house?" The boy was at once released and the prohibition against the house removed. The breeze of favour now blew upon that dwelling. Since some difficulties were in the way and apprehension was uppermost and various rumours contradicted the above, we fugitives disbelieving it remained in concealment. The base villains covered with confusion now thought that as their victims were without house and home, this was the time to carry out their designs and that some dark-minded miscreants should be engaged to kill them wherever they met them, lest they should learn what had happened and introduce themselves to the royal court and secure justice by the lustre of their talents. Concealing, therefore, the answer of the King, they put forth some alarming and awe-inspiring language as though uttered by his august lips and thus terrified unsuspecting and time-serving friends. And they issued some plausible documents misleading men into wrong conclusions and thus held them back from intended assistance. After a week, the master of the house too becoming discouraged, began to be vexatious and his servants discontinued their former civility. The minds of the fugitives were under apprehension, and their agitated hearts were convinced that the first report had no foundation, that the King was investigating and the world in pursuit, and that the master of the house would undoubtedly surrender them. An exceeding grief overwhelmed them and a great fear entered their hearts. I said: "Judging for myself, of this much I am assured that the original rumour is correct, otherwise they would not have released my brother nor would the guards over our house have been removed. May not this supposed incivility [P. 270] be only outward? In a time of security whenever an ill

rumour was heard, even good men, led away by it, rose against us: now if a man like the master of the house, is afraid, what is there to wonder at? and if he intended to apprehend us, there would have been no change in his outward demeanour and he would not have delayed. The fabrications of malevolent reprobates have undoubtedly bewildered him and have induced his men to this, so that seeing this discourtesy we should leave the house and relieve his mind of anxiety." Thus reflecting we were somewhat recovered and set ourselves to devise some plan, and a dark day dawned more distressful than the first night, and gloomy was the prospect before us. They applauded both my first opinion and this statement of my views and recognized me as a counsellor and trusted adviser and overlooking my youth they promised not to oppose my advice in future.

[Wanderings of the persecuted Shaikh Mubārak and his sons—the dangers and privations they underwent when fleeing from the bigoted heresy-hunters.]

When evening drew on, with hearts filled with a thousand anxieties and wounded bosoms and minds oppressed with sorrow, we went forth from that dreadful abode of woe, without a helper in sight, with fainting limbs, no place of refuge visible nor any prospect of peace. On a sudden in that gloomy haunt of demons, a flash shone and gladness smiled again. The house of one of the disciples appeared in sight and there for a while we rested. Although his abode was darker than his heart and his heart blacker than our first night, we reposed a while and recovered from bewilderment; but though at the end of our resources and in the depths of depression, our minds continued active and our thoughts were roused to reflection. As we found no place of rest and nothing to comfort us I remarked that we had of late seen all that our best friends and oldest pupils and most steadfast disciples would do for us. The most advisable course to pursue was now to take ourselves away from this city of

hypocrisy which was a dungeon inimical to learning and injurious to perfection, and to withdraw from these double-faced friends and unstable acquaintances whose loyalty rests on the breeze of spring and their performance on a rushing torrent. Perhaps a corner of privacy might be obtained and a stranger take us under his protection. There we might learn somewhat of the condition of His Majesty and discover the measure of his anger or clemency. It was possible to fall in with some kindly and upright friends and get a savour of the state of the times. If the occasion be favourable and fortune propitious we may again see better days, and if not, why the expanse of the world has not been contracted. Every bird has its perch and the corner of its nest and there is no commission of perpetual residence in this region of penalty. A certain noble, having obtained an assignment of land in the neighbourhood of the city had here settled; we might decipher the impressions of truth from the daily journal of his circumstances and the odour of his friendship be inhaled by the sense of a penetrating brain. Let us therefore abandoning all else, betake ourselves to him that we may repose somewhat in that inaccessible spot. Although the amity of worldlings has no fixed centre or constancy, there is this much at least that he has no further intercourse with those people. My good brother, changing his garments, set out at once on the road and hastened in that direction. Our friend was delighted at the news [P. 271] and cordially welcomed our advent as a piece of good fortune. And since it was a time of insecurity, he brought some soldiers[16] with him so that no harm could come to us on the road and we should not be at the mercy of evil-disposed pursuers. In the midnight of despair that ready and vigilant friend arrived and conveyed the good tidings of comfort and brought the message of repose. On the instant we changed our garments

[16] Lit. Turks, but I apprehend the meaning is any guard of armed men. They were probably Mughals.

and started on our journey and by divers roads arrived at his dwelling. He displayed great geniality and did us the highest service and an exceeding contentment was the harbinger of our happiness. For ten days we rested in his house and were safe from the warfare of the world, when suddenly a disaster more overwhelming than the preceding fell upon us from the firmament of fate. For, verily, the man was summoned to the royal court, and with the same strong potation with which the second man had been intoxicated, they finished this one's business and he became more hopelessly drunk than the former. He straightway rolled up the parchment of acquaintance.

One night, leaving that place we came to another friend. He welcomed our auspicious arrival as a privilege. But as he lived in the vicinity of an evil-disposed and turbulent person, he fell into great bewilderment and exceeding anxiety nearly drove him distracted. When the house was all asleep, we set forth without any definite destination in prospect and however much we thought and pondered we found no resting place and therefore with an agitated heart and minds oppressed with sorrow, we returned to his house. Strangely enough the men of the house were not aware that we had left it. For a short space we who had severed the cord of reliance on God, took repose and thus forgot our troubles. My brother expressed his opinion that our leaving the place was an impulse of fear not a counsel of wisdom. However much I represented to him that the man's vacillation was a sufficient guide and the change of manner in his servants a clear proof, it was of no avail and as the signs of dissatisfaction in our host increased, no other remedy was at hand. When that light-headed, improvident and overreaching individual reflected in his mind that these people ignorant of the inconvenience they cause, will take no hint and will not vacate the house, at daybreak without taking counsel with us or saying a kind word, he marched off and his venal servitors loading

their tents took their departure. Here were we three left stranded in the wilds, in the neighbourhood of which a cattle-market had been established. A strange predicament it was —no place to abide in—no idea of whither to go—and no veil to conceal us. On every side were double-faced friends, determined enemies, base and cruel men, and time-servers banded together in pursuit, and we sitting in the dust of helplessness, in a wilderness without shelter, with gloomy prospects, in present distress and sunk in prolonged grief. However, in any case it was necessary to rise and proceed. Through that concourse of miscreants we passed on; the protection of God hung a veil before the eyes of men, and under the divine assistance and guard we went forth from that place of terror, and abandoning the fears of companionship and all trust in men, we escaped from the reproach of strangers and the God-speed of friends. We happened to come upon a garden where some kind of refuge offered itself. Our lost vigour returned and our hearts were greatly strengthened. And now it suddenly became manifest that some of our graceless pursuers frequented the place. Wearied with our search we rested for a while. Then [P. 272] with minds distracted and outwardly woebegone we came forth. In whatever direction we went, some unforeseen calamity filled us with gloom and our places were scarcely warm ere we set forth again in the wilderness of danger, until at length in this restless wandering and blind vagrancy the gardener recognised us and our condition became desperate. We were nigh expiring and resigning the bond of life. That good man with many expressions of good will restored our drooping spirits and charitably took us to his house and endeavoured to console us. Although my dear brother was still in the same wretched state and every moment grew paler, my spirits on the contrary rose. I read the signs of probity in the countenance of that genial person. My venerable father himself in communion with God was on the prayer-carpet of prudence

and watched the course of events. Some part of the night had passed when the master of the gardener came forward with great cordiality and lengthened the tongue of reproval saying, "What! with such a friend as I am here, do you alight in this place of confusion! Why have you plucked your skirts from me?" and he acted in a manner which we could not have anticipated. I answered: "In this storm, which is according to an enemy's desire, we sought withdrawal from all our sincere friends and loyal well-wishers lest any injury befall them on this account." He was somewhat confused and said: "If you are not contented to stay in my house, let us see what can be done." He indicated to us a place of safety; the appearances of sincerity were evident from his language and following his wish, we chose a quiet nook and there alighted. We found here a retreat such as we desired, and from that place we despatched truthful accounts to people of just and commendable dispositions and to faithful friends, and each one became cognizant of our condition and set about remedying it and thus our pulses were quieted.

[A noble intercedes for Shaikh Mubārak. Akbar summons the Shaikh to his presence.]

We remained a little more than a month in that restful place and my good brother went from Agra to Fathpur, meaning when he reached the royal camp, to make our devoted partisans more zealous in our behalf. One morning that all-loving and circumspect soul returned with a thousand anxieties and troubles, bringing distressing news. It seems that one of the chief nobles and grey-beard elders of the imperial court on the information of these envious wretches, became furious, and without soliciting the usual permission or paying his submissive respects, entered the presence of Majesty with brusqueness and roughly said, "Has the world come to an end or is the day of resurrection at hand that in this court malicious fanatics have their way and good men are confounded? What ordinance is this that we have;

and what ingratitude is this now shown?" My brother who loved peace, acknowledging his good intentions said, "To whom dost thou allude and what dost thou want of this person? Hast thou seen a vision? or is thy brain distracted?" When he mentioned the name, His Majesty was surprised at his wrong impression and said: "All the chief men of the day seem determined to persecute and do him to death and have passed judicial decrees against him. They give me no peace (P. 273) for a moment. Although I know that the Shaykh is in such and such a place (mentioning our retreat), I purposely take no notice of it, and I answer each one of them with a rebuke. Thou art clamorous without knowing and dost overstep due limits. Let some one go to-morrow morning and summon the Shaykh to the presence and an assembly of the divines shall be held." My good brother as soon as he heard of this disturbance came post-hate, and without any one's knowing, as before, we changed our clothes and set out and an anxiety more painful than on any previous occasion of disappointment, filled our minds with misgiving. Although it was in some degree evident how far people were in accord with us and what representations had been made by them to His Majesty and the extent of his knowledge of our circumstances,—knowledge that could read the invisible—nevertheless a greater apprehension disquieted us. Without our host's being aware, that very morning we began our journey. The blazing light of the sun, the dark plots of the wicked, the crush in the streets of the city, the movements of the spies, the absence of friends, the lack of these to share our burdens—what power has a pen of wood to tell but a fraction of this situation? and where even eloquent lips would stammer, what craft can lie in its divided tongue? At last with many heart-sinkings we turned into unbeaten tracks and escaped in some measure the turmoil of the city and the eyes of enemies.

[Painful wanderings of Shaikh Mubārak and his sons

in search of a safe refuge—no friend bold enough to shelter them—their privations and residence in hiding.]

Since the condescension of His Majesty had newly become manifest, we now proposed to get together some horses and from those wilds to hasten on to the city of auspiciousness and alight at the residence of a certain person of whose integrity we had had long experience. Then perchance this turmoil might abate and the King put forth the hand of clemency. Of necessity, then, like prudent men, we prepared the requisites of travel and on a night darker than the minds of the envious and more protracted than the machinations of the vain of speech, we set out on the road. Withal the inexperience of the guide and his crooked proceedings, in the dawn of morning we arrived at that gloomy place. Our not very cordial host though he did not deny us, yet told such a tale of discomfiture as cannot be expressed, and by way of consideration for us said that the occasion had now passed and that His Majesty's august mind was somewhat irritated; had we come before, there would have been no detriment and our difficulties would easily have been overcome: that he could point out a village, in the neighbourhood, in the obscurity of which we might pass a few days until the hallowed pleasure of the King might incline to favour. Putting us into a conveyance he sent us off in that direction. We became a prey to a variety of sorrows. When we reached the spot, the land-proprietor in dependence on whom we had been sent, was absent. We alighted without a shelter in that ruin in the midst of civilization. The overseer had occasion to read a document and discovering the signs of intelligence in our appearance, he sent for us. As we were pressed for time we hurried along the road of refusal and it shortly appeared that this village belonged to one of those said stony-hearted miscreants. The man in his stupidity had sent us here. With much disquietude and full of anxiety we flung ourselves out of the

place and taking an unknown guide we made for a village in the dependency of the capital city of Agra whence some savour of friendliness had reached us. Travelling for three *kos*, on the same day by devious paths we reached our destination. That good man shewed us every courtesy, but it was discovered that there also one of those vain schemers had a farm and that at times he visited the place. Retiring [P. 274] thence, at midnight with downcast hearts we set out for the city and reaching Agra, the capital, at daybreak we discovered the abode of a (supposed) friend. Here for a space in this dust-heap of disappointment and dormitory of oblivion, this place of depravity abounding in demons, this defile of ignorance, we reposed, but it was not long before he began to speak of those malevolent enemies of God and shameless intriguers. In the companionship as we were, of such a lying, crazed and quarrelsome fanatic, our minds were verily oppressed by a new grief and exceeding bewilderment. And since our feet were worn with tramping, our heads with thoughts of night-travel, our ears with the sound of "come in", and our eyes with the pricking of sleeplessness, an extraordinary anguish filled our spirits and a weight of grief was in stewardship of our hearts. Of necessity we thought of other plans and the master of the house also, occupied himself in finding a place for us.

[A good householder kindly entertains Mubārak and his sons of two months, while they seek for some friend at Court who would speak for them to the Emperor. Mubārak and Faizi are presented to Akbar.]

Two days we spent in this interior agitation, and passed the hours in thinking each moment was our last until the recollection of a certain well-disposed person occurred to the saintly mind of that serene sage (my father), and by the aid of the master of the house and his assiduous search he was discovered and a thousand happy announcements brought us security. Straightway we went to that abode of peace and

received comfort from the cordiality and genial reception of its master.. The breeze of prosperity now blew upon the garden of our hopes and the face of our circumstances was newly refreshed. Although he was not one of the infallible guides to truth, he possessed a large share of virtue. In obscurity he lived with good repute; he was rich though possessing little, cheerful in his poverty, and though old in years, youth shone from his aspect. We here had a delightful retreat and we again began our correspondence and sought to repair our fortunes.

For two months we continued to abide in this home of comfort and the door of our desire was unclosed. Well-wishers seeking justice came to our rescue and men of experience and high position girt themselves in our aid. With speech of persuasive friendliness and sweet words of reconciliation they won over the seditious intriguers and ignoble wrong-doers, and next they brought before His Majesty the exemplary conduct of the Shaykh and made their representations in an engaging and conciliatory spirit. His Majesty in his foresight and knowledge of character, vouchsafed the most gracious answers and in his generous impulse and magnanimity desired his attendance. As I was inexperienced in worldly affairs, I did not accompany him, and that illumined sage with my elder brother set the face of supplication to the royal court. At once the hornets' nest of the ungrateful was quiet. The disturbed world was at peace. The courses of instruction and the quiet sanctuary of holy recollection were established as before, and the age again displayed the ways of the just.

Love's quarrels of the past, O night, bring never back their pain,
Nor secrets of the heart reveal as yesterday again,
For wearily the hours crept by, thou knowest, with lagging feet,
But give, O, give me back the days of love and union sweet.

[Shaikh Mubārak gives spiritual teaching to young Abul Fazl—takes him to join a party of divines on a grand pilgrimage to the saints' tombs around Delhi, though he disapproved of such ostentation and mystic ecstacies. Abul Fazl comes out of his school-boy seclusion into busy society.]

About this time my venerable father went on a pilgrimage to holy Delhi and took me with him, accompanied by some of the disciples of his saintly conferences. Since the time he had taken up his abode in the metropolis he was so much absorbed in spiritual contemplation in that hermitage of light that he had had no leisure to observe the marvels of the earth. Suddenly this desire took possession of his heart and he *loosened the skirt of resolve*, and honouring me with unique consideration, he made me, who over and above the earthly bonds of sonship was attached by spiritual ties, a partaker of his secret.

To recount briefly; once at early dawn, when his heart was lifted up to heaven and he was upon the carpet of praise and supplication, between sleeping and waking, Khwājah Qutbuddin U'shi and Nizāmu'ddin Awliyā appeared to him, and upon this numerous divines gathered together and a conference was held for consultation as to what it was advisable to do, and it was proposed to visit their tombs by way of propitiation (of the spirits of the two saints) immediately and there perform a religious ceremonial after their ordinances.[17] My venerable father after the manner of his saintly ancestors, preserved an exact outward decorum and indulged not in the hearing of songs nor the vanity of silk attire, and did not approve of the ecstasies of music and dance affected by the Sufis. He spoke against the followers of this practice and he used constantly to say that on the assumption of the in-

[17] The text (p. 275) reads *bazm-i-masālihat ārāstah āmad,* which Jarrett translates as "a feast of reconciliation was celebrated". I suggest the emendation *maslihat* (=advice, consultation) and take *bazm* to be Abul Fazl's usual bombast for an ordinary meeting. My other changes here are consequential. (J. Sarkar.)

difference between rich and poor, praise and blame, earth and gold, which was one of the principles on which this system proceeded, it contained within itself the volatility of unrest and he regarded it as a place of blacksliding unto the wise. He commanded a rigid abstention therefrom, withdrew from it himself and restrained his friends. But, in truth, on this night, these slumberers on the couch of vigilance who looked on this ceremony as they would on their last journey, went into such exhaustive proof of the innocence of their intention and the morality of the act that they carried away the concurrence of my father. In that happy journey many of the tombs of those who sleep in that land of roses were passed, and hearts were filled with light, and blessings were vouchsafed (whereof if the narrative were detailed, men would regard it as an idle fiction and in suspicion might impute the stain of sin), until I was carried from the hermitage of seclusion to the court of wordly intercourse and the gate of prosperity was opened and I obtained the summit of distinction. The condition of the inebriate with greed and those who were a prey to envy became gloomy and my heart was pained and compassionated their confusion. I made a steadfast vow to the Almighty and I promised myself that the wronging of these blind souls who are as a lamp without light and an invisible sign, should be effaced from the path of my upright heart and I would allow no feeling but kindness to enter therein. By the aid of the grace of God I enforced this resolve and gained new satisfaction and my mind new vigour. Men abandoning evil-doing took to sociability and drew the breath of repose. My venerable father occupied himself in admonition and exposed the unquarrelsomeness, the crooked ways, the untruth and the unworthiness of men and enjoined the chastisement of evil-doers. I was inclined to be reticent about speaking of these close secrets and was ashamed to reply to my venerable father. Eventually I was compelled to represent what had

happened to him to His Majesty and relieved the ebullition of my father's spirit. Many of his anxieties were now relieved and his long open wounds were healed.

[P. 276] To make a long story short, when the imperial standards advanced to the capital of Lahore for reasons of state, and my heart was sore at parting from that preceptor of truth, in the thirty-second year of the reign, corresponding with the lunar year 995 (A.D. 1586-87), I invited his gracious visit. On the 23rd of the 3rd month (Khurdād) of the Divine Era and the thirty-second year of the reign, coinciding with Saturday, the 6th of Rajab of the above lunar year (31st May, 1586), that knower of all things material and spiritual fulfilling my desire, cast the shadow of his beneficence on me who though engaged in the world preferred solitude, and honoured me by special kindnesses. He ever found delight in seclusion, and renouncing all else passed his days in self introspection and in the renovation of the ever-capricious spirit.

Inasmuch as he troubled himself little about worldly knowledge, his conversation was always regarding the essence and attributes of God and he took heedful warning and led an independent life apart and gathered the skirts of liberation of spirit until his august health lost its elementary equilibrium. Although he had often suffered in the same way before, he learnt on this occasion, that it was his last journey and summoning this bewildered creature addressed me in words of salutary advice and went through the last obligations of farewell. As all that he said was between us alone and he shared with me in confidence his inmost thoughts, I kept down my anguish of heart and with many efforts commanded some self-restraint and by the miraculous efficacy of that leader in the world of sanctity, to some extent was calm. After seven days, in full consciousness and at the very dawn of the 24th of the 5th month (*Amurdād*) of the Divine Era, on the 17th of Zi'lqaadah, A.H. 1001[18] (Tuesday,

4th August, 1593) he passed into the gardens of paradise. The luminary of the firmament of knowledge became obscured and the light of an understanding that knew God grew dim. The back of Learning was bowed and the days of Wisdom itself passed away. Jupiter withdrew his robe from his head and Mercury destroyed his pen.[19]

Gone from the world is he its peerless sage
That to its gaze oped Wisdom's heavenly page.
Where shall his orphaned kin such marvel find,
The Adam and Messiah of his kind!

This has been to some extent evidenced in what has gone before.

[Abul Fazl's birth—his early intellectual brilliancy—diversified education—hard study for ten years.]

As I have now recounted somewhat of my ancestors, I proceed to say a few words regarding myself and thus unburden my mind, in order to refresh this narrative and loosen the bonds of my tongue. In the year 473 of the Jalāli era, corresponding to the night of Sunday, the 6th of Muharram 958 of the lunar reckoning (14th January 1551), my pure spirit joined to this elemental body came forth from the womb into this fair expanse of the world. At a little over one year I had the miraculous gift of fluent speech and at five years of age I had acquired an unusual stock of information [P. 277] and could both read and write. At the age of seven I became the treasurer of my father's stores of knowledge and a trusty keeper of the jewels of hidden meaning and as a serpent,[20] guarded the treasure. And it was strange

[18] In the Biography of Abul Fazl (Vol. I. xviii) Blochmann gives the date as the 4th September, but this cannot be, as the year 1001 began on Monday, 28th September 1592, and Zi'l Hijjah follows Zi'lqaadah.

[19] The office of Jupiter in the Oriental planetary system is supposed to be that of a Qāzi, and the robe represents his official dignity. Mercury is the heavenly scribe.

[20] The Oriental legend of the fabulous guardianship of buried treasure by a serpent has its parallel in the myth of the Hesperides.

that by a freak of fortune my heart was disinclined, my will ever averse, and my disposition repugnant to conventional learning and the ordinary courses of instruction. Generally I could not understand them. My father in his way conjured with the spell of knowledge and taught me a little of every branch of science, and although my intelligence grew, I gained no deep impressions from the school of learning. Sometimes I understood nothing at all, at others doubts suggested themselves which my tongue was incapable of explaining. Either shame made me hesitate or I had not the power of expression. I used to weep in public and put all the blame upon myself. In this state of things I came into fellowship of mind with a congenial helper and my spirit recovered from that ignorance and incomprehension. Not many days had elapsed before his conversation and society induced me to go to college and there they restored to rest my bewildered and dissipated mind and by the wondrous working of destiny they took me away and brought another back.

The temple as I entered, drew they nigh
And brought their gift, a wine-cup brimming high.
Its strength snatched all my senses, self from self,
Wherein some other entered and not I.

The truths of philosophy and the subtleties of the schools now appeared plain, and a book which I had never before seen gave me a clearer insight than any thing I could read. Although I had a special gift which came down upon me from the throne of holiness, yet the inspirations of my venerable father and his making me commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of science, together with the unbroken continuity of this chain, were of immense help, and became one of the most important causes of my enlightenment. For ten years longer I made no distinction between night and day, teaching and learning, and recognized no difference between satiety and hunger, nor discriminated

between privacy and society, nor had I the power to dissever pain from pleasure. I acknowledged nothing else but the bond of demonstration and the tie of knowledge. Those who had a regard for my constitution, from seeing that two and sometimes three days passed without my taking food, and that my studious spirit had no inclination therefor, were amazed, and stood out strongly against it. I answered that my withdrawal was now a matter of habit and custom, and how was it that no one was astonished when the natural inclination of a sick man on an attack of illness was averse from food. If therefore my love of study induced forgetfulness, where was the wonder? Most of the current arguments of the schools, frequently misquoted and misunderstood when heard, and abstruse questions from ancient works, had been presented to the fresh tablet of my mind. Before these points had been elucidated and the attribution to me of extreme ignorance had passed to that of transcendent knowledge, I had taken objection to ancient writers, and men learning my youth, dissented, and my mind was troubled and my inexperienced heart was in agitation. Once in the early part of my career they brought the gloss of Khwājah Abu'l Qāsim, on the *Mutawwal*.[21] All that I had stated before learned doctors and divines of which [P. 278] some of my friends had taken notes, was there found, and those present were astounded and withdrew their dissent, and began to regard me with other eyes and to raise the wicket of misunderstanding and to open the gate of comprehension. In my early days of study, the gloss of Isfahāni more than half of which had

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[21] *Commentarius longior*, the name of a celebrated commentary of Saadu'ddin Masaud-b-U'marat-Taftāzāni (died A.H. 792, A.D. 1389) on the *Talkhisu'l Miftāh* of Shaykh and Imam Jalālu'ddin Mahmud-b-'Abdu'r Rahmān al-Qazwini ash-Shāfiai (died A.H. 739, A.D. 1338). The latter work is on the analysis of grammatical signification and the explanatory science, *i.e.*, rhetoric. Hāji Khalifah devotes several pages to its detail and the glosses that have been written on it and on its commentary, the Mutawwal. That referred to the text is by Abu'l Qāsim-b-Abi Bakr al-Laithi as-Samarqandi.

been eaten by white ants, came under my observation. The public being in despair at profiting by it, I removed the parts that had been eaten and joined blank paper to the rest. In the serene hours of morning, with a little reflection, I discovered the beginnings and endings of each fragment and conjecturally penned a draft text which I transcribed on the paper. In the meanwhile the entire work was discovered, and when both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning; and in three or four others, (differing) citations but approximate in sense. All were astounded.

[Abul Fazl's strange mental disturbance at the age of twenty.]

The more my will was engaged, the more my mind was illumined. At the age of twenty the good tidings of my independence reached me. My mind cast off its former bonds and my early bewilderment recurred. With a parade of much learning, the intoxication of youth effervescing, the skirts of pretension spread wide, and the world-displaying cup of wisdom in my hand, the ringings of delirium began to sound in my ears, and suggested a total withdrawal from the world. Meanwhile the wise prince-regnant called me to mind and drew me from my obscurity, somewhat of which I have in its entirety and somewhat but approximately suggested and acknowledged. Here my coin has been tested and its full weight passed into currency. Men now view me with a different regard, and many effusive speeches have been made amid felicitous congratulations evoked.

On this day which is the last of the 42nd year of His Majesty's reign (A.D. 1598), my spirit again breaks away from its yoke and a new solicitude arises within me.

My songster heart knows not King David's strains:
Let it go free—'tis no bird for a cage.

I know not how it will all end nor in what resting-place my last journey will have to be made, but from the beginning

of my existence until now the grace of God has continuously kept me under its protection. It is my firm hope that my last moments may be spent in doing His will and that I may pass unburdened to eternal rest.

[Thirty-two ways in which Abul Fazl has derived benefits from the grace of God.]

As the enumeration of the benefits of God is one way of expressing gratitude therefor, I here set down a few of these and invigorate my spirit:—

The *first* blessing which I possessed was in belonging to a noble family. It may be hoped that the virtue of my ancestors may atone for my unworthiness and prove a restoration in allaying the turbulence of my spirit, as pain by medicine, fire by water, heat by cold, and a lover by the sight of his beloved.

The *second*, the prosperity of the age and the general security of the times. As eminent men of old have belauded the justice of strangers, what wonder if I glory in the puissance of the monarch of the visible and invisible worlds.

The *third*, the happy fortune that brought me from the womb of fate into so happy a time when the august shadow of majesty has fallen upon me. [P. 279]

The *fourth*, my noble birth on both sides. Somewhat of my father has already been said. What shall I write of her, (my mother), the fragrance of chastity? She possessed all the noble qualities of men and always adorned her precious hours with good works. She united modesty with strength of character, and her words were in accord with her deeds.

The *fifth*, soundness of limbs, proportionate balance of powers and their conformity.

The *sixth*, a long ministering unto those two blessed personages. It was a fortress against outward and inward disasters, and a fence against material and spiritual calamities.

The *seventh*, excellent health, and the antidote of bodily vigour.

The *eighth*, a good house.

The *ninth*, freedom from care as to means, an ... circumstances.

The *tenth*, a daily increasing delight in doing the will ... my parents.

The *eleventh*, the kindness of a father which beyond the ambition of the times loaded me with many bounties and distinguished me as the true patriarch of his house.

The *twelfth*, prayerfulness at the throne of God

The *thirteenth*, imploring the favours of pious ascetics and true seekers of wisdom.

The *fourteenth*, a perpetual guiding grace.

The *fifteenth*, the collection of books on sciences. W... out dishonourable curiosity I became acquainted with the tenets of all creeds, and my spirit was weary of their multitude.

The *sixteenth*, the constant incitement to study on the part of my father and his restraining me from dissipating thoughts.

The *seventeenth*, virtuous companions.

The *eighteenth*, a material love, ordinarily the disturber of households and an earthquake of moral obligations, guided me to the goal of perfection. This wonder fills me every moment with a new astonishment and from time to time I am lost in amazement.

The *nineteenth*, the service of His Majesty which is a new birth and fresh happiness.

The *twentieth*, the recovery from my arrogant presumption through the grace of His Majesty's service.

The *twenty-first*, attaining to a perfect peace through blessings of the august condescension. For some turned from speech to silence; others [P. 280] joined in harmony with the upright of all sects, and for the remaining evil-doers, their penitence being accepted, a reconciliation was brought about. May Almighty God remove the impressions of evil by the rays of knowledge.

The *twenty-second,* my spiritual intercourse with the King of all those that know God.

The *twenty-third,* the raising of me up by His wise Majesty and the bestowal upon me of his confidence without the recommendation of men or my own seeking.

The *twenty-fourth,* the possession of brethren wise, virtuous, and seeking the pleasure of others.

[His brothers.]

Of my eldest brother what shall I say? who notwithstanding his spiritual and worldly perfections, took no step without my concurrence, indiscreet as I am, and devoting himself to my interests, advanced my promotion and was an aid to good intentions. In his poems he speaks of me in a manner which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, as he says in his Eulogium:

My verse may share both great and little worth,
Its theme sublime—I lowlier than the earth.
A father's virtues shall it far proclaim
And vaunt the glory of a brother's fame;
He, touchstone of all wisdom, who inspires
My strain with sweetness that a world admires;
If through a riper age, I pass him by,
In merit, centuries between us lie.
What though the branching savin taller grows,
What gardener mates its beauty with the rose?

He was born in the Jalāli year 469, corresponding to A.H. 954 (A.D 1547). In what tongue shall I indite his praise? In this work I have already written of him[22] and poured forth the anguish of my heart, and quenched its furnace with the water of narration and broken the dam of its torrents and alleviated my want of resignation. His works which are the scales of eloquence and penetration and the lawns of the birds of song, praise him and speak his perfections and recall his virtues.

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[22] See Vol. I. p. 548.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Barakāt. He was born on the night of the 6th of *Mihr Māh* (September) of the Jalāli year 475, corresponding to the night of the 17th Shawwāl, A.H. 960 (25th September 1553). Although he has not attained to any high distinction in learning, he has nevertheless a considerable share of erudition, and in knowledge of affairs and as a military leader and for his practical sagacity he is considered one of the foremost. He is especially distinguished for his goodness of disposition, his reverence for holy men, and his benevolence.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Khayr. He was born on the 10th of *Isfandārmus* (February) in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd of Jumāda I., A.H. 967 (18th February 1560). The highest morals and most excellent qualities distinguished his disposition. He understood the temper of the times and kept his tongue like all his other members under the command of reason.

[P. 281] The next was Shaykh Abu'l Makārim. His birth took place on the night of the 1st of *Urdibihisht* (April) in the 14th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd of Shawwāl, A.H. 976 (9th April 1569). Although at first he was a little unruly, the miraculous efficacy of my venerable father's will brought him back to the path of duty and rectitude and he read much of philosophy and tradition under that discerner of the mysteries of the spiritual and material worlds. Somewhat before his study of the ancient philosophers he read with Amir Fath u'llah Shirāzi.[23] He walks with circumspection and I trust he may reach the goal of his desire.

The next was Shaykh Abu Turāb. He was born on the 1st of *Bahman Māh* (January), in the 29th year of the reign corresponding to Friday, 23rd of Zi'l Hijjah, A.H. 988 (27th

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[23] See Vol. I. p. 33. Vol. II. p. 30

January 1581). Although he was by another mother, he has the happiness of being admitted to court and occupies himself in the acquisition of all perfections.

The next was Shaykh Abu'l Hāmid. He was born on the 6th of *Day Māh* (December) the 30th of the reign, corresponding to Monday the 3rd Rabii' II., A.H. 1002 (17th December 1593).

The next was Shaykh Abu Rāshid. He was born on the 5th of *Bahman Māh i Ilāhi* (January), the 23rd year of the reign corresponding with M y, 1st of Jumāda I of the same year (12th January 1594).

Although these (last) two scions of the house of prosperity are of concubines, they bear on their countenances the marks of good breeding. That illustrious sage when informed of their coming birth, fixed the names they were to bear. Before they were born he died. I hope that through his inestimable prayers, fortune may wait on happiness and that they may become the recipients of numerous favours.

Although my elder brother is dead and has thrown the world into mourning, I pray that the other nurslings of joy may attain to long life in glad prosperity and the fruition both of this world and the next and be blessed with good things temporal and spiritual.

The *twenty-fifth*, my marriage into an honourable house and a family distinguished for learning and the respect in which it was held. This gave my outward person credit and was as a leading rein to my unruly spirit; Hindu, Kashmiri and Persian wives were occasions of great joy to me.

The *twenty-sixth*, the blessing of a dear and virtuous son. He was born on the night of the 18th of *Day Māh* (December) in the 16th year of the reign, corresponding to Monday night, the 12th Shabān 979 (29th December 1571). My father named him Abdu'r Rahmān. Although he is of Hindustani extraction, he has the Greek temperament and is fond of study, has much experience of the good and evil

of life, and his countenance displays the marks of a happy fortune. His Majesty has allied him in marriage with his foster family.[24]

[P. 282] The *twenty-seventh*, the sight of a grandson. On the night of the 30th of the month of *Amurdād Māh i Ilāhi* in the 30th year of the reign corresponding with Friday, 3rd Zi'l Qaadah 999 (13th August 1591), in an auspicious moment, this child of happy destiny appeared and the favour of God became manifest. His Majesty gave this sapling in the garden of felicity the name of Bishutan. It is my hope that he may be blessed with the highest perfections of nature and grace and attain to the fruition of eternal bliss.

The *twenty-eighth*, a love for the study of moral treatises.

The *twenty-ninth*, the knowledge of the rational soul. For many years I had studied the principles of ontology and physics and had conversed much with the professors of these two sciences and all the proofs by indagation and evidence, inductive and occular, had come under my observation. Still the path of doubt remained unclosed and my mind was not satisfied. By the blessing of faith this difficulty was solved and I became convinced that the rational soul is a subtile divine essence separate from the body, having, however, a peculiar union with this elemental form.

The *thirtieth*, that from high principle, the awe of the great in place has never withheld me from speaking the truth nor interfered with my pursuit of knowledge and light, nor the fear of ruin to property, life and reputation made me falter in this resolution; thus my course has run on like a flowing stream.

The *thirty-first*, indifference to wordly considerations.

The *thirty-second*, the grace to complete this work. Although the motive of this divine book is the praise of God which I have proclaimed with a tongue under the spell of

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[24] "Akbar married him to the daughter of Saādat Yār Kokah's brother." Blochmann, Vol. I. xxxv.

a daily increasing felicity and gratitude for His favours expressed by the language of my pen, nevertheless it is the fountain head of various knowledge and a mine of wisdom to many. To industrious workers it is a guide, and the triflers and gay will find their portion therein. To youth it will be a source of pleasure, to manhood a cause of pride. The stricken in years will there find the experience of ages, and those who lavish the silver and the gold of this world will therein recognise the ordinances of manly fortitude. To the jewel of perspicacity it is a glad weighing-place; to the grasses of freedom, a fertile soil. It is the wicket of the laboratory of skill for the morn of felicity, the deep sea of creation's gem. The favored who seek for fame will in it find the road thereto, and the godly who pursue truth will rejoice in the custody of the volume of their deeds. Merchants of every kind of ware will learn the ways of profit, and champions in the arena of valour will read therein the tablets of heroism. Those who mortify the flesh for the edification of the spirit will take therefrom the institutes of virtue, and the blessed and sincere of heart will gather thence treasures without end, while those who repose in the pleasant vales of truth will by its means attain to their desire.

A wondrous work herein behold
That wisdom's treasures all enfold;
So fair upon its page they show
That he who reads shall wiser grow.

These various benefits announce the good tidings which my heart hears in gladness that the conclusion of my task will make for goodness and avail me unto everlasting bliss.

[Abul Fazl was both hated and admired.] [P. 283]

Although the son of Mubārak is at the present time the object of resentment and held up as a warning to mankind, and a strife of love and hate is kindled in his regard, the worshippers of God who seek truth give him the name

of Abu'l Wahdat,[25] and account him a unique servant of the Supreme Giver. The valourous in the field of bravery style him Abu'l Himmat and deem him one of the wonders of carnal self-denial. Wisdom proclaims him Abul-Fitrat, and considers him a choice specimen of that sublime house. In the writings of the vulgar herd which are noisy dens of ignorance, some attribute wordliness to him and hold him to be one of those plunged into this whirlpool, while others regard him as given up to scepticism and apostacy, and band together in reproof and condemnation.

Of me a hundred fictions rumoured fly,
And the world stares if I a word reply.

God be praised that I am not moved from these honourable dispositions by watching the strange vicissitudes of life, nor turn from well-wishing both to those who blame and those who commend, and defile not my tongue with reproof or praise.

The dullard's eye to sterling merit dim.
True ring of minted gold tells nought to him.
Worth must from noble souls unhidden blaze,
As from the moon her light, from Jupiter his rays.

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[25] The Father of Unity, *i.e.*, professing the unity of God, instead of Abu'l Fazl, the father of bounty. Abu'l Himmat signifies the father of resolution, and Abu'l Fitrat, the father of understanding.

INDEX